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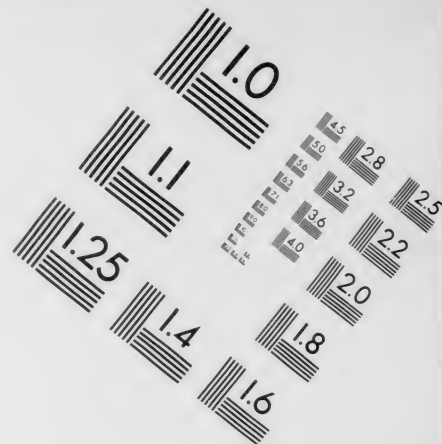
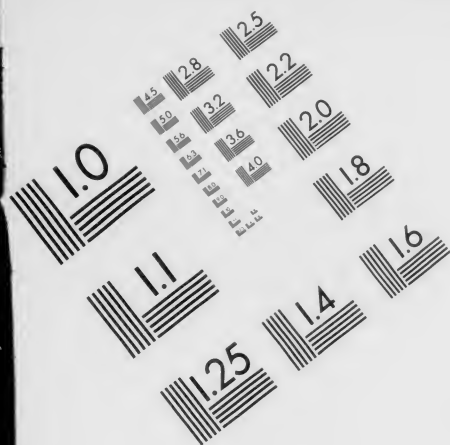


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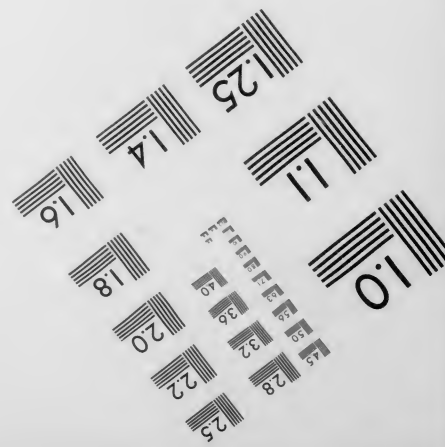
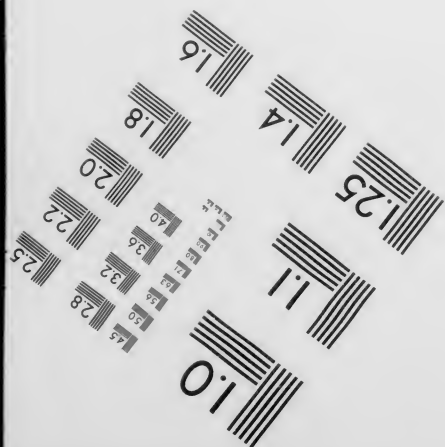
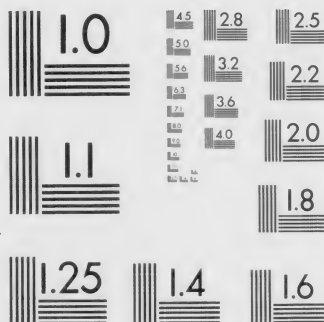
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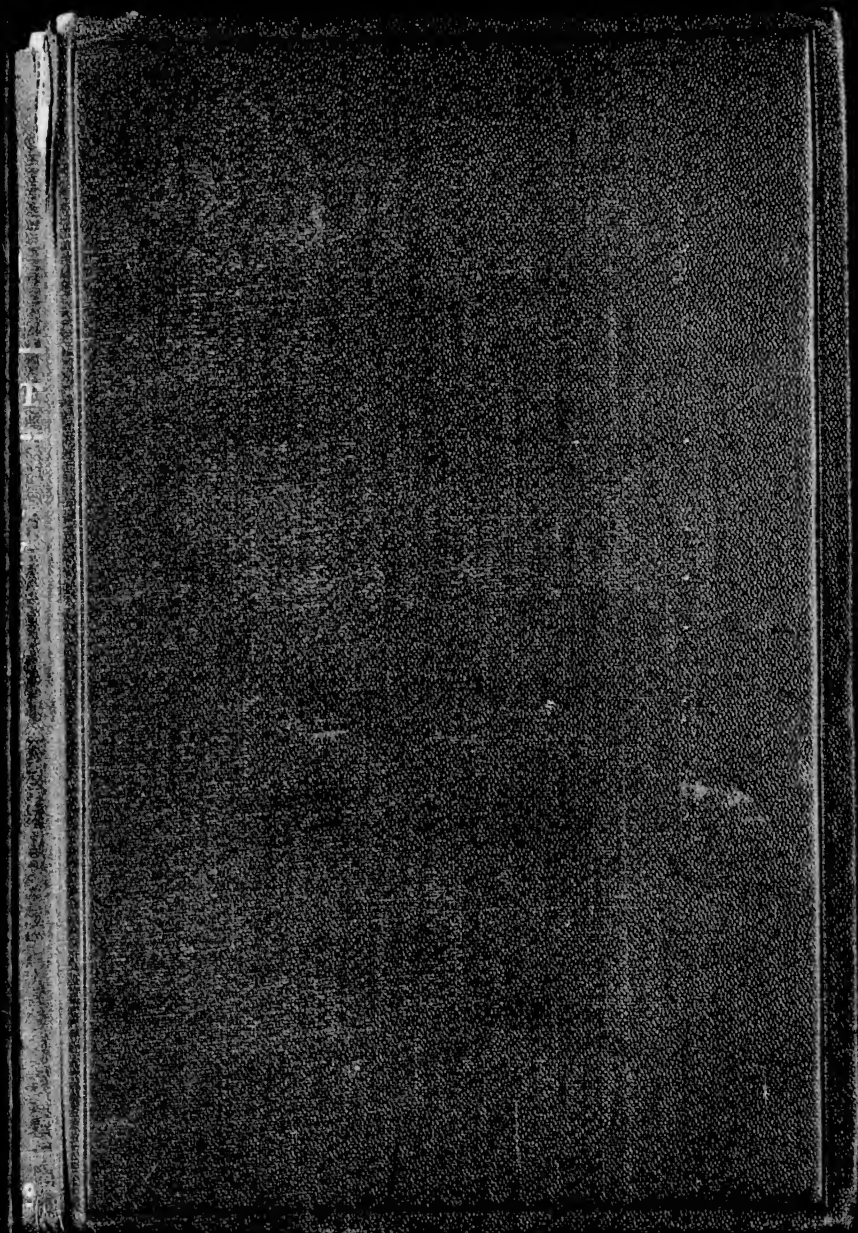


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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY THE REV.

J. FRANCK BRIGHT, D.D.

MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, AND HISTORICAL LECTURER IN BALLIOL, NEW, AND
UNIVERSITY COLLEGES, OXFORD; LATE MASTER OF THE MODERN SCHOOL
IN MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE

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From the Departure of the Romans to Richard III.
449—1485

With Maps and Plans

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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[Fifth Edition]

P R E F A C E.

THE object of this book is expressed in the title. It is intended to be a useful book for school teaching, and advances no higher pretensions. Some years ago, at a meeting of Public School Masters, the want of such a book was spoken of, and at the suggestion of his friends, the Author determined to attempt to supply this want. The objections raised to the school histories ordinarily used were—first, the absence of historical perspective, produced by the unconnected manner in which the facts were narrated, and the inadequate mention of the foreign relations of the country; secondly, the omission of many important points of constitutional history; thirdly, the limitation of the history to the political relations of the nation, to the exclusion of its social growth. It was at first intended to approach the history almost entirely on the social and constitutional side; but a very short trial proved that this method required a too constant employment of allusions, and presupposed too much knowledge in the reader, to be suitable for a book intended primarily for schools. It was therefore resolved to limit the description of the growth of society to a few comprehensive chapters and passages, and to follow the general course of history in such a way as to bring out as clearly as possible the connection of the

events, and their relative importance in the general national growth. This decision, though taken against his inclinations, the Author can no longer regret, as the social side of our history has been so adequately treated by Mr. Green in his *History of the English People*, of the approaching publication of which he was at the time quite ignorant. On the same grounds of practical utility, it has been thought better to retain the old and well-known divisions into reigns, rather than to disturb the knowledge boys have already gained by the introduction of a new though more scientific division.

The Author has not scrupled to avail himself of the works of modern authors, though, in most cases, he has verified their views by reference to original authorities. In the earlier period the works of Professor STUBBS, Mr. FREEMAN, and Dr. PAULI; in the Tudor and Stuart period those of FROUDE, RANKE, and MACAULAY; in the later period the histories of Miss MARTINEAU and Lord STANHOPE have been of the greatest assistance. Greater stress has been laid upon the later than the earlier periods, as is indeed obvious from the divisions of the work. With regard to the starting-point chosen, it may be well to explain that the English invasion was fixed upon, because it so thoroughly obliterated all remnants of the Roman rule, that they have exerted little or no influence upon the development of the nation—the real point of interest in a national history. It is hoped that the genealogies of the great families will assist in the comprehension of mediæval times in the history of which they played so large a part; and that the maps supplied will suffice to enable the reader to follow pretty accurately,

without reference to another atlas, the military and political events mentioned. A brief and rapid summary for the use of beginners was originally projected to preface the work, but the brevity required by a book of this description rendered such an addition impossible without injury to the more important part. An attempt has been made to replace it by a very full analysis, which, in the hands of a careful teacher, has been proved by experience a useful method of teaching the main facts of history.

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GENERAL AUTHORITIES.

Bæda's *Ecclesiastical History*, for a century and a half after the landing of Augustin. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which becomes very important after the time of Alfred. Milman's *Latin Christianity*.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST.

Gildas, and the earlier part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

Kemble's *Saxons*. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*. 143

ALFRED.

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DUNSTAN.

Stubbs' Preface to *Life of Dunstan* (Master of the Rolls' series). E. W. Robertson's *Essay on Dunstan*.

EADWARD THE CONFESSOR AND FAMILY OF GODWINE.

Lives of Eadward, edited by Luard (Rolls' series). Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii. 143

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NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS.

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Geraldus Cambrensis' *Conquest of Ireland* (Rolls' series, translated in Bohn).

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JOHN AND THE GREAT CHARTER.

Roger of Wendover, who was continued by Matthew of Paris, and William Rishanger (Rolls' series). Chronicles of various abbeys, such as Waverley and Dunstable. For the English reader, Stubbs' *Illustrative Documents*.

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LATER PLANTAGENETS.

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FOR SCOTCH HISTORY.

Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*.

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TOWNS.

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Life, by Sir Thomas More.

RICHARD III.

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6. ENGLAND AND WALES	" "

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of civilization can be traced in great lines which have more or less followed a similar direction throughout all Europe. The interest of a national history is to observe the course which these lines have followed in a particular instance; for, examined in detail, their course has never been identical. The period occupied by what we speak of as English history is that, speaking broadly, during which the great mediæval systems—feudalism and the Church—have by degrees given place to modern society, of which the moving-springs are freedom of the individual, government in accordance with the popular will, and freedom of thought. The object of a History of England is therefore to trace that change as it worked itself out amid all the various influences which affected it in our own nation. The peculiar circumstances of the Norman conquest prevented the complete development in England of either of the great Continental systems. Neither the feudal system nor the system of the Roman Church are to be found in their completeness in England. The separation of England from the Empire, the entire destruction of the Roman occupation by the German invaders, prevented that contact between German and Roman civilization from which Continental feudalism sprang. And though, if left to itself, the civilization of the early English would have ripened into some form of feudalism, it was caught by the Conquest before the process was completed. The Normans brought with them, indeed, the external apparatus of the completed system; but in the hands of their great leader, and grafted upon the existing institutions of the country, it assumed a new form. The power of the King was always maintained and the power of the barons suppressed, while room was left under the shadow of a strong monarchy for the growth of the lower classes of the nation. In the

same way, the Church was always kept from assuming a position of supremacy, and its subordinate relations to the State maintained. The establishment of this new form of government may be held to occupy the first period of our history since the Conquest, lasting till the reign of John. During that time the barons, who had more than once attempted to establish the same virtual independence as was enjoyed by their fellows abroad, were taught to recognize the power of the Crown. The legislation of Henry I. and Henry II., and the establishment under the latter of a new nobility dependent for their status upon their ministerial services, coupled with the incorporation of the national system of justice with the feudal system of the conquerors, united all classes of Englishmen and consolidated the nation, but in so doing raised to an alarming degree the power of the Crown. The miserable reign of John, and the tyrannical use he made of the power thus placed in his hands, called attention to the dangers which beset the administrative arrangements of his father. The total severance of England from France, which took place in his reign, and his rash quarrel with the Church, completed the work of national consolidation, but placed the united nation in antagonism to the throne. The nobility, which in other countries were the natural enemies of all classes below them, were thus forced to assume the lead of all who desired a reasonable amount of national freedom.

The struggle to harmonize the relations which should exist between the Crown and the subject occupies the second period of our history. It assumes several forms; sometimes the dislike of foreigners, sometimes a desire for self-taxation, sometimes it seems little more than an outbreak of an over-strong nobility. But whatever its form, the fruits of the struggle were lasting. The rival claims of King and nation, acknowledged and regulated by the wisdom of Edward I., gave rise to that balanced constitution which in its latest development still exists among us. But it would seem that this great advance in government had been somewhat premature. In other nations institutions resembling our Parliament sprang into existence, and faded away before the power of the Crown, an effect which can be traced chiefly to the strong line of division separating the commonalty from the nobles. Without support from the nobility, and in all its interests in direct antagonism to it, the commonalty, after supporting the Crown in the destruction of the baronage, found itself in presence of a power to which it was unable to offer any resistance. Several causes already mentioned had in England weakened the sharp definition of classes, but there was a great risk

even there of a similar failure of constitutional monarchy. It was as the leader of the nobility that Henry IV. first rose into importance in the reign of Richard II., and subsequently obtained the crown. The limitation of the franchise in the reign of Henry VI., and the consequent subserviency of Parliament, were steps towards the elevation of an aristocratical influence, which, had it grown till its suppression by the Crown was rendered necessary, would have reproduced in England the historical phenomena visible in France. Fortunately the nobility were not at one among themselves. The various sources from which they derived their origin, the close family connections, and personal interests, split them into factions, which, taking advantage of a disputed succession, brought their quarrel to the trial of the sword with such animosity that the nobility of England was virtually extinguished.

But while this faction fight, and the great French war which preceded it, attract the attention chiefly during the third period of the history, a quiet advance of great importance had been going on, sheltered by the more obvious movements of the time. The same spirit which had found its expression in the establishment of the Constitution, had indirectly, if not directly, influenced every class of the nation. The exclusive merchant guild had given place to the craftsman's guild. The wars in France, the alienation of property fostered by the legislation of Edward I., the Black Death, which had robbed the country of at least a third of its labouring hands, had sealed the fate of serfdom, and established in England the great class of free wage labourers. The same alienation, the gradual increase and importance of trade, and the formation and introduction of capital, had formed a middle class of gentry, from which the successful merchant was not excluded. Nor had this political growth been unaccompanied by an advance of thought. The failure of the crusades, the last great exhibition of material religion; the Franciscan revival; the philosophy of Bacon and his successors; the bold declaration of independence on the part of Wicliffe, and the grasping and repellent character of the Roman Court, had shaken the Church to its foundations. The storm which had shaken the surface of English society had left its depths unmoved and undisturbed by the great work of extermination proceeding overhead; these processes of growth had been gradually continuing their course during the whole of the third period. Thus, then, when Edward IV. emerged from the troubles of the Wars of the Roses as King of England, his position, though it might

seem very similar to that of a king who had triumphed over his nobility, was yet considerably modified. The nobility were no doubt gone, but it was not the Crown which had crushed them. The Church, indeed, threw all its influence on the side of the Crown, but it was in the consciousness of the insecurity of its position in the hearts of the people that it did so. The King and his Commons stood face to face, with no intermediate class to check their mutual action, but the Commons were already free, and headed by a rapidly rising body of wealthy secondary landowners or merchants. Nevertheless, the immediate effect of the destruction of the nobility was completely to check constitutional growth, and to establish a government which was little short of arbitrary.

The Italian statecraft, which the influence of the Renaissance rendered paramount, for the moment increased the tendency to absolutism; and in the reign of Henry VIII., though a shadow of popular government yet remained, the will of the king was little short of absolute. What may be called the fourth period of our history is occupied by the establishment of this arbitrary power, and the gradual awakening of national life, under the influences of the Renaissance, and of the circumstances which accompanied the Reformation, which tended to modify it in the reign of Elizabeth. When Protestantism and the vigorous young thought of the reawakened nation became linked indissolubly with the fortunes of the sovereign in her national war against Spain, the mere necessity of the union tended much to put a practical limit to the arbitrary of character of the new monarchy. It was the miscomprehension the necessity of this union between king and people which produced the contests which occupy our history during the reign of the Stuarts.

Bred in the theory of monarchy by Divine right, the logical offspring of feudalism, when separated from the Empire and the Church, the Stuarts were willing to accept the arbitrary power of their predecessors, but would not acknowledge the necessity of harmonious action with the people, on which alone, as things then were, such arbitrary authority could rest. The middle class of gentry had been increasing in power and influence till they were now in a position to assume that leadership in the nation which the destruction of the nobles had left vacant. And behind them there was the bulk of the people, whose Protestantism, the religious character of the late national struggle, and the love of truth engendered by the Renaissance, had raised to enthusiastic Puritanism.

The constitutional life, checked for a time by the Tudor monarchy, again sprang into existence. In the struggle which ensued it was the enthusiastic party which ultimately triumphed, and its leader, Cromwell, is seen mingling his conscientious efforts at the establishment of constitutional government with a religious fervour too great to be sustained.

But his rule, freed from those parts for which, as yet, the gentry at all events were unprepared, established, definitely and for ever, the necessity of recurring sooner or later to the constitutional principles of the fourteenth century. In the Revolution of 1688 those principles triumphed. But they triumphed in the hands no longer of a great enthusiastic leader, but of a party, which found its chief supporters in a limited number of noble houses, whose aristocratic pride was injured by the arbitrary power of the sovereign, and whose influence in the formation of Parliament promised them political superiority under the establishment of parliamentary government. From that time till the present the scene of the contest has been changed. A party struggle of some thirty years gave place to the unchecked predominance of parliamentary rule. And the last period of our history has been occupied by the efforts of the excluded nation to make their voice heard above that of a nominal representation, consisting in reality of the representatives of a dominant class, under the influence either of the great Whig families or of the Crown.

(The founder of the family a kinsman of William I.)

DE BOHUNS (HEREFORD, ESSEX, NORTHAMPTON).

Henry de Bohun = Maud, daughter of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Earl of Essex.
1st Earl of Hereford. Hereditary Constable of England. One of the Guardians of the Charter. Taken prisoner at battle of Lincoln. Died 1220.

Humphrey, 2nd Earl of Hereford. Made also Earl of Essex by Henry III. Godfather to Prince Edward. On Barons' side. Taken prisoner at Evesham. Restored to favour.

Humphrey = Eleanor, daughter of Eve and William de Braose.
Commanded on Barons' side at Lewes. Taken prisoner at Evesham. Died 1266.

Humphrey, 3rd Earl of Hereford = Maud, daughter of and Essex. Restored to favour by Edward I. Fought in Scotland. Refused to fight for Edward I. Compelled him to ratify the Charter. Died 1298.

Humphrey, 4th Earl of Hereford and Essex. Fought for Edward I. and II. in Scotland. Taken prisoner at Stryvelin; exchanged for Bruce's wife. Refused to obey Edward's order not to fight Despenser. Joined Lancaster's insurrection. Killed at battle of Boroughbridge, 1322.

1	2	3
John = Alice Fitz-Alan, 5th Earl of Hereford and Essex. Died 1335.	Humphrey, 6th Earl of Hereford and Essex.	William = Elizabeth, daughter of Badlesmere, widow of Edmund Mortimer. Fought at Cressy. Made Earl of Northampton, 1337. Died 1360.

Humphrey = Joan, daughter of Richard, 9th Earl of Arundel.
7th Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. Died 1372.

Eleanor = Thomas of Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III., who thus became Constable.
Mary = Henry IV., who thus became Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton.

(Family founded at the Conquest.)

BEAUCHAMP

(WARWICK).

Walter de Beauchamp = Bertha de Braose.

Fought against John.
Made peace with
Henry III. One of the
Barons-Marchers.
Died 1235.

Walcheline = Joan, daughter of Roger Mortimer,
Died 1235. who died 1215.

William = Isabel, sister and heiress of William Maudit,
Earl of Warwick.
Fought in Gascony.
and in Scotland.
Died 1268.

William = Maud Fitz-John,
widow of Girard de Furnival.
1st Earl of Warwick.
Distinguished in Ed-
ward I.'s wars. Died
1298.

Guy = Alice de Toni.
2nd Earl, "The Black
Dog of Ardenne."
Caused Gaveston to
be beheaded. Died
1315.

Thomas = Catherine, daughter of Roger
Mortimer, 1st Earl of March.
3rd Earl. Fought at
Cressy and Poitiers.
Died of the plague at
Calais, 1369.

Thomas = Margaret Ferrars.
4th Earl. Governor of Richard
II. Joined Thomas of Glou-
cester. Condemned to death.
Banished to Isle of Man. Kept
in the Tower. Restored by
Henry IV. Died 1401.

Richard = 1. Eliz. de Lisle.
5th Earl. Fought against the Per-
cies at Shrewsbury.
Governor of Henry VI.
Lieutenant-General of
France. Died 1439.

Henry = Cicely Neville.
6th Earl, Premier Earl of
England. Duke of War-
wick (married at ten
years old). Died 1445.

Ann.
Died 1449.

Anne = Richard Neville,
"The Kingmaker."
Became heiress
on her niece's
death.

Isabel = George,
Duke of Clarence
Ann = Prince Edward.
= Richard III.

(Family founded at the Conquest.)

MOWBRAY (NOTTINGHAM, NORFOLK).

William de Mowbray = Agnes, daughter of Earl of Arundel.
Strong against John. One of the
25 Guardians of the Charter.
Taken prisoner at battle of
Lincoln. Made peace with
Henry III. Lands restored.
Died 1222.

Roger = Maud, daughter of Beauchamp of Bedford.
Died 1266.

Roger = Rose, daughter of Richard de Clare,
Earl of Gloucester.
Fought in Wales
and Gascony.
Died 1298.

John = Aliva de Braose.
Fought in Scotland.
Warden of the Mar-
ches towards Scot-
land, 1314. Joined
Lancaster. Hanged
at York 1322.

John = Joan, daughter of Henry,
Earl of Lancaster.
In favour with
Edward III.
Fought in
France.
Died 1361.

John = Elizabeth, granddaughter and
heiress of Thomas de Brother-
ton, Earl Marshall, and Earl
of Norfolk.
Died fighting against
the Turks at Con-
stantinople, 1363.

John, made Earl of
Nottingham,
1377. Died
1379.

Thomas = Elizabeth, daughter of
Richard, Earl of Arundel.
Earl of Nottingham, 1383. Earl
Marshall, 1386. Governor
of Calais. Helped to execute
Arundel, his father-in-law,
and Thomas of Woodstock.
Had the lands of Arundel
and of Thomas Beauchamp,
Earl of Warwick. Duel with
Hereford. Banished for
life. Died at Venice, 1400.

Thomas = Constance,
daughter of
Earl Marshall. Joined Scrope.
Beheaded 1405.

John = Kate
Neville.
Earl of Notting-
ham, Duke of
Norfolk.
Died 1432.

Margaret = Robert Howard.
John, became Duke of
Norfolk, and Earl
Marshall after
Anne's death, 1483

John = Eleanor Bouchier.
3rd Duke of
Norfolk.
Died 1461.

John = Elizabeth, daughter of Talbot,
Earl of Shrewsbury.
Earl of Warrenne
and Surrey 1451.
4th Duke of Nor-
folk. Died 1475.

Anne = Betrothed to Richard,
son of Edward IV.

MORTIMERS (MARCH).

Roger, related to William I.

Ralph, fought at Hastings for William. Conquered and succeeded Edric at Wigmore.

Hugh, opposed accession of Henry II. Conquered by him. Died 1185.	
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Roger, constantly fighting the Welsh. Died 1215.

Hugh—Strong partisan
of John. Died
1227.

Ra
Strong agai
Welsh.

Ralph = Gladuse, daughter of Llewellyn,
against widow of Reginald de Braose.

Roger = Maud de Braose.

Fought in Gascony and against Wales. On Henry III.'s side against the Barons. Escaped to Wales after battle of Lewes. Planned Edward's escape. Commanded 3rd division at Evesham. As reward was made Earl of Oxford. Sheriff of Hereford. Died 1282.

Edmund = Margaret, a Spaniard, Wedding at Edward I.'s expense. Died fighting against the Welsh, 1303.	related to Queen Eleanor.
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Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Paramour of Queen Isabella. 1st Earl of March, 1327. Hanged at Smithfield, 1330.	Roger = Joan of Genevill, daughter of Lord of Trim in Ireland.
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Edmund = Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Mortimer. Died 1331.	Lord Badlesmere.
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Went to France with Edward III. Knighted there. Restored to his Earldom of March, 1355. Died 1360.	Roger = Philippa, daughter of Montague, 1st Earl of Salisbury.
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3rd Earl of March. Treated for peace with France when only 18. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1380. Died 1381.	Edmund = Philippa, daughter of Lionel Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence.
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4th Earl of March, ward to Richard, Earl of Arundel. Lieutenant of Ireland. Made heir-apparent, 1386. Died 1398.	Roger = Eleanor Holland, daughter of Earl of Kent.
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5th Earl of March. Ward to Henry IV. Fought in France. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Died 1424.

Ann = Richard Plantagenet, son of
Edmund of York, 5th son
of Edward III. Beheaded
1415.

Baron Mortimer, Duke of York, killed at Wakefield, 1460.	Richard = Cicely Neville, daughter of the 1st Earl of Westmoreland.
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Edward IV.

(Family founded at the Conquest.)
NEVILLES (WESTMORELAND, WARWICK).

Ralph de Neville = Alice de Audley.

Commissioner to Scotland 1334. Warden of the West Marches, conjointly with Henry de Percy. Died 1367.

Margaret = Henry Percy,
1st Earl of Northumberland.

John Lord Neville = Maud, daughter of
Lieutenant of Aquitaine | Lord Percy

1379. Died 1388.
Ralph de Neville = 1. Margaret, daughter of Hugh, 2nd Earl of Stafford, by whom he had nine children. Ralph his grandson by this wife became 2nd Earl of Westmoreland.

was made Earl Marshal of England. Fought against the Percies 1403 Died 1425. =2 Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt.

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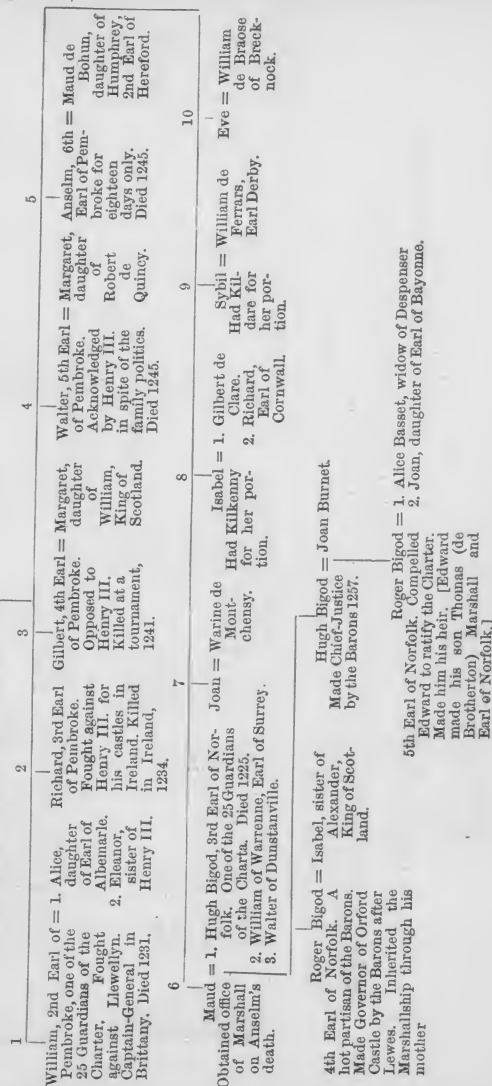
Margaret = De Vere, Earl of Oxford.
= Lord Hastings.

Anne = Edward, Prince of Wales.
= Richard III.

Isabel = George, Duke

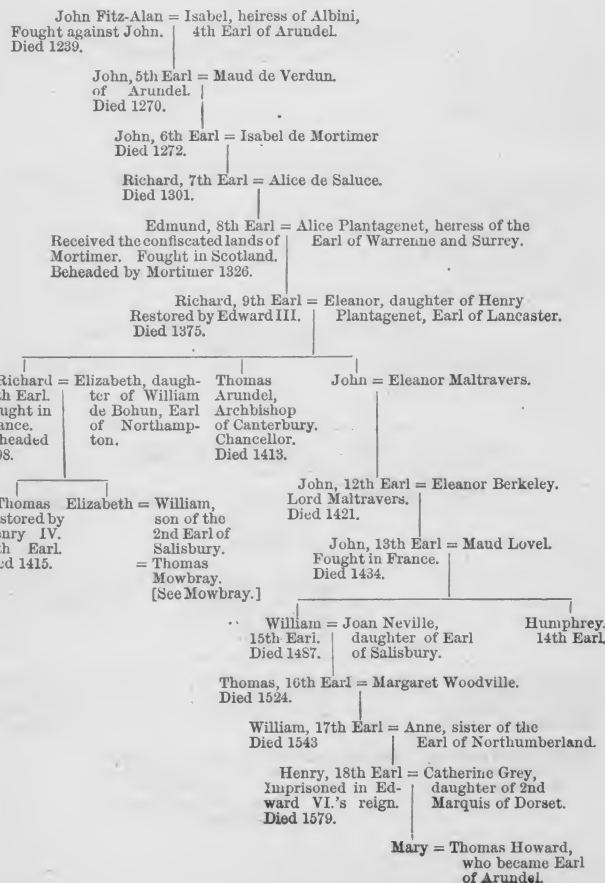
MARSHALLS AND BIGODS.

William Marshall = Isabel de Clare, heiress of Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke.
Governor while Richard at Crusade. Made Earl of Pembroke 1196. John gave him Leinster 1208. Guardian of Henry III. Died 1219.



(Family founded at the Conquest.)

FITZ-ALAN (ARUNDEL).



(Family founded in Henry I.'s reign.)

DESPENSERS.

Hugh = Aliva Basset of Wycombe,
widow of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk.
Joined Barons against
Henry III. Made
Justiciary 1260. Had
custody of the King
after Lewes. Killed
at Evesham, 1265.

Hugh = Isaoel, daughter of Beauchamp,
1st Earl of Warwick, widow of Patrick Chaworth.
Fought at Dunbar, 1296.
In favour with Edward
I. Favourite of Edward
II. Banished by Parlia-
ment. Recalled. One
of Lancaster's judges.
Earl of Winchester.
Seized by Isabella.
Hanged, aged 90, 1326.

Hugh = Eleanor, daughter of Gilbert de Clare,
Earl of Gloucester.
The favourite of Edward
II. Excited the enmity
of the Barons. Im-
peached and hanged,
1327.

Hugh, Baron in Parlia-
ment, 1338. Fought
in France and Scot-
land. Died 1349.
Edward = Anne Ferrars.
Died 1342.
Edward = Elizabeth de Burghersh.
Fought at
Poitiers.
Died 1375.

Thomas = Constance, daughter of
Edmund, 5th son of
Edward III.
Made Earl of Glouces-
ter, 1398. Degraded
by Henry IV. Be-
headed, 1400.

2. Richard Beauchamp = Isabel = 1. Richard Beauchamp,
5th Earl of Warwick, Lord Abergavenny,
nephew of Earl of Worcester. Earl of Worcester.
Richard = Eliz., daughter
of Ralph,
Earl of West-
moreland.

Cicely Neville = Henry Elizabeth = Edward Neville, son of Ralph,
d. of Earl 1st Earl of Westmoreland,
of Salisbury. who thus obtained the
Baronies of Despenser and
Abergavenny.

LANCASTERS.

HENRY III.

Edward I. Edmund = Blanche, daughter of Robert of Artois,
third son of Louis VIII., widow of
King of Navarre.
Proposed King of Sicilies.
Earl of Chester, 1246, was
given the land of Simon de
Montfort. Made Earl of
Leicester. Fought in Scot-
land, Wales, Gascony.
Crusade, 1270-1272. Died
1295.

Thomas = Alice, daugh-
ter of
de Lacy,
Earl of
Lincoln
and
Salisbury.
Earl of Lancaster,
Lincoln, Salis-
bury, Leicester,
and Derby.
Fought in Scot-
land. Headed
the party against
both Gaveston
and the Despen-
sers. Taken
prisoner at
Boroughbridge.
Beheaded at
Pontefract,
1321.
Henry = Maud, daughter and
heiress of Sir Patrick
Chaworth.
Earl of Leicester, 1324.
Helped to depose Ed-
ward II. Guardian to
Edward III. Restored
to his brother's Earl-
doms, 1327. Captain-
General in Scotland.
Died 1345.

Henry = Isabel, d. of Lord
Beaumont.
Captain-General
in Scotland. Earl
of Derby, 1338.
Fought in Flan-
ders and Sluys.
Earl of Lancaster
and Leices-
ter, 1345.
Steward of Eng-
land. Duke of
Lancaster and
Earl of Lincoln,
1350. Died 1360.
2. Ralph = Maud = 1. William de Burgh,
de Ufford. Earl of Ulster.
Thomas = Maud. Elizabeth = Lionel,
de Vere. Duke of Clarence.
8th Earl
of Oxford.
Died 1371.
Philippa = Edmund Mor-
timer (see
Mortimer).

Maud = Lord Stafford.
= Duke of Zeeland.
No children.
Blanche = John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond,
who thus became Duke of Lan-
caster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln and
Leicester.
Henry IV. (Earl of Hereford, Derby, Lin-
coln and Leicester, and Duke
of Lancaster.)

DE LA POLES.

William de la Pole = Catherine, daughter of Sir John Norwich.
Great Merchant at Kingston,
advanced £1000 to Edward
III., for which he was made
a Banneret.

Michael de la Pole = Katherine Wingfield.
Earl of Suffolk 1385.
Impeached and exiled.
Died at Paris 1388.

Sir Michael = Katherine, daughter of
the Earl of Stafford.
Restored to his Earldom
1399. In the French
wars. Died at Harfleur
1415.

Michael
3rd Earl of Suffolk.
Died at Agincourt
1415.

William, 4th Earl = Alice, granddaughter
of Chaucer.
Commanded at Verneuil and
Orleans. Brought Margaret
of Anjou over. Duke of
Suffolk 1448. Impeached,
banished, murdered in the
boat, 1450.

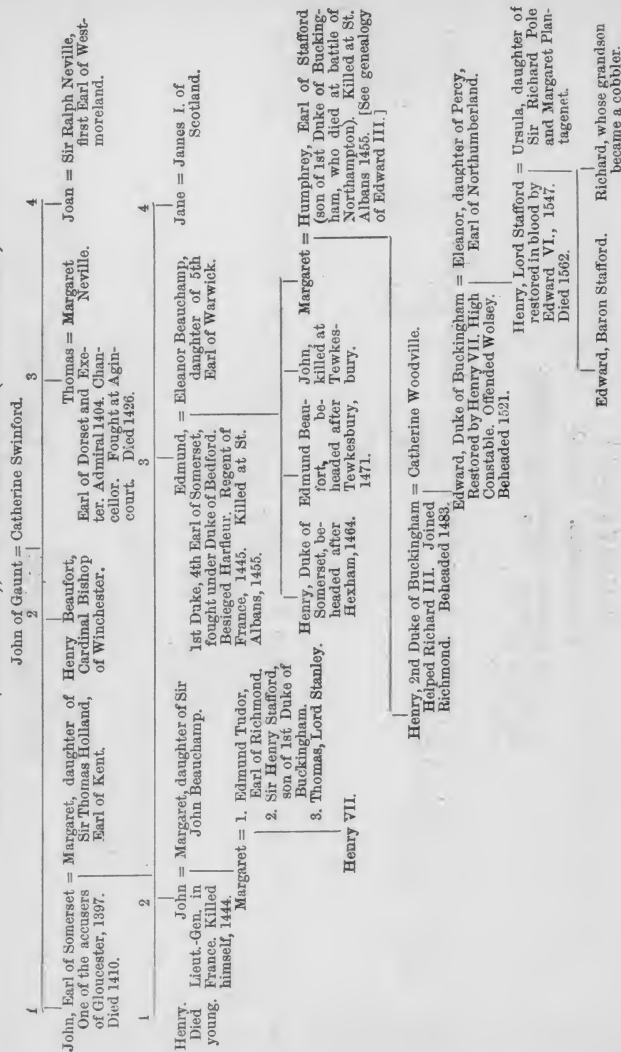
John de la Pole = Elizabeth, sister
of Edward IV.
Duke of Suffolk 1463.
Died 1491.

John, Earl of Lincoln.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Declared heir-apparent by
Richard III. Joined Lam-
bert Simnel. Died at
Battle of Stoke 1487.

Edmund. Fought at
first for Henry VII.
Subsequently took of-
fence and withdrew to
his aunt Margaret of
Burgundy. Was given
up. Imprisoned in the
Tower. Executed as
a Yorkist 1513.

Richard. Fought
for the French.
Died at Pavia 1525.
His dukedom of
Suffolk given to
Charles Brandon.

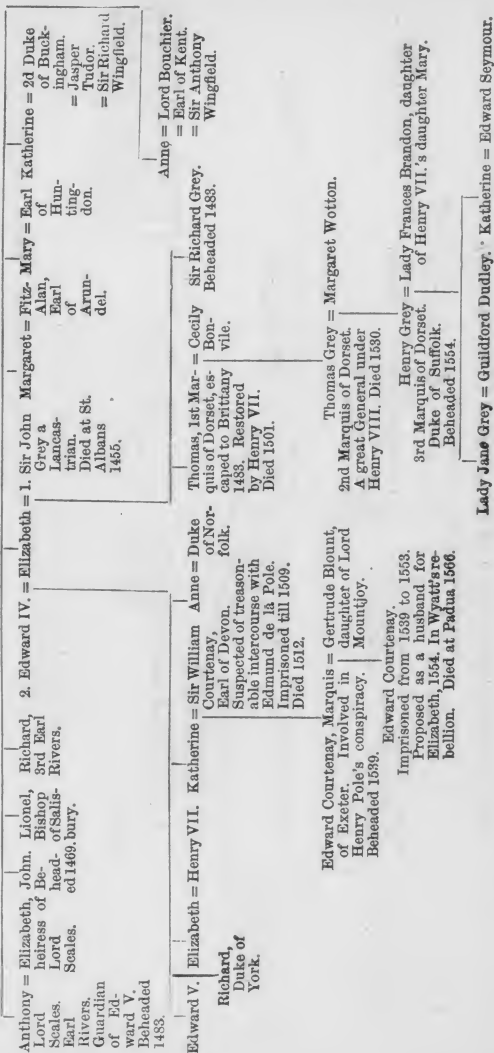
BEAUFORT (SOMERSETS), AND STAFFORD (BUCKINGHAMS).



WOODVILLES

(COURTENAYS, GREYS).

Richard de Wille = Jacquette of Luxembourg,
 Seneschal of Normandy.
 Earl Rivers 1466. Be-
 headed 1469.



ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

THE dominion of the Romans in Britain had been complete. The country, as far as the Frith of Forth, had been brought under Roman civilization. But in England, as elsewhere, the continuance of that form of civilization had produced weakness; and the unconquered Britons of the North, known by the name of Picts, broke into the Romanized districts, and pushed their incursions far into the centre of the country. On all sides, the nations outside the Empire were breaking through its limits and threatening its existence. The danger which threatened the very heart of the Empire, from the advance of the Goths into Italy, compelled the Romans in 411 to withdraw their legions from Britain, and leave the inhabitants of the island to fight their own battles with the Picts. When these enemies formed an alliance with the pirates of Ireland, known by the name of the Scots, and with the German pirates of the North Sea, known as English or Saxons, the civilized Britons were unable to make head against them, and found it necessary to seek for aid among the invaders themselves. They therefore made an arrangement with two Jutish chiefs or Ealdormen, Hengist and Horsa, to come to their assistance. The German rovers consisted of three nations—the Saxons, the inhabitants of Holstein, who had advanced along the coast of Friesland; to the north of them the Angles or English, who inhabited Sleswig; and still further to the north, the Jutes, whose name is still perpetuated in the promontory of Jutland.

The first landing-place of the Jutish allies of the Britons was in the Isle of Thanet, separated at that time by a considerable inlet from the British mainland. Their aid enabled the Britons to drive back the Pictish invaders. But their success, and the settlement they had formed, enticed many

The Jutish
 settlement
 in Kent.
 449.

of their brethren to join them, and their numbers were constantly increasing. Increase of numbers implied increased demand in the way of payment and provisions. Quarrels arose between the new-comers and their British allies. War was determined on. The inlet which divided Thanet from the mainland was passed, and at Aylesford, on the Medway, a battle was fought, which, though it cost Horsa his life, put the conquering Barbarians into possession of much of the east of Kent. The victory was followed by the extermination of the inhabitants; against the clergy especially the anger of the conquerors was directed. The country was thus cleared of the inhabitants, and the new-comers settled down, bringing with them their goods and families and national institutions. This process was repeated at every stage of the conquest of the country, which thus became not only a conquest but a re-settlement. The Jutish conquest of Kent was followed, in 477, by an invasion of the Saxons,

The Saxons in
Sussex.
477-496.

who, under Ella, overran the south of Sussex, and captured the fortress of Anderida near Pevensey; and in 495, by a fresh Saxon invasion under Cerdic and Cynric, who passed up the Southampton water and established the kingdom of the West Saxons. A momentary check was given to the advance of the conquerors, in 520, at the battle of Mount Badon. But almost immediately fresh hordes of Angles began conquering and settling the East of England, where they established the East Anglian kingdom, with its two great

The Angles in
East Anglia.
520.

divisions of Northfolk and Southfolk. Between that time and 577, the date of a victory at Deorham, in Gloucestershire, the West Saxons had overrun what are now Hampshire and Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and the valley of the Severn, reaching almost as far as Chester; while the Angles, entering the Humber and working up the rivers, established themselves on the Trent, where they were known as Mercians or Border men, and formed two Northern kingdoms, that of Deira in Yorkshire, and that of Bernicia, extending as far as the Forth. The capital of this last-named kingdom was Bamborough, founded by Ida, and called after his wife Bebba, Bebbanburgh, or Bamborough.

The junction of these two kingdoms under Æthelfrith, about 600, established the Kingdom of Northumbria; thus was begun the process of consolidating the several divided English kingdoms. This tendency to consolidation is marked by the title of Bretwalda, which is given to the chief of the nation dominant for the time being. The name had been applied to Ella of Sussex, to Ceawlin

of Wessex, and was held at the time of the establishment of the Northumbrian power by Æthelberht of Kent. There were thus two pre-eminent powers among the English—Northumbria, under its king Æthelfrith, claiming supremacy over the middle districts of England, including the Mercians and Middle English; and Kent, under Æthelberht, paramount over Middlesex, Essex, and East Anglia; while a third kingdom, that of Wessex, though large in extent and destined to become the dominant power, was as yet occupied chiefly in improving its position towards the west. Beyond these lay the district still in the possession of the Britons. The possessions of this people were now divided by the conquest of the English into three—West Wales, or Cornwall; North Wales, which we now call Wales; and Strathclyde, a district stretching from the Clyde along the west of the Pennine chain, and separated from Wales by Chester, in the hands of the Mercians, and a piece of Lancashire in the hands of the Northumbrians.

It was while the kingdoms of Northumbria and Kent were thus in the balance that the conversion of the English to the Christian faith began. Æthelberht of Kent had married Bereta, the daughter of the Frankish King of Paris.

Conversion of
the English.
597.

She was a Christian; and Gregory the Great at that time occupying the Roman See, which was rapidly rising to the position of supremacy in the Christian Church, took advantage of the opening thus afforded, and despatched a band of missionaries under a monk named Augustine to convert the people. In 597 they landed in Thanet. By the influence of the Queen they were well received, and established themselves at Canterbury, which has ever since retained its position as the seat of the Primacy. The Kings of Essex and East Anglia followed the example of their superior Lord, and became Christians. The Northern kingdom was still heathen. But Eadwine, who succeeded Æthelfrith on the Northumbrian throne, surpassed his predecessor in power. On Æthelberht's death, he received the submission of the East Anglians and men of Essex, and conquered even the West Saxons. Kent alone remained independent, but was compelled to purchase security by a close alliance with Eadwine, who married a Kentish princess. With her went a priest, Paulinus; and priest and Queen together succeeded in converting Eadwine, and bringing the Northern kingdom to Christianity. Heathenism was however not extinct. It found a champion, Penda, King of the Mercians. In alliance with the Welsh king he attacked and defeated Eadwine, in 633, at the battle of Heathfield, and united under his power those

who were properly called Mercians and the other English tribes south of the Humber. He also conquered the West Saxon districts along the Severn, and thus established what is generally known as the Kingdom of Mercia. Paulinus had fled from York after the battle of Heathfield. But the contest between heathen and Christian was renewed by Oswald, Eadwine's successor; for Paulinus' place was taken by Bishop Aidan, a missionary from Columba's Irish monastery in Iona, who had established an Episcopal see in the Island of Lindisfarne. From thence missionaries issued, who continued the work of conversion, to which Oswald chiefly devoted his life. Birinus, sent from Rome, with the support of Oswald, succeeded in converting even Wessex, and establishing a Christian church at Dorchester. Penda still continued in the centre of England to uphold the cause of heathendom. At the battle of Maserfield he conquered and slew Oswald, and re-established his religion for a time in Wessex. But at length, in 655, he succumbed to Oswi, Oswald's successor, and with him fell the power of heathendom. It seemed as though Irish Christianity, and not Roman, would thus be the religion of England. But Rome did not suffer her conquests to slip from her hand. A struggle arose between the adherents of the two Churches. The matter was brought to an issue in 664 at a Council at Whitby. The Roman Church there proved predominant. And this victory was followed by the appointment of Theodore of Tarsus, an Eastern divine, to the See of Canterbury. Under him the English Church was organized. Fresh sees were added to the old ones, which had usually followed the limits of the old English kingdoms. Canterbury was established as the centre of Church authority. Theodore's ecclesiastical work tended much both to the growth of national unity and to the close connection of Church and State which existed during the Saxon period. The unity of the people was expressed in the single archiepiscopal See of Canterbury and in the Synods; while the arrangement of bishoprics and parishes according to existing territorial divisions connected them closely with the State.

The contest for supremacy between Mercia and Northumbria still continued. After the fall of Penda, the supremacy of the Northern kingdom was for some time unquestioned. But sixty years later, during the reign of three Christian kings, Ethelbald, Offa, and Cenwulf (716-819), Mercia again rose to great power. Offa indeed came nearer to consolidating an empire than any of the preceding kings, although he is not men-

Supremacy of
Mercia.
716-819.

tioned among the Bretwaldas. It is said that he corresponded on terms of something like equality with Charlemagne; and the great dyke between the Severn and the Wye which bears his name is supposed to mark the limits of his conquests over the Britons.

With these princes the supremacy of Mercia closed, for a great king had in the year 800 ascended the throne of Wessex. Egberht. Egberht had lived as an exile in his youth at the court 800-836. of Charlemagne, and there probably imbibed imperial notions. During his reign of thirty-six years he gradually brought under his power all the kingdoms of the English, whether Anglian or Saxon. In 823, at the great battle of Ellandune, he defeated the Mercians so completely that their subject kingdoms passed into his power. Four years later Mercia owned his overlordship, and Northumbria immediately after yielded without a struggle. These great kingdoms retained their own line of sovereigns as subordinate kings. Egberht continued the hereditary struggle against the British populations, with the West Welsh or Cornish, and the North Welsh or Welsh, and in each instance succeeded in establishing his supremacy over them. North of the Dee, however, his power over the British population did not spread. Thus the kingdom of the West Saxons absorbed all its rivals, and established a permanent superiority in England.

Consolidation
under the West
Saxons.

Already, however, a new enemy, before which the rising kingdom was finally to succumb, had made its appearance; a year before his death, Egberht was called upon to defend his country from the Danes. This people, issuing from the Scandinavian kingdoms in the North of Europe, had begun to land in England, to harry the country, and to carry off their spoil. At first as robbers, then as settlers, and finally as conquerors, for two centuries they occupy English history. Their first appearance in this reign was at Charmouth in Dorsetshire. Subsequently, in junction with the British, they advanced westward from Cornwall. This led to the great battle of Hengestesdun, or Hengston, where the invaders were defeated (835). It seems not unnatural to trace the appearance of the Northern rovers in England to the state of the Continent. Driven from their own country by want of room, obliged to seek new settlements, they found themselves checked by the organized power of Charlemagne's empire. They were thus compelled to find their new home in countries they had not yet visited. The reign closed with the capture of Chester, the capital of Gwynedd, the British kingdom of North Wales.

Period of Danish
invasion.
790-1013.

The reign of Æthelwulf, the successor of Egberht, was chiefly occupied in constant war with the Danes. Various success attended his efforts. The great battle at Ockley (851), where they were heavily defeated, for a time kept them in check; but, on the whole, the invaders constantly gained ground, and at last, in 855, for the first time so far changed their predatory habits as to winter in the Isle of Thanet. Another characteristic of Æthelwulf's reign is the connection with Rome which he established. When his youngest son Alfred was still a child, he sent him to Rome, where the young prince was anointed; and two years afterwards he himself took the same journey, was received on the road by Charles the Bald, King of France, and spent a whole year in Italy. He there re-established the Saxon College, and by his engagement to supply funds for its support seems to have originated the well-known Peter's Pence. His connection with Charles the Bald was further cemented by his marriage with Judith, daughter of that king. After Æthelwulf's death she married her stepson Æthelbald, was divorced by him, returned to France, married Baldwin of Flanders, and was the ancestress of Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror. These connections show the rising importance of England, and the entrance of the country into the general politics of Europe. Something in Æthelwulf's government, perhaps his lengthened absence abroad, or the step he had taken in getting Alfred anointed, excited discontent. His eldest surviving son, Æthelbald, conspired with other nobles to exclude him from the country, and he was forced to consent to a compromise, accepting as his own kingdom, Kent and the Eastern dependencies of Wessex, while his son ruled over the rest of the kingdom.

On his death he bequeathed his own dominions to Æthelberht, his second son, while Wessex was, upon the death of Æthelbald, to pass in succession to his two sons, Æthelred and Alfred. In spite of this will, on the death of Æthelbald five years later, Æthelberht of Kent succeeded in making good his claims to Wessex also, and upon Æthelberht's death, after a reign of five years, marked only by renewed attacks of the Danes, both kingdoms passed without question to Æthelred.

It was during the reign of Æthelred that the Danes first established themselves permanently in the country. In 867 Ingvar and Hubba, said to be the sons of Ragnar Lodbrog, a great Scandinavian hero, invaded England. Legend says

Æthelwulf
836-857.

Æthelbald.
858-860.

Æthelberht.
860-866.

Æthelred.
866-871.

that this invasion was intended to exact vengeance for the death of their father, who had been cruelly put to death by Ella of Northumberland. There are chronological difficulties in the way of accepting this story, which are increased by the fact that the Danish landing was really in East Anglia. Thence, in 867, they advanced into Northumbria and took York. The anarchy in which Northumbria lay, caused by the rival claims of Osberht and Ella to the throne, rendered its conquest easy. In 868, they marched towards Mercia, and took Nottingham. Burhred, the King of Mercia, then implored the aid of Æthelred and his brother Alfred, who so far succeeded that they drove the Danes back to Northumbria. From thence, in 870, an invasion, under many leaders, whose connection is not very clear, was directed against East Anglia. They were there joined by Guthrum, another Danish leader, and their combined forces pressed victoriously onwards through Croyland, to Peterborough, Huntingdon, and Ely. After defeating the English at Thetford, they took Edmund, the Saxon King of East Anglia, prisoner, and, upon his refusal to accept the pagan religion, put him to death. For his constancy he was honoured with the title of Saint Edmund. East Anglia was thus completely in possession of the Danes, and Guthrum took to himself the title of king. East Anglia became henceforward for some time the principal point of Danish settlement in England. From thence the invaders passed into Wessex, under the command of Bagsecg and Halfdene. They were vigorously met by Æthelred. They pushed on, however, as far up the Thames as Reading, near which town a series of battles was fought,—at Englefield, where the Danes were beaten; at Reading, where the fortune of the day was changed; and subsequently at the great battle of Ashdown, where the victory of the English was regarded as being due to Alfred, who, being in command of half the army, attacked and defeated the enemy, while his brother was losing the precious moments in prayer for success. Though the victory of Ashdown was complete, it did not close the war. Almost immediately afterwards we hear of battles at Basing and at Merton, in which the Danes were again successful. These battles took place just before the death of Æthelred.

He was succeeded at once by his brother Alfred. Another victory of the Danes at Wilton compelled Alfred to make peace. For a time the Danes withdrew from Wessex, and employed their energy in subjugating Mercia. Burhred, who had married Alfred's sister, was driven from the throne, and retired to

Danish conquest
of East Anglia.
870.

Alfred.
871-901.

Rome to die. A Danish agent, named Ceolwulf, was put in his place, and the country laid under heavy contribution. But Ceolwulf in his turn was displaced, and the Danes took possession of much of the country themselves, conquering among other places the five great towns, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford, known as the five Danish Burghs, or, with the addition of York and Chester, the seven Burghs. They also carried their invasions northward, and Cumberland and part of Strathclyde were overrun and peopled by them, under the command of Halfdene. Nor was the treaty with the East Anglian Danes permanent. Guthrum sailed round the coast and captured Wareham and Exeter. To oppose them on their own element, Alfred introduced a new form of ship, of greater size and length than had hitherto been used, and succeeded in winning a great naval victory in Swanage Bay. But the Danish forces were gradually closing round him. London and Essex had been taken, and a colony of Danes had conquered South Wales. At length, attacked in all directions, his kingdom of Wessex was practically limited to the country of the Somersætas; and, unable to make head against his enemies, the King took refuge among the impassable morasses of the river Parret. It is during this time of his exile that the well-known story of the burnt cakes is told. But while apparently completely beaten, Alfred succeeded in gathering a new army, issued from his seclusion, and attacking the Danes at Edington (878), near Westbury, completely defeated them. The consequence of this battle was the Treaty of Wedmore. By this treaty the kingdom of East Anglia was surrendered to the Danes, and a line was drawn to separate their kingdom from that of Wessex. This line from the Thames ran along the Lea to Bedford, then along the Ouse till it struck Watling Street, and then followed Watling Street to the Welsh Border. The greater part of Mercia was thus restored to Wessex. In exchange, Anglia and Mercia beyond this line were ceded to the Danes, who were to hold them as vassals of the West Saxon king, and who were to become Christians. The limits of their occupation are still to be traced by the occurrence of the termination "by" in the names of the towns; it was in many instances appended to the name of the Danish holder of the manor. Guthrum, on his baptism, took the name of Æthelstan, and many difficulties in the chronology of the legends of the time may be solved by supposing that the Æthelstan mentioned in them is Guthrum, and not the Æthelstan who reigned in the year 925. This treaty, although it curtailed the supremacy of Wessex, made

Treaty of
Wedmore.

the kingdom in fact stronger, and secured a temporary rest for the whole of England. Mercia, that part of it at least which remained English, was governed by its Alderman Æthelred, and by the King's daughter Æthelflæd, known as the Lady of the Mercians. On the death of Guthred, the Danish King of Northumbria, Alfred re-established his power there, and the peace and prosperity of England were further increased by the fact that the energy of the Danes was for the present chiefly directed against France and Belgium. Guthrum died in 890, and though the treaty was confirmed by his successors, the defeat of the Danes in Belgium threw fresh invaders into the kingdom. In 893, Hasting, a well-known sea-rover, in alliance with the Anglians and Northumbrians, committed fresh ravages in all directions; but at last, having ventured up the Lea, Alfred hit upon the expedient of draining the river, and leaving their ships aground. After this they were glad to retreat, but lesser expeditions were constantly vexing the coast. The reign of Alfred is thus divided into two periods of Danish war, between which, and at the close of his life, there occurred intervals of peace.

It has been usual to attribute to Alfred most of the marked peculiarities of English civilization, the formation of shires, the establishment of juries, and so on. Such assertions will not bear examination. As a lawgiver, he collected the laws of the three principal states over which he ruled—Kent, Mercia, and Wessex—which had been already recorded by the Kings Æthelberht, Offa, and Ine. As a warrior he was on the whole victorious, and understood the necessity of establishing a fleet, which he appears to have constructed on a different principle from that of the Danes, the ships being longer, and serving less as mere stages on which to fight. As a governor he was impartial and strict; his police was severe, the system of mutual responsibility became universal, and under him the idea of morality began to mingle with the idea of injury to the commonwealth, which had been the Saxon notion of crime. His son Eadward, who succeeded him, was probably as great as his father, but he had not the love of literature which forms the marked characteristic of Alfred's public life. It has been questioned whether Alfred could himself read; however this may have been, he was so conscious of the necessity of literature for the people that he set himself to work to make translations for them. "The History of the World on Christian Principles," by Orosius, Bede's "History of the Anglo-Saxon Church," and Boethius' "Con-

Appreciation of
Alfred's char-
acter.

solation of Philosophy," were the works he translated. Besides his own literary work, he established conventual schools at Shaftesbury and Athelney, and possibly a more general one at Oxford. The love of the people, whom his indefatigable energy saved from their barbarous and pagan invaders, has attributed to their hero an original genius of which there are no distinct proofs. What is really known of him is, that he was an able, honest, persevering governor, gifted with that power and habit of method and organization which is perhaps more useful in advancing early civilization than greater and more splendid gifts. Upon Alfred's death, though England, as a whole, had suffered by the loss of the country granted to the Danes, or, as it was called, the Danelagu, Wessex had assumed a position of superiority, and was regarded as the representative state of the English. This position it fully vindicated during the reigns of Eadward, Alfred's son, who succeeded him, and of the four next kings, till the kingdom of Wessex grew to be the kingdom of England, and exerted an imperial supremacy over the whole island.

Eadward's first difficulty was with his cousin Æthelwulf, the son of Alfred's elder brother Æthelred. This prince claimed the throne. He landed in England, was driven to Northumbria, where he was chosen king, and then, in company with Eohric, the King of East Anglia, marched up the Thames to Cricklade. He was however defeated, and with his ally killed by a portion of the English army near the Ouse. The consequence was the renewal of the acknowledgment of the supremacy of Wessex by Guthrum II. of East Anglia. In conjunction with his sister, the Lady of the Mercians, Eadward attempted to secure himself from further molestation by the erection of numerous stone castles. These castles, which seem to have been built on a new and better plan than any before erected, became also in many instances the origin from which towns sprang; for laws were passed creating them into markets, and forbidding bargains to be made without the walls. Some sort of monopoly of trade was thus secured for fortified posts. On the death of Æthelfræd, Mercia, both Anglian and Danish, submitted to Eadward's authority. He continued the active government of his sister, and went on with her work of fortress-building. An invasion by the Danes of Northumbria in conjunction with the Welsh, who hoped to find Mercia unguarded, was signally defeated. The Welsh kings swore alliance to Eadward, and the Danes of Northumbria, and even the Kings of Scotland and Strathclyde, acknowledged him as their "father and lord." Eadward was thus

Eadward the
Elder.
901-925.

in fact master of the whole of England, and had completed more thoroughly the work of Egberht. The greatness of his position is clearly marked by the marriages of his children with the greatest Princes of the Continent. One married Charles the Simple of France, a second Hugh the Great, Count of Paris, a third Otto I., Emperor of Germany.

The greatness Eadward had thus secured descended to his son Æthelstan, with whom the grandeur of the Saxon monarchy reached its highest point. He married one of his sisters to a Northumbrian prince, Cytric, receiving his allegiance for Bernicia from the Tees to Edinburgh, and, on the death of Cytric, incorporated the country with his own dominions. Cytric's two sons fled, the one to Ireland, where the Danes received him willingly, the other (Guthrith) to Constantine, King of Scotland. The consequence of the escape of these princes became evident in after years. In 934, Constantine and his heir Eorca, Owen or Eugenius, King of Cumberland, made war upon England, but were defeated and compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Æthelstan. The attention of the English King was subsequently drawn abroad, where he upheld the cause of his nephew, Louis de Outre-Mer, son of Charles the Simple, against the attacks of his brothers-in-law, the German Otto and Hugh of Paris. It was while thus employed that the Scotch kingdoms again rose in insurrection. A great conspiracy against Æthelstan appears to have been formed, at the head of which were Anlaf, son of that Guthrith who had fled to Scotland, Constantine, Owen, and several princes of the Danes from Ireland. Their object was the re-establishment of the Danish power in Northumbria. The attempt was completely thwarted by the great battle of Brunanburh, near Beverley, in Yorkshire. Not long after this decisive victory Æthelstan died. His splendid reign is further marked by legislation of a more original description than that of his predecessors. He ordered, among other things, that every man should have a lord who should be answerable for him to justice, and rendered more systematic the arrangement of mutual responsibility, which appears to have been one of the principles of Saxon police.

His younger brothers, Eadmund and Eadred, followed in his footsteps, defeating the Northumbrian rebels, who from time to time elected kings of their own, but were completely conquered by Eadred. He so thoroughly incorporated the country with his own, that its ruler could no

Æthelstan.
925-940.

Battle of
Brunanburh.
937.

Eadmund.
940-946.
Eadred.
946-955.

longer claim the title of king. Both Bernicia and Deira were bestowed as an earldom on Osulf, who had assisted in the conquest of the rebels, and remained in the hands of his family till the Norman Conquest. Eadmund also maintained his supremacy over Scotland, with which country his relations were of a very friendly nature, as he granted a part of the kingdom of Strathclyde, consisting of Cumberland and Galloway, to King Malcolm, to be held by military service.

The policy of Eadred and of his successors seems so closely connected with the rise of Dunstan, that it may be justly attributed to him. The monkish historians, to whom we owe our knowledge of this great man, have overlaid his history with mythical stories, and have given him a character and policy to suit their own purposes. In their eagerness to secure the name of the greatest statesman of the age in support of their pretensions against the secular clergy, they have drawn him as a youth of miraculous gifts, of severe monkish asceticism, whose claim to greatness consisted in the establishment of the Benedictine rule. In the same way they have painted his opponent King Edwy [Eadwig] in the blackest colours. The common story tells us that, after a childhood passed in learning, so deep as to excite a suspicion of magic, illness drove Dunstan to the cloister at Glastonbury; that he there established the Benedictine rule, entering with such vehemence into its spirit that his asceticism almost turned his brain. On the accession of Edwy, the young king, it is said, deserted the assembly of the nobles, to pass his time in the company of the beautiful Ælfgifu [Elgiva], his mistress. Dunstan is represented as violently dragging the unworthy king back to his proper place, as securing the banishment of Ælfgifu, and with his partisans cruelly putting her to death upon her return. Edwy is then described as raging fiercely against all the monks in his kingdom. In truth, it is in politics rather than in ecclesiastical discipline that Dunstan's greatness must be sought, and he must take his place in history rather as a conciliatory and patriotic governor than as an ascetic and violent churchman.

Born at the beginning of King Æthelstan's reign, and trained partly at Glastonbury, where he found and studied books left by wandering Irish scholars, and partly at the King's Court like other young nobles of the time, an illness induced him to devote himself to the Church. His interest secured him the Abbey of Glastonbury at the early age of seventeen. He shortly returned to the Court, became the King's treasurer, and as an influential minister joined him-

self to the party which he found pre-eminent during the reign of Eadred. That king was a constant invalid, the influence of the Queen Mother was paramount, and she was supported by the chiefs of East Anglia and those whose views were national rather than provincial. The kingdom of Northumbria was in a state of ceaseless confusion. Again and again the Danes and Ostmen raised insurrections there. Wulstan, the Archbishop of York, with constantly shifting policy, at one time supported the insurgents, at another persuaded the Northern Witan to submit to Eadred. At length, in a final insurrection, he was overcome and imprisoned. The affairs in Northumbria had to be settled. It is here that the national policy of the dominant party made itself felt. Contrary to the views of the Wessex nobles, who would have wished for active interference of the government, the kingdom was reduced to the condition of an earldom under Osulf. But English supremacy being thus established, Wulstan was released, and self-government both in Church and State permitted. This conciliatory policy was interrupted by the death of Eadred.

The new King Edwy, nephew of Eadred, was a mere child, and a palace intrigue, headed by Æthelgyfu and her daughter Ælfgifu, who had obtained influence over the lad, drove the Queen Mother Eadgyfu from the Court, and established the power of the Wessex party. Unpopular among the Wessex nobles and in his own monastery, Dunstan was driven abroad, and took refuge in Ghent. But his party was still strong in England. Indignant probably at a violent resumption of grants from the Folkland, the nobles of England, with the exception of Wessex, set up Edwy's younger brother Eadgar as a rival king, and were sufficiently powerful to oblige Edwy to divide the kingdom and content himself with the territories of Wessex south of the Thames. Dunstan was recalled by his partisans. He received from King Eadgar the sees of Rochester and of London; and when, on the death of Edwy, Eadgar succeeded to the undivided sovereignty of the kingdom, Dunstan rose with him, and became his chief minister and Archbishop of Canterbury.

As minister, Dunstan had both Church and State to reform. In both, decay had made great progress. The increased importance of the English King had raised him to a position very different from that of the tribal monarch. Along with the King had risen his dependants, the old members of the Comitatus. His Thegns or servants, rendered rich by grants of the public land, had gradually succeeded the old nobility by birth, of the German

Rise of Dunstan.

Edwy.
955-957.

Eadgar.
957-975.

Dunstan's
government.

racés. The troubled situation of the country had driven the freeholders more and more to seek safety by placing themselves and their land in a state of dependence on the Thengs. Even as early as Alfred every man was obliged to have a lord. At the same time the spirit of provincialism was strong, each district which had been a separate kingdom wishing to maintain its own independence. Dunstan seems to have understood that a change in the character of the monarchy was inevitable, and that national unity could only be secured by upholding that change, placing the monarch in what may be regarded as an imperial position over the subject kingdoms, and allowing the separate districts as much self-government as possible. Within the kingdom of Wessex itself, and perhaps of Mercia also, he established a strict police, and suppressed disorder with a strong hand. Beyond that, the largest freedom was permitted. Thus, the subordination of Northumbria was further secured by its division into three parts. The district between the Tees and the Humber was intrusted to Oslac. From the Tees to the Tweed remained in the hands of Osulf, while the Lothians between the Tweed and the Forth were given out on military service to the King of Scotland; and in subsequent history it was this district, peopled with English and Danes, which formed the civilized centre of the Scottish kingdom. But, when the supremacy of Wessex was thus secured, the Danes of the North were allowed to keep their own customs and make their own laws. Similarly, friendship with the Northmen of Ireland was maintained, and through their friendship the King was enabled to keep up a powerful fleet, which constantly sailed round the coasts, and kept them free from foreign invasion. The tradition that Eadgar was rowed upon the Dee to Chester by eight tributary kings, whether the fact be true or not, points to the imperial position which Dunstan had secured for him. In the Church the same policy was pursued. The great disturbances of the kingdom had thrown much power into the hands of the Church, the most permanent element of society. This increase of influence had been followed by an increase of secularity. The bishops became statesmen, and even commanders of armies. The older form of monasticism died out. Marriage of priests was constant. Livings began to be handed on from father to son. There was some chance of the establishment of an hereditary priestly caste. In Ghent, Dunstan had become acquainted with the Benedictine rule lately established there. He saw its efficiency for securing discipline among the clergy. Like other strong rulers, he regarded anarchy with aversion.

Division of
Northumbria.

and was therefore anxious to introduce the rule into England. He intrusted the work to his friend Æthelwold, whom he made Bishop of Winchester, and to Oswald, whom he raised to the See of Worcester. In Wessex and Mercia he carried out his reform with vigour, even with violence: but, as in his secular government, he kept himself under the restraints of prudence. Thus, when Oswald was appointed Archbishop of York, he made no efforts to restrain the marriage of the clergy, and in Dunstan's own see he yielded to the prejudices of the people, and allowed the abbeys to continue in the hands of secular clerks. The title of Eadgar the Peaceful, and a reign of seventeen years unbroken by any great foreign war, attest the success of Dunstan's policy.

But with Eadgar's death, and the accession of his son Eadward, this prosperous state of things ended. For a time Dunstan held his own, but not without strong opposition. Again and again he had to plead his cause before the Witan.

Eadward the
Martyr.
975-979.

And at one synod, at Calne, it was intended to bring the matter to a crisis. Beornhelm, a Bishop of the Scottish Church, was brought forward as a champion by his enemies. His eloquence was carrying the assembly with him, and Dunstan could only appeal to heaven for assistance. Nor was that assistance denied; by accident or design, the floor of the upper chamber where the meeting was held gave way in that part where Beornhelm and his friends were seated, and they were hurried to swift destruction, while Dunstan's triumphant party remained uninjured on the floor above. But even miraculous interferences did not suppress the enemies of the Prelate. A conspiracy, in which Ælfthryth [Elfrida], the mother of Æthelred, seems to have been chiefly engaged, was formed; and Eadward, returning from the chase, was killed at her castle at Corfe.

Fall of Dun-
stan.

Eadward the Martyr, as his monkish chroniclers call him, being thus disposed of, his brother, Æthelred the Unready, ascended the throne. Dunstan, compelled to assist at the coronation, did so only to denounce curses on the new king. He had to withdraw from Court. His policy was at an end. Mercia and the North fell away from Wessex. The King's own character, at once weak and cruel, was not such as to inspire confidence; and we accordingly enter upon a period of almost inexplicable treasons, weakness, and disorder. The Danes reappear on the coast, and what has been spoken of as the third period of Danish invasion begins. The fleets were no longer

Æthelred the
Unready.
979-1016.

Third Period of
Danish invasion.

merely piratical expeditions, but were commanded by kings of whole countries, and towards the end of the period the object was no longer plunder, or even settlement, but national conquest. The change was closely connected with the gradual consolidation of the three Northern kingdoms of Europe—Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, in each of which, as in England, one sovereign had now become paramount. The chief personage in these invasions is Swegen or Swend, son of the King of Denmark. In the year 982 he made his appearance on the English coasts, and Southampton, Chester, and London were either taken or destroyed. The kingdom was in no condition to offer a firm resistance. Internal dissensions had already begun. The King was at enmity with the whole of Dunstan's party. We hear of a fierce quarrel with the Bishop of Rochester. The allegiance of Mercia and Northumbria was more than doubtful. East Anglia, where resistance to a kindred people might have been least expected, alone succeeded in checking the Danes. There,

Battle of
Maldon.
991.

under Brihtnoth, the great battle of Maldon was fought, which forms the subject of one of the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon poems. Such single instances of resistance were of no real avail. Sigeric of Canterbury, who had succeeded to Dunstan's position and policy, and was therefore by no means unfriendly to the Danes as the opponents of Wessex, induced the King to entertain a fatal plan of buying off the invaders. With the consent of his Witan, he raised £10,000, with which he bribed the

The first
Danegelt.
994.

Danish hosts. This was the origin of the tax known as Danegelt, which became permanent, and lasted till the reign of Henry II. The effect of such a bribe was naturally only to excite the Northern robbers to further efforts. Accordingly, in 994, Swegen and Olaf of Norway made their appearance, and England was assaulted by the national fleets of Denmark and Norway. Divided by faction, undermined by treason, and without a leader, the English knew no expedient but the repetition of bribes. Olaf, as a Christian, was indeed induced to return to his own country, but Swegen's invasions were continuous. Supported by the disloyal chiefs of the North, he ravaged in turn Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent. And when, in the year 1000, a temporary lull occurred, Æthelred, with a madness which seems almost inconceivable, insisted on quarrelling, first with the King of Cumberland, who is said to have refused the disgraceful tribute demanded of him, though willing to serve with his forces against the Danes, and afterwards with the Normans in France. An expedition undertaken

against this people with ridiculous ostentation was easily defeated. A peace was made, and hostility changed into alliance, cemented by the marriage of the King with Emma, a Norman Princess. In her train came certain followers, who obtained high office and military commands, and added a fresh element of weakness to already weakened England. But though contemptible in the field, with the craft and cruelty of a weak mind Æthelred planned the massacre of all the Danes in Wessex. Many of these were settled quietly in different parts of the country, or billeted and living on friendly terms with their landlords. On the 13th of November 1002, on the festival of St. Brice, the cruel plan was carried out. Among other victims was a sister of Swegen's who had become a Christian; she was put to death with circumstances of unusual barbarity, it is said, at the instigation of Eadric Streona, or the Gainer. This man henceforward plays a prominent part in the history. Though of low birth, he had contrived to make himself the favourite of the King, whose daughter he subsequently married. Selfish, unscrupulous, and treacherous, his influence as the King's adviser was most pernicious; while, if it suited his own ends, he never hesitated to betray his master. So completely is he identified with the disasters of England, that there is scarcely any criminal act of the reign that is not traced to him. But his repeated treasons do not seem to have destroyed the trust which Æthelred and his nobler son Edmund placed in him. After the massacre of St. Brice the Danes naturally sought revenge. Exeter was taken by the treachery of Hugh the Frenchman, one of Emma's followers. Wiltshire and Salisbury were deserted by the traitor Ælfrie. Again East Anglia, under Ulfcytel the Ealdorman, made the only show of resistance; but here too, treason, not of the commander but of the soldiers, themselves of Danish origin, proved fatal. Famine and civil quarrels added to the misery of the English. Again Eadric is visible, ruining rival thegns, and advising still further use of bribes. In 1006, he had succeeded in getting made Ealdorman of the Mercians. His family rose with him, and in 1008, when at last a great national fleet was collected, the quarrels of his brother Brihtic and his nephew Wulfnoth destroyed its utility.

In the same year, a fresh host, one division of which was commanded by Thurkill or Thurecytel, one of the most formidable of the Danish pirates, made its appearance. In 1010, the English were again defeated at the battle of

Æthelred's marriage with Emma.

Massacre of St. Brice. 1002.

Pernicious influence of Eadric Streona.

Thurkill's invasions.

Ipswich, and the country was in a condition of absolute collapse. Mercia and Wessex itself were overrun. The cause of Æthelred looked so hopeless, that Eadric the Gainer thought it time to change sides, and after the capture of Canterbury and the death of the Archbishop St. Alphege, the Witan was collected under Eadric, without the participation of the King, and a further large tribute paid, while by some arrangement, probably the cession of East Anglia, Thurkill was drawn to the English side. This step of

Thurkill seems to have opened Swegen's eyes at once to the inutility of single invasions, and to the possibility of himself effecting some similar arrangement. He felt confident of the support of Northumbria and Mercia against Wessex. He therefore moved his fleet to the Humber, and advanced to York. He had not miscalculated. The whole of the Danelagu joined him, and with this assistance, leaving his son Cnut behind him in command of the fleet in the Humber, he advanced into Wessex. His success was constant. Oxford was taken, and the royal town of Winchester. At Bath the Danish conqueror received the submission of the Thegns of the West. London, which we find constantly rising in importance, alone held out, nor was it till Æthelred deserted the city that it surrendered. But then, there being no longer any opposition, Swegen was, in fact, King of England. Æthelred sought and obtained an asylum in Normandy, till recalled by Swegen's death the following year.

Swegen's
invasion.

England submits
to Swegen.
1013.

The Danes acknowledged Cnut as King, but the bulk of the English wished to retain the House of Cerdic, if Æthelred would pledge himself to rule better. This he promised to do, and his cause for a time was successful. Cnut had to retreat to his ships. Nevertheless, we hear of another large tribute, but it was paid probably to a fleet of Danish auxiliaries serving upon the English side. Eadric had of course again joined the victorious party; but again his persistent treachery was the destruction of the country. He enticed Sigeferth and Morkere, Thegns of the Five Danish Burghs, to Oxford, and there murdered them. Sigeferth's widow was kept a prisoner, and taken in marriage by Edmund Ironside, Æthelred's son. This prince thus acquired possession of the Five Burghs, and secured an influence which enabled him to take up a position in opposition to Eadric. On the renewal of the invasion by Cnut both Eadric and Edmund collected their forces; but, angry at the new rivalry he was experiencing, Eadric led his troops to join Cnut.

Restoration of
Æthelred.
1014.

Wessex was thus thrown open, and by a strange inversion of affairs, Edmund, with Utrede of Northumberland, occupied the northern part of England, while the Danes, under Cnut and Eadric, held Wessex and the South. In 1016, Æthelred died.

The Witan of the South immediately, under the influence of the conquerors, elected Cnut as his successor, but London and the rest of the Witan chose Edmund. It was plain that Wessex could acknowledge Cnut only through fear, and thither Edmund betook himself, and collected troops. As if to prove what the English could do if well commanded, in a few weeks he fought, on the whole successfully, five great battles. At Pen Selwood in Somerset; at Sherstone, where the English were only prevented from winning by a trick of Eadric's, who, raising the head of another man, declared it was the head of the slain English king; at Brentford; and afterwards, when Eadric had again changed sides, at Otford in Kent; and Assandun in Essex. In this last battle the whole forces of England were arrayed. The sudden withdrawal of Eadric, who was commanding the Magesætas, or men of Hereford, secured a victory for the Danes, and Edmund had to retreat across England into the country of the Hwiccas, or Gloucestershire. Not yet wholly beaten, he was preparing for a sixth battle, when he was persuaded to make an arrangement similar, though not identical, with that which Alfred had made with Guthrum. He surrendered to Cnut Northumberland and Mercia, retaining for himself Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, and London. On St. Andrew's Day of the same year, Edmund Ironside died, a misfortune, like most other acts of villany of the time, attributed to Eadric. With him fell the hope of the English. The treachery of Eadric, the folly of Æthelred, met with their reward, and Cnut was acknowledged King of England.

Edmund Iron-
side. April to
Nov. 1016.

Five great
battles.

Division of
England.

Indeed, Edmund's sons were so young that it was not probable that the Witan would elect them. The only other claimant was Edwy, Edmund's brother. To secure himself against him, Cnut is said to have employed Eadric to put him to death; and though he escaped on that occasion, he was certainly outlawed, and all the old members of the royal family were kept abroad. The children of Æthelred and Emma, Edward and Alfred, were in Normandy with their mother. The children of Edmund Ironside, Edward and Edmund, were sent first to Sweden, and then to Hungary, where Edward married Agatha, niece of the Emperor Henry II. Cnut's object, on finding himself King of Eng-

Cnut. 1017.

land, appears to have been to obliterate, as far as possible, the idea of conquest, to rule England as an English king, and making that country the centre of his government, to form a great Scandinavian Empire. To this end, pursuing the policy of Dunstan, he divided

*The four
Earldoms.*

England into four great earldoms, representing the old kingdoms. Northumberland and East Anglia were intrusted to Danes; Mercia was given to Eadric; Wessex he kept in his own hands. Eadric's influence had compelled Cnut thus to promote him, but he so mistrusted him, that within a year he caused him to be put to death. In the same year he sent for Queen Emma from Normandy, and married her, though she must have been much

*Cnut's patriotic
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older than himself, with the object apparently either of connecting himself with the late dynasty, or of securing the friendship of the Normans. The next year the Danish fleet was sent home. Englishmen were again put in high office. Thus Leofric was made Earl of the Mercians, and Godwine, of whom we now first hear, and whose origin and rise is variously related, was made Earl of Wessex, presumably the second man in the country. Thus, too, Cnut flattered the feelings of the English by moving the body of St. Alphege, who had been killed by the Danes twelve years before, with all honour to his own Church at Canterbury; and thus, too, he did not scruple to fill the English bishoprics with Englishmen, and even to promote them to high office in Denmark. During his reign England was at peace within its own borders, while Scotland was brought to submission. In 1031, Malcolm, King of the Scotch, and two under-kings, did homage to the English King. A strong, well-ordered government was established, supported for the first time by a standing body of troops, known as the House-carls. Early in the reign Eadgar's law had been renewed with the advice of the Witan, and, in 1028, Cnut promulgated a code of his own, which is little else than repetition of former laws and customs. But the proof of his good government is this, that just as the law of the great Eadgar was looked on as typical, and demanded by Cnut's Witan, and as after the Conquest the Confessor's law was demanded, so we find the people of the North demanding Cnut's law,—in each case law meaning system of government. His importance as a king is marked by the respect shown him on his pilgrimage to Rome in the year 1027. There, as he tells his people in a letter which he sent them, he negotiated with the Pope, the Emperor, and King Rudolph of Burgundy, for the free passage of English pilgrims and merchants; he received large gifts from the Emperor, and made the Pope promise

to lessen his extortions upon granting the Pallium or Archiepiscopal cloak. His daughter by Queen Emma, Gunhild, was, moreover, thought a fitting wife for Henry, afterwards the Emperor Henry III. Cnut died still young in 1035.

With him fell his plans, both of the Scandinavian Empire and of good government in England. His sons, Harold and Harthacnut, in no way inherited his greatness; they appear to have been little better than savage barbarians. The succession was disputed between them. Godwine and the West Saxons obtained the South of England for Harthacnut, while Harold reigned in the North. But as Harthacnut did not come to England, but remained in his kingdom of Denmark, Godwine was the practical ruler. This great Earl, whose sympathies

*Disputed
succession.*

*Importance of
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were wholly national, was accused of putting to death Alfred, the son of Æthelred and Emma, who seems to have taken advantage of the absence of Harthacnut to aim at re-establishing himself in Wessex. But as the actual murderers were the men of Harold whom Godwine had opposed, it would seem that the charge was a false one. The continued absence of Harthacnut enabled Harold to secure the whole of the kingdom, over which he reigned for two years. On his death, in 1040, Harthacnut stepped unopposed into his position. His short

*Harold.
1037.
Harthacnut.
1040.*

reign was marked by no great events. Godwine, having cleared himself by oath and by compurgation (in which a large number of Earls and Thegns joined) of the charge of murdering Alfred, remained in power. A tyrannical use of the King's House-carls in collecting a tax produced an outbreak in Worcester, which was punished with brutal severity. And when the King fell dead, while drinking at a bridal feast, the English were glad to be rid of a line of such barbarous sovereigns, and to restore the House of Cerdic in the person of the late king's half-brother Edward, who, in the absence of direct descendants of the Danish house, entered almost unopposed on the kingdom.

It was the eloquence of Godwine which overcame the slight opposition offered to Edward's election, and secured him the throne. This nobleman thus reached the summit of his power, and two years afterwards his daughter Edith became the King's wife. Edward's education and training had rendered his tastes and policy as decidedly French as those of Godwine were national. Thence arose, and continued throughout the reign, a constant enmity between the two parties—the Frenchmen, whom Edward brought

*Edward the
Confessor.
1042.*

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Confessor.
1042.*

over in great numbers and employed particularly as bishops, and the national party, headed by Godwine and his sons. It is the progress of this quarrel which forms the history of the reign, side by side with the efforts of Godwine to push his family prominently forward in opposition to the family of Leofric, Earl of Mercia. On the one hand, the King lavished favours upon his foreign followers. A Frenchman, Robert of Jumièges, became Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Ulf, another Norman, became Bishop of Dorchester in Oxfordshire; Ralph, the son of Edward's sister and the Count of Mantes, was made an Earl; and Eustace of Boulogne, her second husband, was loaded with honours. On the other hand, Godwine succeeded in securing for members of his own family the earldoms of Somersetshire and Herefordshire, and of the East and Middle Angles. The crisis of the rivalry at length arrived. It arose from an outrage committed by the followers of Eustace on the citizens of Dover. The townsmen rose against the insolent Normans and drove them from the city; and when Godwine, as Earl, was called upon to punish the citizens, he positively refused unless they were fairly tried before the Witan. Both sides took up arms,—Godwine and his sons on one side; the King, with Siward of Northumberland, Leofric of Mercia, and his own French partisans on the other. The armies faced each other in Gloucestershire; but Godwine, unwilling to press matters to extremity, accepted the proposal of Leofric that the question should be referred to the Witan. When the Witan assembled, the King was there with a great army. Overawed by this force, the Witan, recurring to the old charge against Godwine and to a late act of violence on the part of his son Swend, ordered Godwine and his sons to appear before them as criminals. This they refused to do unless hostages were given, and as this demand was refused, they would not appear, and

Godwine
banished.
1051.

were outlawed. Godwine and three sons retired to Baldwin of Bruges, Leofwine and Harold to Ireland. The French party were triumphant. Robert, as we have seen, was made Archbishop, William, another Frenchman, succeeded him as Bishop of London, and Odda, probably an Englishman in the French interest, was given the western part of Godwine's earldom. Harold's earldom was given to Ælfgar, son of Leofric. At the same time, to complete the French influence, William of Normandy came over to England, and, as he always declared, received a promise of the succession from his cousin Edward.

The administration of foreigners was so unpopular and so unsuc-

cessful, that Godwine and his family thought that an opportunity had arisen for their return. Unable to procure their restoration by peaceful means, they determined upon using force; and after various expeditions, but feebly opposed by the English, who at heart wished them well, Godwine found himself strong enough to sail up the Thames; and so preponderating was the feeling of the country in his favour, that, as the King refused justice, it was agreed that the matter should be referred to the Witan. What their decision would be was not doubtful, so the French prelates and earls and knights, who had been building feudal castles, at once fled, and Godwine and his sons came back in triumph. Stigand, a priest, who had been originally appointed by Cnut to an abbey raised at Assandun in memory of the Danish victory over Edmund Ironside, and who had acted as principal mediator, was elected to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, left vacant by the flight of Robert. The next year Earl Godwine died suddenly, while at dinner with the King.¹ His death restored the balance between the two great families. While Harold succeeded to the earldom of the West Saxons, and the vacant earldom of Northumbria was given to his brother Tostig, East Anglia was restored to Leofric's son Ælfgar. Earl Siward of Northumbria had died in 1055.²

Return and
death of
Godwine.
1052.

The succeeding years are marked by the gradual increase of the power of Harold and his family. In 1055 Earl Ælfgar was outlawed, and his earldom given to Gurth, Harold's brother. The exiled Earl, making common cause with Griffith [Gryffydd] of Wales, defeated Ralph, the French Earl of Herefordshire. To repair this disaster the war was intrusted to Harold; he prosecuted it with success, and Herefordshire, which he had thus rescued, was added to his earldom. The death of Leofric still further increased the power of the House of Godwine, although Ælfgar, the late Earl, was allowed to succeed him; and finally, Essex and Kent were formed into an earldom for Leofwine, the remaining brother of Harold. Godwine's sons now possessed all England, with the exception of Mercia. The last probable heir to the throne—the Ætheling Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside—had been brought over from Hungary, but had died almost immediately after reaching England.

¹ French Chroniclers have made this sudden death a judgment of God. Godwine is described as wishing that the piece of bread he ate might choke him if he were guilty of the death of Alfred, whereupon the bread stuck in his throat.

² This is the Siward who occurs in the *Macbeth* of Shakspeare. Though the events connected with his invasion of Scotland are very obscure, the poet seems on the whole to have changed the real history but slightly.

And when, in 1063, Harold, by employing his men as light troops, succeeded in the final subjugation of Wales, his greatness was such that he must almost certainly have been regarded as the next king.

Death of
Edward.
1066.

Three years afterwards, in January 1066, King Edward, the last male descendant of Cerdic who reigned in England, died. His last year had been troubled by a great insurrection of the Northern counties against the rule of Tostig. The house of Leofric had had a stronghold in the North, and Tostig's injudicious vigour in attempting to reduce the barbarous population to order had excited great discontent. His energy seems more than once to have led him into murder. The Northumbrians therefore deposed him, and elected Morcar [Morkere], the grandson of Leofric, in his place. His brother, Edwin of Mercia, who had succeeded his father Ælfgar, made common cause with him; and Harold, whose policy was always conciliatory, found it necessary to persuade the King to confirm Edwin and Morkere in their possessions. Tostig retired as an exile to Bruges. While England was thus troubled, the King died—a good man, devoted to the Church and the monks, and therefore afterwards canonized, but as a king unfitted by his pliant character, and more especially by his love of foreign favourites, to rule over England at such a difficult crisis.

The Witan at once assembled, and used its power of election. This power was usually exercised within the limits of the royal family; but on this occasion, as there was no claimant of the royal house but Edmund Ironside's grandson, the child Eadgar, the Witan looked beyond their usual limit, and elected almost unanimously the great Earl Harold. Though thus King of England by the most perfect title, he found himself opposed by two enemies. On the one hand was his brother Tostig, the exiled Earl of Northumberland, who had been a favourite of the late king, and had perhaps himself hoped to be elected; and upon the other

Harold elected
king.
1066.

Claims of
William of
Normandy.

Duke William, who, out of a variety of small and insufficient pretexts, had constructed a very formidable claim to the crown of England. He asserted that the Confessor had promised him the kingdom, that he was the nearest of kin, and that Harold had himself sworn to him to be his man, to marry his daughter, and to own him allegiance. The circumstances under which this last event had taken place are not very certain; but it seems to be true that Harold, on some occasion, had been shipwrecked on the coast of France and taken prisoner, and held to ransom, according to the barbarous custom of that day, by

Guy, Count of Ponthieu, lord of the country. The intervention of William as superior lord rescued him from his disgraceful position. He spent some time in friendly intercourse at William's court, and there probably, as was not unusual, made himself the Duke's man, and did homage. Such an act could be only personal, and could have nothing to do with the kingdom of England, and even as a personal tie was not very binding. It was his knowledge of this which induced William to play the well-known trick upon Harold. When the Earl had taken what he believed to be only a common oath of homage, the cover of the table on which his hands had been placed was withdrawn, and he found he had been swearing upon most sacred relics. With regard to the other claims, it may be said that Edward the Confessor, in accordance with the constitution of England, could not promise the crown to any one, and, moreover, had nominated Harold on his deathbed; while, although William was the cousin of the late king, it was only through Edward's Norman mother, Emma, that he was so. But when put forward artfully, and mingled with coloured accounts of the injuries suffered by the French in England at the return of Godwine, these claims seemed very plausible to the French, especially when backed by the influence of the Papal See wielded by Archdeacon Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII. The Papal support was won partly by representing Harold as a perjured man, partly because the Normans in Italy were regarded as the great champions of the Papal See, but chiefly because Godwine and Harold had throughout sided rather with the party of the secular clergy in England than with that of the monks,¹ and had been national in their views with regard to the Church as well as in other matters. The Pope, Alexander II., was led by Hildebrand to see the opportunity offered, and expressed his approbation of the expedition by sending a consecrated ring and banner.

William, immediately after the death of the Confessor, sent to demand the crown, which was of course refused. He then proceeded to collect troops, not only his own Norman feudatories, but also large bodies of adventurers from other parts of France. Aware of the intended invasion, Harold collected his forces, and occupied the Southern coast. But William was so long in coming, that Harold's militia army, anxious to return to their agricultural works, and straitened for food, could not be kept

William's pre-
parations.

¹ As an illustration of this, Harold's great Foundation of the Holy Rood at Waltham was occupied by secular canons, and had a school attached, while Stigand, one of his firmest supporters, was the uncanonical Archbishop of Canterbury.

together. He was left with his immediate followers, his House-carls and Thegns. Just then, when his great host had disappeared, news was brought to him that Tostig had invaded the North of England. Foiled in a weak attempt upon the South near Sandwich, and refused aid by William of Normandy, Tostig had fallen in with the fleet of Harold Hardrada, King of Norway. This king was a great warrior, who had served in the armies of the Byzantine Empire, and fought in Africa and Sicily. He was easily persuaded to join Tostig, and reinforced by the Earls of Orkney, they together sailed up the Ouse, and reached Fulford on the way to York. Edwin and Morkere, the sons of Ælfgar, whose sister Harold had lately married, honestly opposed them, but after a severe battle they were beaten. Arrangements by which the North was to join Harold Hardrada were being made at Stamford Bridge upon the Derwent, when Harold, who had hastened with extreme rapidity from the South, fell upon the invaders. They were taken by surprise, and some, but slightly armed, were overcome; but the bridge over the Derwent was held with determination, and a fierce battle was fought on the other side. The English were entirely triumphant, both Tostig and Harold Hardrada being slain. The Norwegian fleet was forced to withdraw. This was on the 25th of September.

On the 28th King William landed at Pevensey. Harold was still at York when the news reached him. He hastily gathered what troops he could round the nucleus of his own immediate followers who had been with him at Stamford Bridge. All the South of England joined him gladly, both from Wessex and East Anglia. But Edwin and Morkere, in their jealousy of the rival house, forgot their patriotism and Harold's good deeds to themselves, and deserted him. With such an army as he had, Harold took up his position upon the hill of Senlac, where Battle Abbey now stands. This hill runs out from the North Sussex hills southward

like a peninsula. There Harold erected palisades, and arranged his men with a view to defensive action only. This step was rendered necessary by the difference of the armies; the English fought all on foot, a large proportion were irregularly armed militia, and the hand javelin—not the bow and arrow—was their national missile. The Normans, on the other hand, fought as chivalry on horseback, and had many archers. Once in the plain Harold's army might have been crushed by the charge of the mailed cavalry. But repeated charges uphill against an entrenched foe, stubborn and heavily armed, could not but wear out

Landing of
William.

Battle of
Hastings.
Oct. 14.

the mounted knight. Our descriptions are all from Norman sources, and the contrast between the religious Norman and the jovial Englishman is fully brought out. On the one side, the night is said to have been passed in prayer, and on the other in revelry. There were certainly, however, priests and monks upon the side of the English, and probably this story is a monkish exaggeration. Harold drew up his forces with his own picked troops upon the front of the hill, between the dragon banner of Wessex and his own banner adorned with a fighting man. The backward curves of the hill were occupied by his worse armed troops. He himself, with his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine, took their place beside the standard. The French advanced in three divisions,—the Bretons, under Alan, on the left; the Normans, under their Duke and his two brothers, Robert and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, in the centre; the adventurers, under Roger of Montgomery, on the right. They galloped forward, preceded by Taillefer, a minstrel, tossing his sword aloft and singing songs of Charlemagne. But their efforts were vain. The heavy axe of the English hewed down man and horse if any reached the barricade, and the French had to draw back. The Bretons began the flight, and the Normans soon followed, but the English militia were not steady enough to withstand the excitement of victory. The veteran centre stood firm, but the troops opposed to the Bretons broke from their position in pursuit. William saw his advantage, rallied his troops, drove back the pursuers, and made a second vehement assault upon the barricade. The Earls Gyrth and Leofwine were killed, the barricade in part removed, but still Harold held his ground, and William had to have recourse to stratagem before he could secure a victory. His present comparative success had been caused by the accidental over-eagerness of the English. He determined to try whether he could not again induce them to break their line. The Normans turned in apparent flight, the English, heated by the long fight, rushed forward in pursuit. The Norman cavalry turned round and rode down their pursuers, and, driving them before them, again charged up the hill; while the archers, whose skill had been somewhat foiled by the shields of the English, were ordered to drop a flight of arrows upon the heads of Harold and his men. The plan was fatally successful; the battle was still stubbornly contested, though no longer in serried ranks, when Harold fell, pierced in the eye by an arrow. With him disappeared all hope of English success. His body was found, and buried under a cairn by the sea, till afterwards removed to his minster of Waltham.

Death of
Harold.

STATE OF SOCIETY

449-1066

THE chief interest in the Conquest is the change that it is always said to have exercised in the character of the institutions of England. It used to be asserted that the feudal system was introduced, and completed as a wholly new system to the English, after the Conquest; and Hume speaks of the division of the kingdom into so many knights' fiefs, into so many baronies, as if there were complete reorganization of the whole constitution. Modern inquiry tends to confirm what would naturally have been supposed, that the whole of the elements of the feudal system existed in England as in other Teutonic countries before the arrival of the Normans. The form which the civilization of the Scandinavian and Teutonic nations took seems to have been that of a collection of village communities, such as may be seen at work at present in India. The district occupied by such community was called the Mark, and was divided into three parts, in each of which every free member of the community had his share, but which were cultivated in strict accordance with the customary system of agriculture which no one might break. There was first the village, then the arable mark (cultivated land), then the common pasture, and beyond that the waste. Every freeman had a share in the arable and in the common pasture, but he was bound to sow the same crops as his neighbours, and to follow the same arrangement, which appears to have been simple and barbarous. The common fields, or mixed lands as they are called, were divided into three strips by broad grassy mounds; one was sown with autumn crops, one with spring crops, and the third left fallow. In the same way, though under somewhat varying rules, the grass mark was partitioned. Frequently all enclosures were removed at the close of the hay harvest, and the cattle grazed in common, as they were allowed to do also in the stubble of the arable mark. Lands were probably redistributed at certain intervals of time, and the power of devising hereditary property by will was strictly restrained.

The Mark system.

Traces of common fields cultivated on the threefold system, and of customary cultivation, are still to be found in England, and were plentiful in the last century.

But though this system would appear to have been common in nations of Germanic origin, it can be gathered from the Germania of Tacitus that other political institutions existed in Germany. Thus, the subdivisions of the Tribe were called *Pagi*, which seem to answer to the English Hundred. The *Pagus* was under the official chieftainship of an elective head called the *Princeps*, answering to the Saxon Ealdorman. This *Pagus*, which may perhaps have been originally a division of a hundred heads of families, supplied a hundred warriors to the host, a hundred assessors at the Judicial Court of the *Princeps*. Below this we come to the *Vicus* or township, which was probably organized upon the Mark system above described, or on some modification of it. The commanders in war, or *Duces*, were elected, probably from among the *Principes*, for each special occasion. It is, moreover, clear that private property had begun to exist. In pastoral life, where the common right of grazing would be the chief common privilege, there would be no difficulty in one man possessing more cattle than another. Neither would it be a great step to grant to such wealthier men, upon the redivision of the common arable mark, extra shares for the support of slaves or dependent freemen whom his wealth had attracted around him. There also existed a variety of ranks, which may be roughly divided into three classes,—the noble or *eorl*, who must have owed his nobility to birth; the freeman or *ceorl*, possessing his own homestead, his own share in the common land, and dependent on no man; and the *let* or dependent workman, cultivating his lord's land. Besides these, there were actual slaves or *theows*, consisting of men who had lost their liberty either as captives, or for debt, or for some other easily conceivable causes. It does not appear that nobility of birth gave any additional political rights, although personal consideration was awarded to the noble. It was the possession of free land which made a man a full member of the tribe. The *lets*, however, were probably dependent only as regarded their lord, in every other respect free. Thus, like other members of the community, their death had to be atoned for by the payment of a sum of money or *weregild*, although the sum was smaller than in the case of freemen. They probably formed a considerable part of the armed force of the nation. The class may have consisted originally of a conquered population of kindred blood, or of men who voluntarily put themselves into a state of dependency upon their richer neighbours.

German institutions.

Division of ranks.

for security, or because for some reason they had become landless. Side by side with this democratic constitution, there was a peculiar institution known as the *Comitatus*. Each Princeps was allowed to collect around him, under a tie of personal dependence,

The Comitatus.

a body of professed warriors, who were bound to him by the closest ties of honour; and the importance of each chief must have depended in a great degree upon this following. In case of conquest, it would naturally be the duty of the conquering chief to see to the welfare of his followers, and to give them grants, which might either be grants in perpetuity, or only the right of present possession, and which would be drawn from the conquered land remaining over after its distribution among the body of freemen. To cultivate these grants, the comrades of the king would have had to employ their own dependants, and these dependants would settle in villages, which took the form of village communities, except that the rights, which in the free communities would be vested in the whole body of the freemen, were in this case vested in the lord. We here have the germ of the relation

*Growth of
feudalism.*

between vassal and lord. But this element of feudalism soon acquired greater strength. The conquering chief would take upon himself the title of king, claim descent from the gods, and make his line hereditary. As the position of the king advanced, the position of the comrade or *Gesith* would advance also. As the king of a tribe became the king of a nation his dignity would greatly increase, and with his that of his followers, who, as the court became more formal, would accept as honours duties about the household, and the word *Gesith*, comrade, changed into *Thegn* or servant.

- In times of war such nobles by service became natural leaders of the people, and the position of the chief men of the village proportionately sunk. So that there arose a class of nobles in immediate connection with the crown, possessing property not belonging to a village community, and exercising rights of lordship over its inhabitants. It is not difficult to see in what a superior position they were thus placed; what powers of encroachment they might have; and how willingly, in times of danger, village communities would put themselves in the same position with regard to them, as that occupied by those settlers on the *Thegn's* lands, who had always acknowledged them as their lords. / We have therefore two sources from which feudalism might have arisen; the village headman, in accordance with what seems to be a general law, as his powers came to be legally defined (especially in the matter of collecting the king's taxes), would be regarded as the hereditary lord of the village, and would obtain the

right of permanently enclosing his share of the common land; while the king's *Thegn*, side by side with him, would plant his own subject villages, and accept by what is called *commendation* the supremacy of such villages as might offer it to him.

The Saxons then brought with them, in their invasion of England, their threefold division of rank, their association or township, their *Pagus* or Hundred, the Mark system, the principle of election to public functions, and the *Comitatus* or personal following of their chiefs. The conquering *Principes* or *Ealdormen* became kings. The country in all probability was divided out with some degree of regularity between villages, similar in constitution with those of Continental Germany. There was no necessity for these apportionments being equal. But a certain number of villages, whatever their property was, were divided into *Pagi* or Hundreds. This explains the inequality of those divisions.

*Saxon
institutions
introduced
into England.*

The unoccupied land was left in the king's hands to reward his chief followers. On these demesnes, and on the public Land. lands, the *lets* found their homes, with such of the conquered race as remained; and from time to time fresh estates were granted as fresh conquests increased the surplus land. From this land also the monasteries were endowed. The portion allotted to each free household was called the *Hide*. Land held by hereditary possession or by original allotment was called the *Ethel*. That held by grant from the public land and by charter was called *Bocland* (i.e. book-land). The land neither partitioned nor granted was the common property of the nation, and was called *Folcland*. As all land, whether bocland or folcland, could be let out, and was so treated on various conditions, there was much variety in the tenures of that class of people who did not possess free land of their own.

Whether the mark system prevailed to any great extent or not, (and this is a somewhat uncertain point,) practically it was the township which formed the lowest part of the general organization. The hundred was a collection of townships, the shire a collection of hundreds. The chief officer of the township, the town reeve, was elected by the freeholders of the township, and with four of their number represented that township in the Court of the Hundred, of which the township was a subordinate division. Townships established upon the lands of lords also had their reeve, but probably he was appointed by the lord. Their constitution was the same, but the proprietor of the soil took the duties and privileges which in a free township belonged to the freeholders. Such townships formed manors. It was from the township

*Judicial
organization.*

also that the burghs or towns arose. The Saxons had a natural dislike for town life, and we must not look for the arrangements of the borough to the remnants of Roman civilization. But when the village grew very large the same constitution as existed in the township was employed, the freeholders within the limits of the borough forming the municipal body. Such boroughs may also frequently have arisen from an agglomeration of townships. They would then be analogous to the hundred. The existence of two or three parishes in most boroughs leads to the same conclusion; for, ecclesiastically, the limits of the township and the parish were the same. Such towns, growing up naturally round the dwellings of wealthy men or of the king, would generally be either on folcland, and as such, dependent upon the crown, or upon the land of some lord on whom they would then depend. When the national system became organized, there would thus be the Court of the Township, with its counterpart in the dependent Township of the Manor Court. Above that, the Hundred Court, presided over by the Hundred-man, while the township were represented by their Reeve and four members. And above that there was the Shire Court or Gemot. The shires were not, properly speaking, part of the original organization. They seem to be in most cases the old sub-kingdoms. The Court, therefore, of the Shire represented the National Court. Over these sub-kingdoms or shires was appointed a royal officer, shire-reeve or sheriff, representative of the king for judicial and fiscal purposes. There is no proof that he was an elective officer. Beside the sheriff, who represented the central authority, was the Ealdorman, who had the command of the military force of the shire and the third of the fines levied. He was the representative of the old sub-king. He was a national officer, appointed by the king and by the central assembly of the nation, the Witana-gemot. He sat with the sheriff in the Shire Court, but it would seem that the sheriff was the official whose presence constituted the court. In all the courts it was a principle that the suitors of the court, those, that is, who were liable to its jurisdiction, were also the judges; that is to say, the courts were essentially popular. The whole body present settled the disputes or judged the crimes of the individuals, the chief officer being, in fact, the chairman. Practically, in the Shire Court, twelve chief Thegns or chief freeholders sat with the sheriff as judges, representatives of the whole body. It was also a principle, at all events originally, that no superior court should have jurisdiction till the inferior courts had done their best towards the settlement of the disputed point.

Ecclesiastically, the parishes were co-extensive with the townships, the bishoprics in a great degree co-extensive with the shires or ancient kingdoms.

In process of time, the position of the king somewhat changed. He began to be regarded as the one lord of the land. From being the King of the Saxons he gradually became the King of England. His personal relation became territorial. The folcland became royal demesne, and the king came to be regarded as the origin of justice. This change, among other causes, tended much to the growth of a system which was in fact incipient feudalism. Growth of territorial jurisdiction. The national courts constantly became more the private courts of great lords. The connection between the possession of land and the judicial power grew constantly stronger. It had early been the custom to establish in the favour of lords to whom grants were made Liberties, or *Soken*, as they were called; that is, land was granted exempted from the jurisdiction of the Hundred. The judicial rights of the Hundred, together with the payments accruing from them, were vested in the lord who received the grant. These rights are implied in the words *sac* and *soc*. As townships on a lord's land became manors, so these Liberties, on which there were many townships, became private Hundreds. They were probably, before the Conquest, not exempted from the jurisdiction of the Shire. It has been already mentioned that, either by commendation or by the encroachment of local magnates, freemen (allodial proprietors as they were called) took in many cases the position of dependants. Their property then assumed the character of bocland, or land held by charter, instead of hereditary freehold. By commending themselves to a lord they would free themselves from the burden of military duty, which would then fall upon the lord as proprietor of the land. Justice would be more easily obtained from the neighbouring court of the lord than from the distant court of the Hundred or county. Protection from invasion or from the violence of neighbours would be gained. Again, the police regulation, by which all landless men were obliged to seek a lord, would strengthen the idea of the necessity of dependence.

Meanwhile, the Franchises and territorial jurisdictions went on increasing till the ideas of possession of land and jurisdiction began to go constantly together. The Thegn, who only possessed five Hides, had his court. In the time of Cnut a further step was taken. The wealthy landowner, under the name of Landrica, represented the king in his district, and had jurisdiction over the lesser freeholders. While, to crown all, the new position of the king gave him

the sole jurisdiction over the holders of bocland, to which, as we have seen, allodial property was gradually assimilating itself. In all these ways private and territorial jurisdictions were strengthened, and enabled very largely to encroach upon the national and popular courts. The position of the Landrica was little else than that of a feudal baron, and the independence of the great hereditary official, so marked a characteristic of Continental feudalism, was almost reproduced in England, when Cnut divided the kingdom into four great Earldoms.

To pass from the local government to the central. It has been seen that justice and municipal law were carried on through a series of free assemblies or Gemots; so too the general meeting, or Gemot of the nation, constituted the chief legislative and judicial assembly. This was called the Witan or wise men, or the Witana-Gemot or assembly of wise men. It was doubtless—originally the National Assembly of all free men, but by an easy change which befalls all such assemblies, attendance on it grew awkward to the multitude, and was shortly confined to those who bore office about the court, the king's Thegns and bishops. The principle of representation was not understood, and the freemen, although they possessed an inherent right to be present, were not in fact represented, except in so far as the presence of friendly and neighbouring Thegns might be held to represent them. The power of the Witan was great—and various, being in theory the power of a free nation. They could elect and discrown a king, and practically did elect him, though usually from among the nearest relatives of the late king. A remnant of this elective form of the monarchy still exists in our form of coronation. Peace and war were discussed in the Witan. The co-operation of the Witan was necessary to authorize alienation of public land; and to them ultimate judicial appeals were made. Early in the eleventh century, however, the king had so far improved his position that he was able to grant land without their leave, and also to call to his court cases not yet completed in the lower courts. The same change in the character of the king, which has been already mentioned, shows itself here also. He was originally the leader of a free tribe, perhaps of a clan, but gradually as his dominion extended his power rose also; and his personal influence, though somewhat undefined, was paramount. The great king could always wield the Witan as he pleased. His office was, as has been said, elective, but under certain restrictions. It seems to have been regarded as necessary that he should be an Ætheling of the royal house

Central govern-
ment. The
Witan.

Increased power
of the King.

(and born in wedlock), and in England. With this limit, and with a certain preference allowed to the eldest son, and to the one whom the dying king nominated, the choice of the Witan was free; and, practically, the prince of the royal house best fitted for the immediate circumstances of the kingdom was chosen. Thus the king's brother was sometimes chosen instead of his son, who, in his turn, might succeed his uncle to the exclusion of his uncle's children. This preference for the best man over the nearest relative continued after the Conquest, and renders erroneous the appellation of usurper when applied to the early Norman kings. The arrangements of finance, as far as they can be understood, were very simple. Upon every citizen, whether agricultural or urban, there was laid a *trinoda-necessitas*, that is to say, the duty of serving in war, the repair of bridges and public roads, and the maintenance of fortifications. It is plain, therefore, that the wants of the crown were chiefly personal, that what we consider the chief expenses of government, justice, maintenance of public works, and military expenditure, were supported by the people themselves, without the interposition of government. The expenses of the crown would be discharged very largely from the public property or folcland reserved to the nation, and from such taxes as were rendered necessary from time to time to support the grandeur and hospitality of the king as national representative.

The system of police was based on the idea of mutual responsibility. — Frankpledge or *frithborh*, by which is meant the division of the country into sections of ten men mutually responsible for one another, cannot be proved to have existed before the Conquest. On the other hand, its principle no doubt existed. Every man, by the law of Cnut, was bound to be in a Hundred and a *tithing*. This latter term cannot be accurately defined, but it was a subdivision of the Hundred. By the laws of Æthelstan and Eadgar every landless man was compelled to have a lord to answer for him in the courts, and every man a surety to answer for him if he were absent when legally required.

From this sketch it will be seen that, with regard to classes, there must have been at the time of the Conquest *Thegns*, who were to all intents and purposes feudal barons; *Sokmen*, those freemen who owed suit to the lord's soke or court; a certain number of *Eorls* or nobles by birth, who would most likely have become assimilated to the Thegns; *freeholders*, holding land in common where it had not yet come under the suzerainty of a lord (this same class of freemen degenerated under various circumstances and with varying tenures

Finance.

Police.

into villeins, or dependent cultivators, under lords); and absolute *slaves*, consisting originally probably of the conquered race, and added to by criminals and outlaws, or others who had lost their rights as freemen.

There was here every element of the feudal system. Even the tenure of land upon military service existed. The main distinction between the condition of England and that of the Continent, where the feudal system had been fully established, lay in this,—there still existed a certain number of freemen whose land was their own. They were indeed obliged to acknowledge the jurisdiction of a lord, but they were free to choose their own lord. They were suitors to his court, but he did not possess their land. The feudal system in its completed form may be regarded as exhibiting two peculiar features:—jurisdiction was in the hand of large landowners; and the lord was regarded as the possessor of the land over which he exercised jurisdiction. In England, one feature alone had become prominent. The judicial power was in the hand of large landowners; but their jurisdiction extended over men whose land they did not possess, but who were owners of their own property, and able to attach themselves to any lord they liked. With the Conquest, while the judicial power was restrained, the connection between that power and the possession of land over which it was exercised became absolute.

The Church occupied a position of very great importance. It was the guardian of the morality of the country, and as such had a share in all secular jurisdictions; but it was the remnant of a national Church, not closely united to the Roman See. It was therefore inclined to be somewhat disorderly. Its bishops were appointed properly by the king and the Witan, but latterly the power had practically been with the king alone. These bishops obtained their license from the Pope. But the case of Archbishop Stigand, to whom the Pope had not sent the Pallium, shows how little weight was given to this proceeding. Similarly, the lower clergy had formed the habit of marrying, contrary to Papal laws, and although there was a growing feeling that this was wrong, the practice still continued, while the monks were constantly attempting to break free from their rules and establish themselves as canons.

To such a civilization came William, who had seen the evils of Continental feudalism in his own country, and had secured his position only after long struggles. He claimed England, not as a conqueror, but as the legitimate sovereign, nominated by Edward the Confessor, and as such was accepted by

Effects of the
Conquest.

the Witan, and crowned in London after the battle of Senlac. His natural policy was, therefore, to continue such institutions as were not yet feudal, and thus his arrival checked that natural growth of feudalism which was running its course in England as in other Teutonic countries. On the other hand, it was impossible from his position that he should do otherwise than introduce many feudal institutions. He had brought with him many of his vassals, who held from him in feudal tenure; and it was necessary, when, from the confiscated lands of Harold and his family and of the other nobles who either opposed his entrance into England or afterwards revolted against him, he made large grants to reward the adventurers of whom his army mainly consisted, he should make those grants in accordance with the system with which he was acquainted in exchange for military service, and saddled with the usual feudal burdens. While he thus, on the one hand, was the national English sovereign, on the other he was the supreme landowner and feudal lord. Under this double influence, the tenure of land, following the universal tendency of Europe, became wholly feudal and military. But the other side of feudalism—with its isolation, the virtual independence of the feudatories (among whom the king was but the first among his peers), and the suppression of national jurisdiction, which were the chief characteristics of French feudalism—was kept in careful restraint. Thus, the whole machinery of justice, the Hundred Court and the Shire Gemot were retained under presidency of the sheriff, side by side with that territorial jurisdiction which he could not refuse to his feudal vassals. The police system of mutual responsibility was kept up and systematized under the name of *frankpledge*, and on the whole nation still lay the *trinoda necessitas*. The Witan remained, although its members were now feudal vassals; the laws as they existed were for the most part perpetuated, though certain emendations were made, such as the law of Englishry,¹ for the protection of his Norman subjects, and the liberty allowed to the different nationalities to be tried according to their own law. At the same time, the further to restrain the independent power of the great feudatories, the great earldoms which Cnut had created were broken up, with the exception of three border counties, Chester, Durham, and Kent; the business of the counties was transacted by the sheriff, who was a royal officer, and the earldoms were either of one county only, or if of more than one, of counties far apart. As a final court of appeal,

Restraints upon
feudalism.

¹ See p. 43.

- he established the Curia Regis, formed of the Justiciary (who was the king's representative and regent when he left the country), with a staff of justices, consisting originally of the officers of the household, but tending gradually to consist of new nobility appointed by the king for the purpose. This was the final court of appeal, and could draw
- to it any suit from the county court. But the chief restriction upon military feudalism, which rendered its appearance in England impossible, was, that each freeholder swore allegiance, not to his immediate lord, but to the king. Abroad, if a great noble went to war with the king, his vassals were doing right in following him; in England, they were committing treason.

This oath was exacted after the great work of the Domesday Book was completed. This book consisted of a registration of all the lands in the kingdom, made by commissioners, after inquiry upon oath of the chief men and lesser freeholders of each district. By it not only were the limits of property settled, but the king knew what resources he could rely upon both in men and money. The king's power was nominally limited by the "counsel and consent" of the National Council, which was at once the old English Witan and a feudal assembly, but its power was really nominal. The taxes seldom called for interference, as they were derived principally either from the old national dues, the *ferm* of the shire (a fixed rent of the old public lands and royal domains), the danegelt, and the proceeds of fines or feudal aids. The army was also completely in the king's hands; as national sovereign, the old national militia was at his command; as feudal sovereign, he could claim the military service of his vassals, which was defined in every case by the

William's position. Domesday Book, while the whole people were bound to him by oath. We thus see William the Conqueror occupying the position of a practically irresponsible monarch, with a mixed monarchy of national and feudal character, but, with the exception of some parts of the administration of justice, carried on wholly under feudal forms.

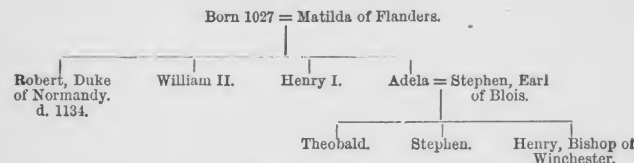
As regards the Church, two important changes were made. As —

The Church. the champion of orthodoxy, William, by means of his Archbishop, Lanfranc, restored the Roman discipline to the Church, and connected it closely with the See of Rome. And, — secondly, he separated the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the secular. The bishops withdrew from the county court (perhaps finding their position there useless now that those courts had sunk in importance), and established courts of their own. During William's reign no

inconvenience arose from this, but the inherent defects of the step became obvious when Henry II. attempted to reorganize the kingdom after the disorder of Stephen's reign. The Conqueror's police was unusually strict. It became the common saying that a man laden with gold could pass unharmed through the country. He abolished the penalty of death (which was, however, speedily resumed), and substituted mutilations of various kinds. He also repressed the right which the Saxon laws had allowed of killing the murderer or the thief when taken red-handed. It has been suggested that the great forests he created, and the care with which they were maintained, is to be attributed as much to the king's desire to maintain an efficient staff of police always ready as to his great love of hunting.

WILLIAM I

1066-1087.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Malcolm III., 1057.	Philip I., 1060.	Henry IV., 1056.	Sancho II., 1065. Alphonso VI., 1072.

POPES.—Alexander II., 1061. Gregory VII., 1073. Vacancy one year. Victor III., 1086.

Archbishops.	Chief-Justices.	Chancellors.
Stigand, 1052-1070. Lanfranc, 1070-1089.	Odo of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osbern, 1067. William de Warenne, and Richard Fitz-Gilbert, 1073. Lanfranc, Geoffrey of Coutances, and Robert, Count of Mortain, 1078.	Herfast, afterwards Bishop of Elmham, 1068. Osbern, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, 1070. Osmund, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, 1074. Maurice, afterwards Bishop of London, 1078. William de Beaufeu, Bishop of Thetford, 1083. William Giffard, 1086.

THE death of Harold left England without a king. As yet, although William had expected the immediate submission of the whole country, no such course was thought of. The idea which occupied men's minds was the election of a new king, who might continue the defence of the country. The two sons of Ælfgar, the great northern Earls Edwin and Morkere, whose jealousy of Harold had been one of the chief causes of his disaster, found themselves, now that the

House of Godwine was practically destroyed, the most prominent leaders of the English. They came to London, and there, collecting about them such nobles and important people as they could readily find, they held an assembly which in some sort represented the Witan. They probably expected that the crown would be given to one of themselves, and that the hour for the triumph of the Mercian house had arrived. They were disappointed in their hopes. Of properly qualified candidates there were none, but the Southern Witan preferred to place the crown upon the head of the grandson of Ironside, the heir of the old royal house, and elected the Ætheling Eadgar, young though he was.¹ It does not seem however that he was actually crowned, that ceremony being postponed till the feast of Christmas.

After the slaughters of the late battles, the means of resistance in the Southern counties must have been much diminished, and when Edwin and Morkere completed their treasonable conduct by again withdrawing their troops, and, though they had accepted the election, refused to give practical support to the defence of Wessex, immediate opposition to the Conqueror became hopeless. No further combined action was possible and no other great battle was fought.

Meanwhile William, disappointed in his hopes, proceeded with his own foreign forces to make good his conquest. He determined to subdue the South-eastern counties before he advanced against London. He marched eastward, took Romney, and captured the castle and town of Dover, and had reached Canterbury, when he was seized with an illness which kept him inactive during the whole month of November. Thence he sent an embassy which secured the great town of Winchester, and thence in December he moved to attack the capital, but contented himself with burning the suburb of Southwark, and passed on westward on the southern side of the Thames, which he did not cross till he reached Wallingford, intending to pass northward and thus cut the city off from the unconquered country. With this view he marched to Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire. But his progress had broken the spirit of the Londoners, and he was there met by Eadgar, Ealdred the Archbishop of York, and others, who submitted to him, and offered him the crown. After a feigned rejection of it, till he had further secured the kingdom, he

¹ It is not certain how old Eadgar was. His father died in 1057. He must have been therefore at least nine years old, and was probably some years older, as we hear of his executing several acts of kingly authority.

accepted it at the earnest request of his followers, and marching into London, was crowned at Christmas. The ceremony was performed by Ealdred of York in the place of Stigand of Canterbury, whose appointment to the See had not been strictly canonical; it was impossible that William, one of whose professed objects was the reform of the uncanonical Church of England, should receive his crown from the hands of a schismatic. Stigand's importance as the chief official of the English prevented William from taking immediate steps against him. He was therefore present at the ceremony, but though William thus, and for some time afterwards, temporized with him, his ruin was already determined. The coronation was performed with the usual English ceremonies; the name of the King was proposed for election to those who were present, and the shout of acquiescence excited the alarm of the Norman troops outside the church. They proceeded to set fire to buildings in the neighbourhood; the assembled multitude rushed from the church to extinguish the flames, and William was left almost alone with the officiating ecclesiastics. But the ceremony was completed in the midst of fears and misgivings of those within the Cathedral, and of uproar and confusion without.

William was thus crowned King of England, having received the crown from the hands of the Witan, and having been nominally elected by the popular voice. His position was in strict accordance with the claims he had raised, and he proceeded to pursue a policy in harmony with it. He had come to claim his rights against a usurper, he had obtained those rights, and would henceforth make them good while strictly following the forms of law. As crowned King of England, opposition to him was treasonable, and the property of traitors legally confiscated. It is clear that this position gave him great advantages, and would induce many a weak-hearted or peaceful Englishman to accept without opposition the *de facto* king, while it enabled William to hide the harsh character of the conqueror under the milder form of a monarch at war with rebellious subjects.

In pursuance of this policy, no sudden change was made in the constitution or social arrangements of the country. In the first period of his rule, William merely stepped into the place and exercised the rights of his predecessor; but those rights he found sufficient to secure his own position and to reward his followers. For these purposes it was necessary for him to give to Normans much of the conquered land, by which means he would spread as it

were a garrison throughout the country, and at the same time gratify his adherents.

He started from the legal fiction that the whole of the land, as the land of traitors, was confiscated. The folcland he made crown property, thus completing a change which had been long in progress. The large domains of the House of Godwine were by the destruction of that house naturally at his disposal, as was also the property of those who had fallen in arms against him at Hastings or been prominent in opposition. The land thus gained he granted to his followers, not making a new partition of it, but putting a Norman in the place of the dead or outlawed Englishman who was legally regarded as his ancestor. To complete this process, and appropriate all the conquered land, would obviously have been impolitic; and very shortly after his coronation he appears to have allowed a general redemption of property. Proprietors submitted, paid a sum of money, and received their lands back as fresh grants from the Conqueror. In addition to this, many of the smaller thegns and free Ceorls were too insignificant to be disturbed, and in many instances some little fragment of their dead husband's property was given in contemptuous pity to the widows, saddled frequently with some ignoble tenure. Still further to complete the subjection of the country, in every conquered town of importance a castle was erected.

In addition to his grants of land, William had the government of the country to attend to, and the vacant earldoms to fill. In doing this he was guided by his past experience, and in the fully conquered parts of England was careful not to put any earl into the position occupied by the great earls of the last days of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. In this respect, as in some others, the spirit of feudalism had been making rapid strides in England, and the great earls, as well as the great cities, were bidding fair to assume the position of the feudatories and free cities of the Continent. William was careful to return to older precedent, and to confine his earldoms to one shire. The importance of this in English history is great, as it obliged the nobility to work in alliance with the commonalty, and secured national rather than aristocratic progress. Thus his two most trusted servants, to whom in his absence he left the vice-regency of the kingdom, William Fitz-Osbern and his brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, were respectively but Earls of Hereford and of Kent. William thus arranged that part of England which he had really conquered. In the North

Transfer of
property.
The form of
law retained.

Castles built.

Appointment
of Earls.

William's position
as king.

he as yet continued the existing state of things. Edwin and Morkere did homage and received their Earldoms back again. Waltheof remained Earl of Nottingham, and Copsige (Copsi or Coxo) was given the earldom of the Northern province of Northumberland. To secure the allegiance of these great unconquered Earls, William took them with him when in March he went to revisit his native duchy. The kingdom he left in charge, the South to Odo of Bayeux, the North to William Fitz-Osbern.

His retirement from England has sometimes been traced to an evil intention of enticing his new subjects into a more serious rebellion, that he might conquer them more completely. His natural desire to display his triumph in his own country would seem to supply a sufficient reason, without attributing to him such double dealing. The effect of his absence, however, was in fact to produce such an insurrection. In the midst of his conquests and confiscations he had always kept a strong hand upon his followers, and his police was good. The case was different under the government of his viceroys. The rapacity and licentiousness of the conquerors made itself heavily felt. Discontent began to show itself in the North, in the West, and in the South; and the native English, despairing of their unaided efforts, began to seek assistance from abroad. The news of this danger brought William back to England in the December of 1067. But already a revolt in Bernicia, as the Northern division of Northumberland was called, had produced the death of the newly-made Earl Copsige. Eadric the Forester in the West of England, in union with the Welsh, had ravaged Herefordshire, and the men of Kent had obtained assistance from Eustace of Boulogne in a fruitless attack upon Dover. It was the dread of more important foreign allies which brought William back. The English efforts to get aid from Henry IV. of Germany, or from the King of Norway, had been frustrated either by William's intrigues or by the character of the Princes to whom they applied, but Swend of Denmark seemed likely to embrace their cause.

On his return, William found that although his lieutenants had repressed actual insurrections, the unconquered districts both of the North and West of England were gloomy and threatening. Want of union was still the bane of the English; the insurrection of Exeter and the West had been suppressed before York and the North moved. The party of Harold and his family was strong in Exeter and the Western shires. At Exeter, indeed, it

William revisits
Normandy.

Misgovernment
by his viceroys
and consequent
rebellion.

William
returns.

is probable that what remained of the family of Godwine was at this time collected. William marched against the city, harrying Dorset as he passed. The position of Exeter was characteristic. As in the case of the great earldoms, so in that of the great cities, the feeling of local independence had been rising, and the chief men of Exeter seem to have had some thought of making their city a free town. They offered to own the King's supremacy and to pay his taxes, but refused to admit him within their walls. The one point of William's policy which is most prominent is his determination to establish the strength of the monarchy, as against local interests. He therefore rejected the proposition, and marched upon the city. The civic chiefs offered to submit, but the people repudiated their arrangements, and stood the siege. The city was captured by means of a mine. Harold's family fled—Gytha, his mother, to the islands in the Bristol Channel, his sons to Ireland. As usual, a castle was built in the city; the tribute of the town considerably increased; both Devonshire and Cornwall completely subdued, and the same process of partial confiscation which had marked the first steps of the Conqueror carried out there. The earldom of Cornwall, and a large quantity of property, was given to Robert of Mortain, William's half-brother. The conquest of the West was completed by the subjugation of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire.

This insurrection was hardly over when a general confederation against the Conqueror was set on foot in the North. Edwin and Morkere, and Eadgar, the nominal king, combined with Eadric the Forester, and had good hopes of assistance from the Welsh, from Malcolm Canmore of Scotland, and from Swend of Denmark. This help was not forthcoming; civil war hindered the Welsh, and Malcolm and Swend were not ready. The feeling against the Normans was, however, very strong, many of the inhabitants of Yorkshire taking to the woods rather than submit. The insurrection was a failure. Again Edwin and Morkere showed complete want of energy, submitted, and were received into favour. Such a desertion destroyed all unity of action; their armies dispersed to their own homes. A certain number of the insurgents retired and held Durham, others took refuge in Scotland, but William found no opposition; York submitted, and the usual castle, the constant badge of conquest, was built there. On his homeward march through Lincolnshire, the town of Lincoln and that part of England was

Insurrection
in the West.
Taking of
Exeter.

Insurrection in
the North.

William's
position in
the North and
West.

also subjugated, while, at the same time, Malcolm of Scotland sent an embassy, and commended himself to William. At the close of 1068 William was actual possessor of England as far northward as the Tees; but Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and part of Herefordshire were still unconquered; Durham, Northumberland, and Scotland were his only by the tie of homage.

At this time it is said that a considerable number of his Norman followers, disliking to leave their homes so long, returned to Normandy, throwing up their estates in England. This movement has been exaggerated, as Hugh de Grantmesnil, who is mentioned as the leader of the returning Normans, undoubtedly held property in England afterwards. It is, however, probable that some returned, for William at this time discharged many of his mercenaries, acting henceforward more completely as English king.

At the midwinter meeting of the Witan he proceeded to act as though the North was completely conquered, and granted the earldom of Northumberland, vacant by the flight of Gospatric, to his follower Robert de Comines. But the reception of this new earl showed how unsubdued as yet the northern earldom was. He reached Durham, and was received by the Bishop Æthelwine; but when his troops treated the city as though they had conquered it, the inhabitants rose and put him and his men to death. The spirit of insurrection spread, and the citizens of York at once also rose and slew one of the commanders there, Robert Fitz-Richard. This blow, which seems to have been concerted, was immediately followed by the return of Eadgar and the other exiles from Scotland. William hurried thither in person, re-established his authority, and built a second castle, which he put into the hands of William Fitz-Osbern. He then withdrew into the West of England, conscious probably that the Northern insurrection was only one of his dangers, for Swend of Denmark had at length sent a fleet to the assistance of the English, the sons of Harold were landing in Devonshire, and Eadric the Wild was threatening the north-west of his dominions. In fact, we have in this year the great final struggle of the English, and the Norman dominions were assaulted upon all sides.

As usual, however, the want of proper concert and of any acknowledged and heroic leader rendered the English efforts futile. The sons of Harold were disastrously defeated by Count Brian of Brittany, their wandering and ill-disciplined troops conquered in two battles in one day, and they

Revolt in the North.

Futile insurrections against the Normans.

themselves, escaping to Ireland, are heard of no more. This was in July. In September the Danish fleet approached. It touched, but was beaten off, both in Kent and in East Anglia, and finally entered the Humber, where it was joined by the great English exiles. Thence the combined English and Danish army moved upon York, while Eadric, in Staffordshire and the Welsh border, moved forward and besieged Shrewsbury, and the men of the West, though unaided by the sons of Harold, rose and besieged the castle of Montacute in Somersetshire. These two lesser insurrections William could afford to leave to his lieutenants; Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances relieved Montacute, and William Fitz-Osbern and Earl Brian apparently completed the subjugation of the West, compelling Eadric the Forester to retire after he had destroyed Shrewsbury, and re-establishing the Norman influence in Devonshire. William himself hastened to the scene of greatest danger. Already the castles of York were taken, as the story tells us chiefly by the prowess of Waltheof; but having completed this object the army had foolishly dispersed, and the Danes, lying in the Humber, were occupying Lindesey and the north of Lincolnshire. There William's sudden march surprised them, and they were compelled to withdraw to the other side of the Humber. William then set quietly to work, with his army, which had now joined him, at the reconquest of Yorkshire. Staffordshire and Nottingham were secured, and after a lengthened delay at the passage of the Aire, during which he was probably engaged in negotiations with the Danes, he moved on practically unopposed to York. He there re-established his two castles, and proceeded to give the inhabitants of the country a lesson they were not likely to forget. He set to work systematically to lay waste the whole of the territory from the Humber to the Tees. Every house, every store of food, the very cattle themselves were included in the great burning. The completeness of the destruction is marked by the entries of "Waste," following each other in unbroken succession in the Domesday Book. For nine years the country was left untilled, the towns wholly uninhabited, and the few survivors lived like beasts of the field, feeding upon unclean animals, and reduced even, in their utter want, to eat human flesh. Having completed this terrible work, William kept his Christmas in state at York. He pursued his advantage further, and, as the winter went on, advanced and secured the hitherto unconquered town of Durham. The North of England was at length completely conquered.

William's devastation in Yorkshire.

Complete subjugation of the North. 1070.

But the North-west, the counties of Cheshire and Shropshire, was still unsubdued, and in the dead of the winter William made his way, in the midst of unspeakable difficulties, through the wild moorland and hill country which joins the Peak district with the higher mountains of the Pennine range. The conquest of Chester, and the ravaging of the neighbouring counties, completed his work. And when, early in the year Osbern, the commander of Swend's fleet, yielding to the diplomacy and bribes of William, sailed away to his own land, the conquest of England may be said to have been finished.

For the moment free from military difficulties, William proceeded to the regulation of his Conquest. He is said now to have re-enacted the laws of Edward, and although it is probably a legend that he issued a complete code of laws, it is likely that he took the opportunity of declaring the re-enactment of existing laws, with such changes as he chose to introduce. Two ordinances which seem to belong to this period exist. One, ordaining that peace and security should be kept between English and Normans, and the laws of Edward, with regard to land and other matters, upheld, with the addition of such as the King had added for the advantage of the English people. The second, enacting a heavy fine for the death of any one of his soldiers, which fine is to be made good by the Hundred in which the murder was committed; this was for the defence of his troops against lawless patriotism, and grew into the law of Englishry, by which an unknown corpse was always presumed to be that of a Frenchman, and the fine inflicted, unless the English nationality of the murdered man was proved.

But William had always kept before him, as an object, the change and reform of the English Church, which till this time had been strictly national, its laws having been enacted by the mixed secular and ecclesiastical Witan, and the bishop having presided side by side with the secular judges in the shire gemot. The intention of William, whose enterprise had been undertaken with the full concurrence of the Roman See, whose interests he, as well as the Normans of Sicily, had much at heart, was to Romanize this national Church. For carrying out that scheme he looked to the gradual displacement of bishops of English birth, whose places could be filled with foreigners. This connection with Rome is marked by the re-coronation of the King in 1070 by the Papal Legates, immediately after which the attack upon the English Church began. The Primate Stigand was the first victim. With him the King had hitherto temporized;

His reform of
the Church.
Appointment of
foreign Bishops.

Stigand
deposed.

when he was charged with holding the See of Winchester with his own archbishopric, with having obtained the Pallium from the false Pope Benedict X., and with having accepted his bishopric during the lifetime of his predecessor Robert. He was deprived of both his bishoprics, and kept a prisoner at Winchester. His brother Æthelmaer was removed from the bishopric of the East Angles. Æthelwine of Durham was also deprived and outlawed, and Ethelric, Bishop of Selsey, deposed. The Archbishopric of York, too, was vacant by the death of Ealdred, so that William had here a good opportunity for carrying out his plans.

The most important appointments were the two archbishoprics. For his new Primate he selected Lanfranc, an Italian priest, at this time Abbot of the little monastery at Bec, whose learning and importance were such that he had already been offered and had refused the Primacy of Normandy. It was not without much show of opposition on his part that he accepted the Archbishopric of Canterbury; but, when once appointed, he proved himself a most efficient instrument in carrying out the plans of the King. To the other vacant bishoprics, in almost every case, chaplains of the King were appointed. The changes thus begun were carried out gradually during the whole reign, and were in fact an offshoot of the great movement for the revival of the Papacy being carried out in Europe by Hildebrand. Having first, for the purposes of centralization, established the supremacy of the See of Canterbury over that of York, Lanfranc set on foot the habit of holding separate ecclesiastical councils after the great National Meetings had been dissolved; the bishops withdrew from the county court, and established ecclesiastical courts of their own; as far as possible regular canons were put in the place of the secular canons, of whom many of the chapters consisted; and although the archbishop had sufficient sense to tolerate those of the clergy who were already married, for the future such marriages were strictly prohibited.

The effect of such legislation was to separate the clergy from the laity, and to connect the Church much more nearly with Rome. This policy, which in after times was the source of so much evil, was rendered harmless during the reign of William by his great power and decision. He always claimed the position of supreme head of the Church in England, nor would he suffer any encroachments from the Papal See. On more than one occasion he exhibited this determination. To the end of his reign

But William
still head of
the Church.

- he insisted upon giving the ring and staff to his bishops. He would
- not allow any of his soldiers to be excommunicated without his leave, and when Hildebrand, occupying the Papal throne as Gregory VII., demanded that he should both pay Peter's pence and declare himself the Pope's man, he replied, the money he would pay, as his predecessors had, that the homage he would refuse, as he had neither himself
- promised it, nor had his predecessors paid it. In many respects the

The change
good on the
whole.

change was doubtless for the better. The bishops were on the whole more learned men, and education was improved. The spirit of self-denial for the sake of the Church, and the consequent establishment of foundations and cathedrals, was revived, and the Church, brought into better discipline, was more able to play its proper part of mediator and peace-maker in an age of violence. The distribution of patronage was not, however, without its dark side. In many instances ecclesiastical position was given in reward of services to men qualified rather to be soldiers than clergymen; and complaints exist of the tyrannical manner in which these soldier-abbots or bishops behaved to their English inferiors.

The conquest of England was completed, as we have seen, in 1070. But it was six years more before William enjoyed the throne in peace. The remnant of the conquered nation gathered around

Final struggle
against the
Normans under
Hereward.
1070.

a national hero, called Hereward, in the Fen country. His origin is not certain, but he seems to have been a Lincolnshire man who had been deprived of his property by a Norman intruder. He first appears as assailing with a host of outlaws the monastery of Peterborough, where one of those soldier abbots just mentioned, Turolf by name, had been lately appointed. He is next heard of when, in 1071, the Earls Edwin and Morkere, who had seen the destruction of their old earldoms, while living in inglorious ease, half prisoners half guests at the Norman court, at length awoke from their lethargy and attempted to renew the war. Edwin was killed as he fled, stopped by the flooding of some river; Morkere succeeded in joining the insurgents at Ely. Hereward's fastness was known by the name of the Camp of Refuge. There were collected many of the noblest of the old English exiles; and legend speaks of the presence of several people who were undoubtedly not there; but, at all events, Æthelwine, the deposed Bishop of Durham, was with the patriots.

The attack was intrusted to William of Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and Ivo of Taillebois, under the superintendence of William himself, who came to Cambridge. The difficulties of the situation were

overcome by the building of a great causeway across the fens. The defence of the camp is described as lengthened and heroic, but before the end of the year it seems to have been captured, and Morkere and Æthelwine both prisoners. Hereward himself escaped, and in 1073 is mentioned as leading the English contingent in William's attack on Maine. The legend describes how, while living in peace with the king, he was surprised at his meals by a band of Normans, and after a terrific combat, in which he slew fifteen or sixteen Frenchmen, was finally overpowered by numbers. In sober fact, his end seems to have been peaceful, as he appears in Domesday Book as holding property both in Worcester and Warwick.

From the English William had no further trouble; with the neighbouring kingdoms he had still some difficulties. With the Britons in Wales, the old Earls of Mercia and the house of Leofric had had friendly connection; but all sign of this had ceased upon the Conquest. The wars carried on against them were however local in character; for, contrary to his usual practice, William had established upon the West March two palatine counties of Chester and Shrewsbury. In these counties the whole of the land belonged to the earl and his tenants, and the king had no domain. They were, therefore, like the great feudal holdings of France. Chester he at first placed in the hands of Gerbod the Fleming, his stepson, and, upon his withdrawal to the Continent, in those of Hugh of Avranches, surnamed Lupus, a man of whom the chroniclers speak much evil as at once licentious and tyrannical. Together with his lieutenant, Robert of Rhuddlan, he waged continual war with the Welsh. The same task fell to Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, who took advantage of the disputes among the Welsh Princes, and succeeded so far as to build and hold, far in Wales, the castle of Montgomery, called after his own property in the neighbourhood of Lisieux in Normandy.

Malcolm Canmore had throughout appeared as the supporter of the conquered English, and at his court the exiles had been constantly received. This did not prevent him from pushing his ravages into the Northern counties; nor did they cease when he received Eadgar Ætheling and his sisters on their flight to the North (1070). This was followed by acts of extraordinary barbarity. Gospatric, who had found favour with William, and accepted the Earldom of Northumberland, attempted a counter invasion into the Scotch district of Cumberland. In rage

William con-
quers him.
1071.

Wales held in
check by the
Earls of Chester
and Shrewsbury.

Scotland's
savage inva-
sions.

at this Malcolm gave orders to spare neither sex nor age. The old and the infants were slaughtered, the able-bodied men and maidens were carried off into slavery, so that there were few Scotch villages where there were not English slaves. Malcolm, however, grew milder under the influence of his wife Margaret, Eadgar's sister, and the effect of the presence of the numerous English, either refugees or slaves, was such that the Lowlands became thoroughly Anglicised.

In 1072, William himself revenged the inroad of the year 1070, by marching into Scotland and receiving the oath of fealty of Malcolm at Abernethy on the Tay. It is mentioned that the last great noble who had held out against him, Eadric the Wild, accompanied him on this expedition, which marks not only the Conquest of England, but the assumption on the part of William of that Imperial position in Great Britain which the great English kings had held.

His foreign neighbours also gave William some trouble. The province of Maine, which he had conquered in 1063, threw off his allegiance. The citizens of Le Mans had risen in insurrection against their lords, and formed themselves into a free commune; but Geoffrey of Mayenne, a nobleman whose help they had sought, betrayed the burghers in their efforts to reduce one of the neighbouring nobility, and they were obliged to call in the assistance of Fulk of Anjou, who had claims upon the province. William reduced Le Mans, but was obliged to make a peace with Fulk, who had strengthened himself by an alliance with the Bretons; and, by the treaty of Blanchelande, William's son Robert took the government of Maine, but did homage for it to Anjou.

While affairs on the Continent were thus occupying his attention, in 1075 a conspiracy of his own nobles in England broke out. Ralph of Gwader (or Wader), the son of Ralph the Staller and a Breton lady, had been intrusted with the Earldom of Norfolk. Roger, the son of William Fitz-Osbern, had succeeded to the Earldom of Hereford. These two nobles sought to ally their houses, and, against the will of William, Ralph married Emma, Roger's sister. At the bridal feast Waltheof of Nottingham, the one remaining English Earl, was present, and there a conspiracy was entered into, apparently on account of the strong hold which William kept over his nobles, and in the interests of more perfect feudalism. The kingdom was to be divided among the three earls, one of whom was to be king. Waltheof had been well treated

William makes
Malcolm swear
fealty.
1072.

Trouble in
Normandy.
1075.

Conspiracy of
Norman nobles
suppressed.
1076.

by the King, and married to his niece Judith. His conscience seems to have pricked him, and he confessed all to Lanfranc, at that time governing England. The conspiracy was at once suppressed; Norwich alone, under Emma, the new married bride, made a brave defence. Ralph fled to Brittany. Roger was taken prisoner, and spent his life in captivity. Waltheof was at first received into favour, but afterwards, it is believed at the instigation of his wife, he was tried before the Witan and found guilty of death. The sentence was executed in secret outside the town of Winchester. During his imprisonment the Earl's penitence had been deep, and it was while still on his knees uttering the Lord's Prayer that the impatient executioner smote off his head. The national hero, dying in this religious state of mind, speedily became the national saint. His remains were removed to Crowland, which he had much benefited, and miracles were worked at his tomb. The confiscation of the property of these two earldoms, and the death of Queen Edith, the widow of the Confessor, threw great property into the hands of William, who did not reappoint to the earldoms.

From this time onward William lived generally in Normandy, leaving England to the care of Lanfranc and Odo of Bayeux. The great success of his reign had indeed been reached, and the remaining years were disturbed by constant disputes with his sons and with his suzerain the King of France. Already, when pursuing Ralph of Gwader on his retreat into Brittany, and besieging him in the town of Dol, he had found himself checked by the union of Philip of France with Alan Fergant of Brittany, and had found it advisable to marry his daughter Constance to that nobleman as the price of peace. So, too, to lessen the jealousy the King of France might naturally have felt at his vassal's great aggrandisement, he had made the Norman barons swear fealty to his son Robert as his heir, and had caused him to do homage in his place for Maine. Robert desired to make this nominal position real; and, as a part of the same feudal movement perhaps which produced the conspiracy of 1075, he demanded Normandy and Maine of his father. His demand was refused; and when, during an expedition of William against the Count of Mortagne, an accidental quarrel arose between Robert and his brothers, in company with many of the younger nobility he broke into open rebellion. With these, after an unsuccessful attempt at Rouen, he fled to Hugh of Neufchâtel. Beaten thence, he wandered from court to court, assisted by his mother Matilda, against William's will. At length he found an ally

Waltheof
executed.
1076.

Quarrels be-
tween William
and his sons.

in Philip, who established him in 1079 in Gerberoi, near the borders of Normandy. It was there that father and son met face to face, and that William was unhorsed by Robert. The siege of Gerberoi had to be raised, and William underwent the humiliation of seeking a reconciliation with his son, a reconciliation which was of short duration, as in 1080 Robert again fled from court.

In all directions ill success was attending William. He had been defeated at Dol and at Gerberoi; his son Robert in the period between his two quarrels had failed in an expedition against Scotland; he had just lost his son Richard in the New Forest; and in 1083 he lost his wife, to whom he was deeply attached. Meanwhile Odo had been ruling with extreme severity. In suppressing an insurrection in Northumberland he had been guilty of extortion and of cruel punishment even of the innocent. In his general government he seems to have been extremely avaricious. In the year 1082 his wealth and pride had risen to such a point that he thought of attaining to the Papacy. This he intended to secure by violent means. He purchased a magnificent palace in Rome to win the favour of the people, and even collected an army, in which Hugh of Chester took service, to cross the Apennines. William met him and apprehended him at the Isle of Wight; nor could the complaints of the Pope, which we cannot conceive to have been very earnest, produce any effect. He was seized, as the King affirmed, not as Bishop but as Earl of Kent, and remained in prison till the King's death. Odo's oppressions had been very severe, and the condition of England no doubt had become much worse since the complete subjugation of the country, and now, in addition to a famine which had just wasted the country, a heavy direct tax was laid on all land, and worse than that, a vast host of foreign mercenaries was quartered on all the King's tenants, for a great danger was threatening.

Cnut was on the throne of Denmark. He had been one of the commanders in Swend's disastrous expeditions; he had married Adela the daughter of Robert of Flanders, one of William's chief Continental enemies, and had now determined to invade England. He had induced the King of Norway to join him, and their combined fleets were expected. William took ruthless precautions against his enemies. The old tax of the Danegelt was reimposed, and all the land along the coast was laid waste. The people were even ordered to shave and change their dresses, that the Danes might not easily recognize them. Disputes

Reconciliation
at Gerberoi.
1079.

Odo's oppressive
government.

Cnut's
threatened
invasion.
1064.

among the leaders, and the death of Cnut, prevented the invasion. But it was probably the difficulties which William had found in collecting his taxes and troops on this occasion which induced him to set on foot the great survey which produced the Domesday Book. For this purpose commissioners were appointed, who went through England, and in each shire inquired of the sheriff, priests, reeves, and representatives of the inhabitants, the condition of the land and its value, as compared with what it had been in the reign of the Confessor. The whole of this great work was completed in one year. On its completion a great assembly was held on Salisbury Plain. It was, in fact, a vast review, attended by no less than 60,000 persons. In this assembly was passed the important ordinance which ordered that every man should be not only the man of his immediate lord, but also the man of the king. This was in direct opposition to the usual rule in feudal countries. The whole assembly took the oath to William. This great piece of work, which rendered England one nation, was a fitting conclusion to William's reign.

In the following year a war broke out for the possession of the Vexin claimed by the King of France. Angered by a coarse jest of that monarch, William entered the country and ruthlessly ravaged it, and, at the destruction of the town of Mantes, his horse stepped upon a burning coal and threw him forward upon the pommel of the saddle; the bulk of the King aggravated the injury, which in a few days caused his death. Before he died he released his prisoners. No sooner had the breath left his body than his attendants are said to have fled. He owed his burial not to his son, but to the kind offices of a neighbouring knight, and when brought to his Church of St. Stephen's at Caen, it was not till the clergy had paid the price of the grave that Anselm Fitz-Arthur, whose property had been seized to make room for the Church, would allow his body to be buried.

The Domes-
day Book.
1085.

William's death
and burial.
1087. Sept. 9.

WILLIAM II.

1087—1100.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Malcolm III., 1057. Donald Bane, 1093. Duncan, 1094. Donald Bane, 1094. Edgar, 1097.	Philip I., 1060.	Henry IV., 1056.	Alphonso VI., 1072.

POPES.—Urban II., 1088. Pascal II., 1099.

Archbishops.	Chief-Justices.	Chancellors.
Lanfranc, 1070—1089. Anselm, 1093—1109.	Odo of Bayeux, 1087. William de S. Carlepho, 1088. Ranulf Flambard, 1094.	William Giffard, 1087. Robert Bloett, 1090. Waldric, 1093. William Giffard, 1094.

WHILE the late King was on his deathbed, he had been induced to declare his wishes with regard to his kingdoms. In pursuance, perhaps, of a wise policy, and with the wish to keep up and increase the nationality of England, he gave his hereditary dominions to his son Robert, England to his second son William. He told his son Henry to bide his time, and gave him £5000 in money.

William at once hurried to England to secure his succession, and, winning the support of Lanfranc, was in less than three weeks crowned by him. At Winchester he found the King's treasure, from which he distributed gifts among the churches in England, and a sum of money for the poor in every shire. A promise of laws more just and mild than their forefathers had known, attached the English to him for a time. Thus supported by the Church and by the conquered people, who could not but rejoice at the separation of England from Normandy, it was only the Norman Baronage he had to fear.

In Normandy the character of the new Duke Robert, who was a

1088]

NORMAN OPPOSITION

57

mere knight-errant, induced the great nobility to get rid of the royal garrisons from their castles, and otherwise to establish their feudal independence. A similar movement was begun in England, where Odo of Bayeux, liberated at the late King's death, had returned to his county of Kent, and now found himself at the head of a strong party who disliked the separation of their conquered possessions from their hereditary property. Among the adherents of the party we find such names as the two great bishops, Geoffrey of Coutances and William of Durham, Robert, Count of Mortain, Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, his son Robert of Belesme, and Hugh of Grantmesnil, with others. Odo occupied the castle of Rochester, and against it William led a body of English, collected by a threat that all who had remained behind should be proclaimed "nithing," or worthless. The efforts of the discontented barons in other parts of England were checked, and finally the castle of Rochester was captured. Odo of Bayeux and the Normans of the garrison were allowed to march out, which they did amid the revillings of the besiegers, and to retire to France. The King thus secured his position in England.

He had hitherto been kept in some restraint by the influence of Lanfranc; but when that prelate died in 1089, his coarse, licentious, sceptical and avaricious character began to display itself. His chief minister was Ralph Flambard, a Churchman, who, like many others, was of low parentage, but who seems to have recommended himself to William by his skill as a financier. One of the plans attributed to him was a more accurate completion of the Domesday survey, and the measurement of the hides of land there returned. This would have been harmless enough, but there must have been many other more flagrant exactions, though very likely covered by some form of law, to account for the hatred with which he was regarded. Although his office is not mentioned, he was probably justiciary.

While England was groaning under the exactions of this man, so that "men would rather wish to die, than to live under his power," the attention of the King was chiefly engaged in intrigues with the nobles of Normandy. The easy character of Duke Robert, and the rising anarchy among the nobles, afforded abundant opportunity. On one occasion it was the citizen Conan of Rouen with whom he was in correspondence; and when this plot was discovered, and Prince Henry, at that time acting with Duke Robert, had thrown the traitor from the cathedral

Opposition of the Normans checked. 1088.

Lanfranc dies. Ralph Flambard succeeds him. 1089.

William's quarrels with his brothers in Normandy. 1090.

tower, it was a quarrel between Grantmesnil and Curci on the one side, and Robert of Belesme on the other, which gave him an opportunity of mixing in the affairs of the duchy. In 1091, however, the brothers came to an agreement, and a treaty was made at Caen, by which they engaged that the survivor should succeed to the possessions of his brother; and meanwhile Eu, Fécamp, Mont S. Michel, Cherbourg, and some other territories, were given to William, who in return promised to conquer Maine for Robert. Twelve barons of either party swore to the observance of this treaty.

Prince Henry, finding himself completely ignored by this arrangement, took possession of the rock of St. Michel, and bade defiance to his brothers. After a siege of some duration he was driven thence; but in the general anarchy of the duchy he found a home at Domfront, where the citizens begged him to be their lord, on the condition that he would not give them up to any other. It is doubtful whether he could have kept possession of this strong place, had not William's attention been engaged by the affairs of Scotland.

Malcolm had renewed hostilities, and William found it necessary to march in person against him. His expedition was not successful. The weather destroyed a fleet which accompanied it, and, by its inclemency, caused much loss to his army. His presence, however, was sufficient in some degree to overawe Malcolm; a compromise was effected; Malcolm again did homage, and received back certain properties in England of which he had been deprived, and which were perhaps manors which had been given him as resting-places when he came to do homage to his suzerain. At the same time, William turned aside into the district of Cumberland, which was a dependency of the Scotch crown. He re-established Carlisle, and filled the county with peasants brought from the South of England from destroyed villages in the neighbourhood of Winchester. In this he disregarded the interests of the Scotch King, the immediate lord of the country, who therefore complained, and was invited to meet William at the next assembly at Gloucester. There, on the refusal of William to do him justice, a new quarrel broke out, and Malcolm was shortly afterwards killed, while invading England, at Alnwick, by Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland.

In the neighbourhood of Wales, too, fighting was almost perpetual. Not only did the great Earldoms of Shrewsbury and Chester increase their borders, but many knights took advantage of the

Feb. 1091.

Henry obtains Domfront.

War with Scotland. 1091.

1093.

frequent civil divisions of the Welsh to push westward and set up their castles. The course of the war had lately been in favour of the Welsh rather than of the Normans, and in 1095 William thought it necessary to lead an army against them. His attempt was not successful, nor was a repetition of it two years later more so. The nature of the ground was too difficult for the advance of a great army, and William, thus a second time repelled, had again to trust to the self-interest and courage of individual Norman settlers. This plan he strengthened by granting to Normans portions of land as yet unconquered. Thus two members of the house of Montgomery, brothers of Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, Roger and Arnulf, did homage for lands in Powys and Dyfed, and Hugh de Lacy for lands to the west of Herefordshire. This guerilla warfare was successful, and Hugh of Chester was just succeeding in winning back Anglesey, which had been taken from him, when an invasion of Magnus of Norway checked for the time the Norman success. The Earl of Shrewsbury, while assisting Hugh of Chester, lost his life, and was succeeded by Robert de Belesme, his brother. On the whole, the English frontier constantly advanced, and the border counties were thronged with castles either of the great Earls or of individual adventurers.

Intrigues and irregular fighting had meanwhile been constant in Normandy. In 1094 King Philip of France had been called in by Robert, but nothing of importance arose from this. But it gave rise to a curious act of extortion on the part of William, who summoned 20,000 men from England, evidently the old English County Militia, and on their arrival at the coast dismissed them, taking from them the ten shillings a head, viaticum, or journey-money, they had received from their counties. In 1095 a great conspiracy of the nobles in England, headed by Mowbray of Northumberland, came to light. Mowbray threw himself into Bamborough castle, which could not itself be taken, but immediately opposite to it another castle, called Malvoisin, was raised, and the garrison of this "ill-neighbour" found means to decoy Mowbray out of his stronghold and to take him prisoner. The danger which threatened William was thus got over; while the following year the object of his wishes came into his hands, when Robert, eager to join a crusade which had just been preached, pledged Normandy to him for the sum of £6,666. His new situation as ruler of Normandy brought William into hostility with the neighbouring countries, and especially with Maine, where Hélié de la Flèche made head against him, and, with the assistance of Fulk IV.

Continued war with Wales. 1094.

Troubles in Normandy 1094.

Conspiracy of Mowbray crushed.

William obtains Normandy from Robert. 1096.

of Anjou, succeeded in beating him off from Le Mans. William's power was now, in spite of this repulse, very great, and the King of France, with whom he became involved in war in 1097 on the old subject of the Vexin, looked with anxiety at the growth of his great vassal, especially when a close friendship arose between him and the Duke of Poitiers and Guienne. This conjunction, giving the English King a grasp of France all round the seaboard, made men believe that his ambition reached to the throne of France, especially as Philip had but one son, Louis. The strange death of William put an end to all such thoughts. He was hunting in the New Forest, whither he had been warned not to go, and there met his death; whether by an accidental arrow from the bow of Walter Tyrrel, or falling forward upon the point of an arrow as he stooped over his prey, or slain by the hands of some of those whom his cruelty and avarice had made his implacable enemies, is uncertain. The flight of his attendants, and the unceremonious treatment of his corpse, seemed to favour the last supposition.

Size of his
dominions at
his death.
1100.

In spite then of his unamiable character; of the difficulties which had beset him from his somewhat questionable title; of the natural impulse towards feudal isolation of his barons; of troublesome neighbours; and occasional want of success in his expeditions; Rufus had on the whole succeeded in his plans, as far as his external circumstances were concerned. It was in his domestic government, especially with regard to the Church, that his inferiority to his great father is most obvious. Unlike the Conqueror, he was unable to see, or if he saw, to care for the national advantages which sprung from a well-organized Church. With a similar determination to be a perfect king in his own dominions, he asserted that opinion by violent acts against the Church itself, by appointments of the worst description, and by a life from which all show of decency was banished. As long as Lanfranc lived, he kept some restraint upon himself, but upon his death he began to show his real temper.

It was a critical time in the history of the Church. The quarrel about investitures was raging in Europe. The skill of Lanfranc and the power of the Conqueror had, as we have seen, prevented the quarrel from reaching England during that King's reign; and to the end of Gregory's life, 1085, he had kept up friendly, even flattering, relations with the English King. When Henry IV. had, in 1080, raised the Anti-Pope Guibert to the Papal throne under the name of Clement III., Lanfranc had contrived not

Disputes with
the Church.

Causes of
William's in-
feriority to his
father.

to commit himself to either party, but, on the whole, it is probable, that during his life the regular Popes, Victor III. and Urban II., who succeeded him in 1088, were acknowledged in England. On his death advantage was taken of the Schism practically to acknowledge neither Pope, and to leave the abbeys and bishoprics vacant. Indeed, we are told that it was openly asserted that it was a privilege of the King of England to acknowledge the Pope or not as he pleased. Thus for four years the archbishopric was unfilled, along with several other important ecclesiastical preferments, and the want of discipline in the Church grew worse and worse. Ralph Flambard, as administrator of the diocese of Lincoln, was unlimited in his extortions. The Norman Church dignitaries marched between lines of armed men to church. The Bishop of Wells demolished the houses of the canons to build his own palace, and even the religious and moral scruples of the English monks were laughed at by their licentious superiors. In 1093 the King fell very ill, and for the time became repentant and religious; he proceeded to listen to the wishes of his people and fill up the vacant appointments. The most important of these was the archbishopric. For this post he selected Anselm of Aosta, Abbot of Bec. This man was a Piedmontese, who had been attracted to Normandy by the fame of Lanfranc, and had entered the Abbey of Bec under him. Upon Lanfranc's removal to Caen he was made Prior, and afterwards Abbot. Both his character and attainments commanded the veneration of the age; and at the present time he had been invited by Hugh the Fat, Earl of Chester, to come over and assist him in establishing a Benedictine abbey at Chester. For this purpose, and charged with a mission from his monastery, he was induced much against his will to come to England. In the first access of the King's repentance—after issuing a royal proclamation promising afresh the freedom of captives, the good laws of King Edward, and the punishment of evil-doers—he proceeded so far to action as to appoint Anselm Archbishop. It was not without something like actual violence that Anselm was forced to accept the Episcopal staff. The great importance of the primacy and Anselm's view of the King's character are well shown by some words that are attributed to him: "England's plough is drawn by two supereminent oxen, the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury. . . . Of these oxen one is dead, and the other, fierce as a savage bull, is yoked young to the plough, and in place of the dead ox you would yoke me a poor feeble old sheep with

Bishoprics left
vacant.

Repenting after
illness, he
makes Anselm
Archbishop.

Anselm unwill-
ingly accepts.
1093.

the wild bull." The feeble old sheep, however, was a very decided ecclesiastic. He insisted at once upon the restoration of the whole of the lands of the See of Canterbury, more even than Lanfranc had held. He declared that he would publicly acknowledge Pope Urban. And when, after his consecration, on his presenting the King with £500 of silver, the King demanded £1000, he withdrew his intended present and distributed all to the poor. Nor was it as a defender of ecclesiastical rights that he was pre-eminent. He set himself to check

as far as it was possible the shameless and abominable vice that was rampant in England. Among other signs of the degraded licentiousness of the times was the effeminate foppiness of the courtiers. Against their long hair and sharp-peaked shoes the Archbishop was never weary of inveighing. The King's absence from England put an end for a time to the disputes between the Archbishop and the King, but upon his return Anselm demanded leave to obtain his pall from Pope Urban. This open acknowledgment of the Pope William wished to avoid, and at a council, summoned to consider the matter, the deposition of Anselm appears to have been suggested. The bishops, creatures of the King, basely deserted their chief; and the wisdom of the Baronage of England, under the guidance of Robert, Count of Mellent, who throughout this and the preceding reign appears as the good adviser to the sons of the Conqueror, alone saved him from that disgrace. Unable to refuse Anselm's wish absolutely, the King contrived to persuade the Pope to send *him* the pall, but Anselm stoutly refused to receive it from secular hands, and ultimately triumphed so far as to be allowed to take it himself from the high altar of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

For the moment the primate was triumphant, the cowardly bishops sought his absolution. Bishops which fell vacant were at once filled up. The Irish and Scotch prelates acknowledged Anselm's superiority. But William, cunning and implacable, was not to be thus foiled. If the churchman could not be touched, the feudal tenant could; and Anselm was accused of insufficient performance of his duty in supplying military followers for an expedition into Wales. In 1097, unable to withstand the royal violence, he left England, and made his way to Rome. He there was present at two great councils, that of Bari in 1098, where the orthodox doctrine as to the Holy Ghost was established; and one at Rome in 1099, where a curse was laid on all laymen who conferred ecclesiastical investitures and upon all churchmen who received them. Upon William's death Anselm returned to England.

HENRY I.

1100–1135.

Born 1068 = Matilda of Scotland.

William, Duke of Normandy.
d. 1119.Henry V. = Matilda = Geoffrey of Anjou.
d. 1167.

Henry II.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Edgar, 1097.	Philip I., 1060.	Henry IV., 1056.	Alphonso VI., 1072
Alexander I., 1106.	Louis VI., 1108.	Henry V., 1106.	Alphonso VII., 1109.
David I., 1124.		Lothaire II., 1125.	Alphonso VIII., 1134.

POPES.—Pascal II., 1099. Gelasius II., 1118. Calixtus II., 1119. Honorius II., 1124.
Innocent II., 1130.

Archbishops.	Chief-Justices.	Chancellors.
Anselm, 1093–1109.	Robert Bloett, 1100.	William Giffard, 1100.
Ralph of Escures, 1114– 1122.	Roger the Poor, Bishop of Salisbury, 1107.	Roger the Poor, 1101.
William of Corbeil, 1123– 1135.		William Giffard, 1103.
		Waldric, 1104.
		Ranulf, 1108.
		Geoffrey Rufus, 1124.

HENRY had been hunting in the New Forest when his brother William was killed, and rode at once to Winchester to secure the King's treasure. As the rights of primogeniture had not yet been established, and he was very obviously a fitter man to be King than his brother Robert, the slight opposition offered by the treasurer was speedily overruled, and the Sunday following (August 5, 1100) he was crowned at Westminster. To secure his position, however, he found it necessary to conciliate all parties. The Church he won by the immediate filling of vacant sees, and by the recall of the exiled

Henry secures
the Crown.
1100.

He conciliates
all classes.

Anselm. William Giffard, the chancellor of Rufus, was made Bishop of Winchester; Girard of Hereford, Archbishop of York; while both Norman and Saxon laity were bound to him by a charter, by which he laid some constitutional restrictions upon the despotism established by his father. In that charter he promised to abolish all oppressive duties, and to confine his demands to his just claims as feudal lord; rendering the same agreement obligatory on his tenants towards their vassals. False coining was checked, the right of leaving personal property by will granted, and the law of King Edward, which meant the old institutions of the country, re-established. He likewise thought it well to win the heart of the people by marrying a Princess of English descent, Matilda, niece of Eadgar Ætheling, daughter of Margaret and Malcolm of Scotland. Further to show his disapproval of his brother's policy, he arrested Ralph Flambard, who, however, found means to escape to Normandy, and was made Bishop of Lisieux.

Henry had thus declared the policy he intended to pursue, the policy of his father rather than of his brother. He meant to be at once a friend and master of the Church, and a national sovereign of the English, a character which became a prince who had been born in that country. That position implied a power much more centralized than that of a feudal suzerain; and in England his chief policy was directed throughout his reign to upholding his mastery over the Church and over refractory barons who aimed at more perfect feudalism. He was in heart however a Norman, and, in pursuit of his objects, did not shrink from using his English subjects with great severity. Similarly, his chief foreign difficulties were produced by his wish to win the Duchy of Normandy, and having won it to rule it in the same masterful spirit in which he ruled England. We find then in his reign ecclesiastical disputes, disputes with the feudal barons of both England and Normandy, wars for the conquest of the duchy, and consequent complications with his suzerain the King of France. Mixed with these are stories, chiefly from Saxon sources, of cruel and unjust exactions and acts of injustice, tolerated, if not ordered, against his Saxon subjects.

His views found supporters in the two sons of that Roger de Beaumont, to whom his father had left the regency of Normandy when he first came to England. These were the two great Earls, Robert, Count of Mellent,¹ afterwards Earl Leicester, and his younger brother Henry, Earl of Warwick, the elder

¹ Called also Count of Meulan.

His policy.

His supporters.

of whom had received no less than ninety-one manors from the Conqueror, and was the most influential and wisest statesman of the day. On the other hand, he was constantly opposed by his brother Robert, a military prince of the feudal type, and Robert de Belesme of the House of Montgomery, possessor of the Earldoms of Alençon in France and of Shrewsbury in England, and by right of marriage of the county of Ponthieu.

Robert heard of his brother's accession to the throne while on his journey home from the Holy Land. He had served with credit throughout the first crusade, especially at Dorylæum and at Ascalon. He had declined the offer of the crown of Jerusalem, and on his return home had married Sibylla, the daughter of Geoffrey of Conversana. He was a man of extravagant and profligate habits, and speedily squandered the fortune which his wife had brought him, but the entreaties of English exiles, and of those discontented nobles who longed for an easier rule than they could expect from Henry, roused him to assert his claim to the English crown. Robert of Belesme and his brothers, Walter Giffard, Robert Malet, Ivo of Grantmesnil, even William of Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, closely connected with the royal house, joined his party.

But the English were true to the King. Fitz-Hamon, Bigot, and the Earl of Mellent, added their influence to the same side. It was probably chiefly the talents of Mellent, and the threat of excommunication from Archbishop Anselm, which brought about a peaceful solution of the difficulty. A treaty was arranged by which Robert renounced his claims in exchange for the Cotentin and 3000 marks a year. It was also stipulated that a complete amnesty should be extended to the partisans of either prince in his brother's country. It was not Henry's intention however to carry out this part of the stipulation, and no sooner had Robert left the country than the King proceeded to take steps against the two leaders of his brother's faction, Ivo of Grantmesnil and Robert of Belesme. Ivo had been a crusader, and was one of those who had fled from the siege of Antioch, being let down the wall with a rope. He had thus earned the title among the witty Normans of the "Rope-dancer," and finding his credit gone he withdrew from England. His share in the earldom of Leicester was given to Robert of Mellent, who subsequently acquired the rest of the earldom. Alarmed by these measures of the King, William de Warrenne induced Robert foolishly to come over to

His opponents.

Robert of Normandy seeks the English Crown. 1101.

Withdraws without bloodshed.

Henry attacks his partisans.

England to negotiate for the safety of his partisans. His position there was one of great jeopardy, and he was glad to retire, having renounced his money payment, but having secured the restitution of William in his Earldom of Surrey, of which he had been deprived. The withdrawal of Robert from the contest allowed Henry to turn his undivided attention to the destruction of Robert de Belesme, the head of the Norman party in England. From him he won the

Defeat of
Belesme.
Establishment
of royal power
in England.

castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and subsequently that of Bridgenorth, to which he had retreated. When many of the barons combined to seek his pardon, Henry, still resting on the support of the English, refused to listen to them, and proceeded to win from him his last stronghold, the Castle of Shrewsbury. Upon this Belesme withdrew with his two brothers into Normandy, and the disaffection of the aristocracy was permanently checked.

It had been stipulated that the brothers should not receive each other's exiles. In spite of this Robert of Normandy, enraged at the persecution of his partisans, restored to Belesme his continental property. Henry consequently on his side continued his measures against Robert's partisans. He first banished the Count of Mortain, Earl of Cornwall, who claimed also the Earldom of Kent in succession to Odo of Bayeux, the possession of which would have rendered him the most powerful noble in England, and then proceeded to Normandy to continue his attacks upon Belesme. He alleged not only the reception of his exiles, but the general misgovernment of Robert, as an excuse for his proceedings; and in truth, under that Prince, Normandy had become a scene of anarchy. As an instance of this it is mentioned, that on his arrival a church was pointed out to him full of property sent there for safety from the hands of the marauding barons. He captured the towns of Caen and Bayeux, and found allies in the persistent enemies of the Dukes of Normandy, Fulk Count of Anjou, and Hélie de la Flèche, who had succeeded in regaining the County of Maine. With Count Robert of Flanders also he renewed friendly relations. With such

Battle of
Tenchebray,
Sept. 28, 1106.

support he proved too strong for the Norman Duke, and before the Castle of Tenchebray a battle was fought, which, though most obstinately contested, ended in favour of the King. Duke Robert himself, the Count of Mortain, and Eadgar Ætheling, who had been serving with the Duke, were taken prisoners. Eadgar was liberated, and died in peace in Eng-

land some years after; but Duke Robert and the Count of Mortain were imprisoned for the rest of their lives. Normandy and England were thus again united.

The possession of Normandy brought Henry into more immediate contact with France. Louis VI. was upon the throne of that kingdom, the first of those great kings to whom the monarchy owed its ultimate triumph over feudalism.

Wars with
France.
1107.

It was natural that he should look with jealousy on the vast strength of his great vassal, and should attempt to curtail that power which the supineness of his predecessor had allowed to accumulate. A constant border warfare was the consequence, rendered the more possible by the doubtful position of such counties as Maine, Evreux, the Vexin, Blois, and Alençon, the counts of which were for ever changing their allegiance. Louis had no difficulty in finding a pretender to the Norman Duchy whom he might use as his instrument in opposing the English King.

Louis upholds
William Clito as
claimant to the
Duchy.

William, the son of Robert, had fallen into Henry's hands, and had been by him intrusted to the care of Hélie de St. Saen. In 1110, in connection apparently with a movement of disaffected nobility (for Braiose, Malet, and Bainard are mentioned as being exiled at that time), Hélie fled with the young Prince, and sought to raise all the neighbouring princes in his cause. Their efforts were not successful. Henry's arch-enemy, Robert of Belesme, fell into the King's hands at Bonneville, where he had presented himself with extraordinary effrontery, trusting that a message with which he was charged from the King of France would give him the security due to an ambassador. The same year Theobald of Blois, acting for Henry, defeated the French King at Puyssac. And when Henry himself succeeded in capturing the town of Alençon, and in attaching the Count of Anjou to his interests, by giving him his heir, William the Ætheling, as a husband for his daughter, Louis found it desirable to conclude a peace at Gisors, by which he resigned his claim of suzerainty over Maine, Belesme, and Brittany, and left entirely unmentioned the rights of William, son of Robert. There followed a period of some years, during which Henry was able to live in tolerable peace in England.

End of the war.
Treaty of Gisors.
1113.

His position was, indeed, unusually strong. His son was contracted to the daughter of the Earl of Anjou; his natural daughter to Conan, son of Alan Fergant of Brittany; and, in the following year, his daughter Adelaide or Matilda was married to the German Emperor

Henry V. He took this opportunity of securing the succession to his son William, to whom, in the years 1115-1116, he succeeded in inducing the barons both of England and Normandy to promise their allegiance. But this cessation of hostilities was not of long duration.

Prince William
acknowledged
heir.

The causes of war had not been removed. There was still chronic disaffection among the Norman barons, who disliked the firmness of Henry's rule; constant jealousy upon the part of the French King; and the Pretender William, the Clito as he is called, was an ever-ready instrument for their hands. Thus the border warfare was renewed, and we hear of the disaffection, not only of the King's great barons, but of his allies, both Robert of Flanders and Fulk of Anjou adopting William's cause. Other distresses likewise came upon Henry. He lost his wife Matilda, and his firm and sagacious minister, Robert of Mellent. But, in 1118, prosperity again returned to him. The Count of Flanders was killed in an attack upon the Count of Eu. Money or negotiation won back the friendship of Fulk, and in the following year a battle between a few knights at Brenneville, at which both Henry and Louis were present in person, was regarded as so decisive a victory for the English, that, by the mediation of Pope Calixtus, a new Treaty was arranged, and William's interest completely disregarded. Thus was triumphantly closed the second of Henry's wars in France.

Renewal of the
war.

Depression of
Henry.

Battle of Brenne-
ville, and com-
plete prosperity.
1119.

At this period of his greatest prosperity a blow fell upon Henry which he is said never to have recovered. He was returning in triumph to England, when a certain Thomas Fitz-Stephen, whose father had conveyed the Conqueror to England, claimed the privilege of conveying the royal party. To gratify him, Prince William, with the king's natural daughter Matilda, the Countess of Perche, and other young nobles, consented to embark in his ship called the "Blanche Nef." They remained behind the rest of the fleet and celebrated the occasion in festivity, which ended in the drunkenness of the crew. As they rowed from the harbour of Barfleur in the moonlight they suddenly struck upon the rocks of the Ras de Catte, and there was barely time for the young Prince to escape in a boat from the sinking ship. The cries of his sister are said to have induced William to return towards the wreck, when the hurried rush of the despairing crew capsized his boat, and all on board were drowned. Of the whole crew of the ship

Death of Prince
William and its
consequences.
1120.

one only, Berold, a butcher of Rouen, survived, owing his safety to the warmth afforded him by his rough garb of undressed sheepskins. With fear and trembling the news was broken to Henry by the young son of Count Theobald of Blois. Henry is said to have fallen fainting from his seat, and from that time onwards never to have relaxed into a smile.

The death of Prince William was not only a domestic misfortune. By it was broken also the tie which bound the Count of Anjou to Henry's interests. It was a natural jealousy of his great neighbour, the Norman Duke, which had induced Fulk to act in alliance with Henry. When Robert's imprisonment put Henry on the throne of Normandy, he in turn became the object of Fulk's enmity. The state of the Duchy, where a disaffected party constantly existed, afforded him ample opportunity of giving effect to that enmity. Thus, in 1124, Henry was again recalled to Normandy to suppress a rebellion in favour of William Clito, who was supported by Anjou. Not only Anjou but France was inclining to join the rebels, and it was only by instigating his son-in-law the Emperor to attack France that Henry could manage to make head against his opponents. As it was, however, a fortunate surprise by which all the leaders fell into his hands enabled him to crush the rebellion, and again induced the foreign powers to desert William. The King of France indeed did not wholly give him up; but in 1127, after investing him with several important territories, he brought him forward as a claimant to the throne of Flanders, to which he had a claim through his grandmother, Matilda, the Conqueror's wife, who was a daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders. Against him Henry supported the claims of Diederik or Dirk, Count of Alsace, the last count's nephew, and his rightful heir. The matter came to war, and in July 1128, before Alost, Prince William was wounded, and died of his wounds. Henry was thus rid of his most formidable opponent.

Insurrection of
the Duke of
Anjou.

Death of
William Clito.

It remained for him to secure the succession for his daughter Matilda, and he induced all the great men of England to acknowledge her, and swear to support her claims. The list of those who swore was headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, followed by the King's nephew, Stephen of Boulogne, and his natural son, Robert of Gloucester. They always declared that they accepted the oath on the condition that she should not be married to a foreigner without their consent, and therefore many of them held themselves absolved from their

Attempt to
secure the
succession to
Matilda.

oath, when she was betrothed and ultimately married to Geoffrey, son of the Count of Anjou.

The close of his reign was chiefly occupied in arranging disputes in consequence of this marriage. It was while still in Normandy on this business, though his presence was imperatively demanded in England to suppress an insurrection in Wales, that he died, as it is said, of the effects of a hearty meal of lampreys on the 1st of December 1135.

Throughout the reign he had had considerable difficulties with the Welsh, for although, as has been said, many Norman knights and barons had established strongholds among them, they were by no means subdued. They took part in the insurrection of Robert of Belesme; and Henry, conscious that they would be difficult to conquer, hit upon the plan of establishing among them colonies of Flemings, many of whom had come over with the Conqueror, and still more about the year 1106, driven from their country by inundations. The land granted them was in the western part of Wales, near Haverfordwest and Tenby, where they acted at once as a military post, and, through their knowledge of manufacture and agriculture, as an instrument of civilization. In 1114 the Welsh rose under Gryffith. The occupation of Caermarthen and Cardigan, where Gilbert Strongbow, Earl of Strigul, was at that time commanding, separated the Flemings from the English, and Henry was compelled to march to their rescue. This insurrection was suppressed by Robert of Gloucester, himself perhaps the son of Gryffith's sister.¹ Small insurrections continued. In 1122 Henry again went in person to Wales, but, on the whole, the inhabitants were kept in subjection by the Flemings and by numerous Norman castles till 1134, when they were provoked to a new outbreak, so important that the King was preparing to cross from Normandy to suppress it, when he died.

At home the great points of Henry's reign were those which form the domestic history of all feudal monarchies, the relation of the Church and State, and the maintenance of police. With regard to the Church his views were those of his father. He was ready to support and increase its influence; he was not ready to give up any of the prerogatives which his predecessors had possessed. He thus reversed all the action of his

¹ Her name was Nest. She married Gerald of Windsor, who, as constable of Arnulf of Shrewsbury, commanded the castle of Pembroke. Their grandson was the historian Geraldus Cambrensis. It seems most probable that Robert was not her son. Cf. Freeman, v. 853.

brother, recalled Anselm at once with marked honour, and filled up the vacant benefices. But the Archbishop during his exile had mixed in Continental politics, at that time consisting almost entirely of the question of investitures. He returned home determined to assert to the full the independence of the Church. He therefore refused to swear fealty, and do homage to the King, Anselm refuses fealty. or to consecrate those bishops who had received their investitures from him. Henry, supported by his lay counsellors, was equally determined to uphold the rights of the crown. The matter was referred to the Pope, Pascal II. The Papacy had enemies enough already, and could not afford to drive to extremities a Prince so powerful, and in the main so friendly, as Henry. The reply which was returned was ambiguous. Henry again commanded the Archbishop to perform his usual duties. A second application to Rome produced no better result. Anselm was urged to perseverance. Henry's ambassadors were given to understand that, as long as his appointments were good, the King should not be interfered with. Firm in his own views, but uncertain as to the Pope's wishes, Anselm had no course open to him but to visit Rome in person. He Anselm has to leave England. there met with but lukewarm support, and withdrew to Lyons, while Henry laid hands upon all the revenues of the archbishopric. For some time Anselm rejected all offers of compromise; but when, after all his efforts, he could induce the Pope to go no further than the excommunication, not of the King, but of some of his ministers, he lost heart, and, in 1106, a compromise was arranged at Bec, by which Henry retained the really important part of investiture, the oaths of fealty and homage, while resigning the idle symbol of the gift of ring and crozier. This compromise, which was the same in effect as that made sixteen years afterwards at Worms between Henry V. and Calixtus II., set at rest for the present that rivalry between Church and State which the policy of the Conqueror had introduced. The decrees of a Synod held at Westminster, 1102, by Synod of Westminster. Anselm before going to Rome, show the abuses which the ecclesiastical disputes of the last reign had introduced. They are directed against such habits as simony, marriage of the clergy, the assumption of lay dress by ecclesiastics, the holding of secular courts by bishops, the adoration of unauthorized saints and relics, and vindicate the claims of the Church to be considered as the chief civilizing agent of the time by forbidding the selling of men for slaves.

Unsupported by the Pope, makes compromise at Bec. 1106.

It was not always that the Church appeared in such an amiable light. Henry no doubt, on the whole, attempted to make good appointments, but interest or desire to reward an ardent partisan sometimes put an unfit person into office. Thus Henry of Poitou was given the Abbey of Peterborough, although he already held an abbey in France, apparently as a reward for the support he gave the King in upholding the illegality of the marriage between William Clito and Sibylla of Anjou on the score of consanguinity. "He came like a drone to a hive," says the chronicler; "all that the bees draw towards them the drones devour and draw from them, so did he." It is fair to say that Henry, when he found out how bad a person he had appointed, had him removed. "It was not very long after that that the King sent for him, and made him give up the Abbey of Peterborough, and go out of the land." Thus, again, after a great distribution of abbeys in 1107, it is remarked "that the abbots were rather wolves than shepherds." Such complaints are however usually uttered by English writers, and the plight of the conquered people was evidently very miserable.

It was a time of great suffering on more accounts than one, and the suffering was of a kind to fall chiefly upon the lower orders. Agriculture was so rough that any little irregularity in the seasons produced a failure of the crops, and the habits of the people were such that any infectious disease was liable to become a pestilence. The constant warfare, either against his vassals or his enemies, which the King carried on, was the cause of frequent taxation, against which no class in the State had it in their power to remonstrate; while the natural and artificial causes of suffering were further aggravated by the frequent issue of false coin. Thus we find year after year such entries as these in the chroniclers:—"The year 1105 was very miserable, because of the failure of the crops, and the ceaseless taxation." "The year 1110 was full of wretchedness, because of the bad season, and the tribute the King demanded for his daughter's dowry." "In this year (1124) were many failures in England in corn and all fruit, so that between Christmas and Candlemas the acre seed of wheat was sold for six shillings; and that of barley, that is three seedlips for three shillings, the acre seed of oats for four shillings, because there was little corn, and the penny was so bad that a man who had at market a pound could by no means buy therewith twelvepenny-worth." "In this same year

Frequent unfit appointments in the Church. Henry corrects them when possible.

Wretched condition of the people.

Extracts from old chroniclers.

(1125) was so great a flood on St. Lawrence's mass day that many towns and men were drowned, and bridges shattered; corn and meadows totally destroyed, and for all fruits there was so bad a season as there had not been for many years before." "In that year (1131) there was so great a murrain of cattle as never was in the memory of man." This carried off neat, swine, and domestic fowls alike. And when the harvest was good the pestilence came. "This year (1112) was a very good year, and very abundant in wood and field, but it was a very sorrowful one through a most destructive pestilence." Or again, the year 1104, "It is not easy to recount all the miseries the country suffered this year through various and manifold illegalities and imposts which never ceased nor failed, and ever as the King went there was plundering by his followers on his wretched people, and at the same time often burnings and murders."

In these extracts, which might be largely multiplied, the chief causes of the people's misery are mentioned. Heavy taxes, famines, floods, pestilence, false money, and purveyance. To attempt to rectify such of these as were within the power of man, was one main part of Henry's duty. To that was added the work of suppressing, by a centralized royal power, the excesses of the feudal barons. What crying necessity there was that they should be suppressed is made plain by the stories related of Robert of Belesme, their chief. He is spoken of as guilty of the most unheard-of barbarities, as having scorned the ransoms of his captives to torture them by newfangled instruments; he found delight in seeing men and women impaled and struggling in the agonies of death. "He was a man," says William of Malmesbury, "intolerable for the barbarity of his manners, remarkable besides for cruelty;" and, among other instances, he relates how, on account of some trifling fault of its father, he blinded his godchild, who was his hostage, by tearing out the poor little creature's eyes with "his accursed nails."

One complaint of his people Henry systematically disregarded. He could not afford to do without his taxes, and on all classes on this point he leant with a heavy hand. But in other respects, as far as in him lay, he rectified abuses of administration, and established a vigorous and effectual police. The evils of purveyance had become extreme; no property was safe from the hands of the followers of the court, and when they found larger supplies than they wanted, "if it was liquor they washed their

Their chief complaints.

Baronial tyranny.

Heavy taxation.

horses' feet in it, or food they wantonly destroyed it." But Henry made a regulation for the followers of his court, at whichever of his residences he might be, stating what they should take without payment from the country folk, and how much, and at what price they should purchase, punishing the transgressors by heavy fine or loss of life. So with regard to false coinage, immediately after the complaint of high prices in the year 1124, it is mentioned that Henry at once sent from Normandy to England, and commanded that all the moneymen should have their right hands cut off, and be otherwise mutilated. Bishop Roger of Salisbury sent all over England, commanded them all to come before him, and then and there punished upwards of fifty. Henry was careful, indeed, in other ways with regard to the money, having the whole of the coinage broken to prevent the refusal of broken silver pennies; for it seems to have been the custom to break the coinage to see that the money was good, and tradesmen not unfrequently refused the broken coins.

Against offences of violence Henry was equally vigorous. At one single court held in Leicestershire by Basset the Justiciary, during the King's absence in 1124, no less than forty-four thieves were condemned and hanged, besides others mutilated. "He sought after robbers and counterfeiters with the greatest diligence, and punished them when discovered," says William of Malmesbury. Rivalling his father also in other respects, he restrained by edict the acts of his courtiers, thefts, rapine, and the violation of women, commanding the delinquents to be deprived of sight. He also displayed singular vigilance against the mint masters, suffering no man who had been guilty of "deluding the innocent by the practice of roguery" to escape without losing his hands. "A good man he was," says the Saxon Chronicle, "and all men stood in awe of him; no man durst misdo against another in his time. He made peace for man and beast. Whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst do him aught but good."

To carry out this strict police some apparatus was necessary, which at the same time should serve the purpose of diminishing the power of the great nobles, and that of beginning at all events, by its centralizing influence, to re-form the conquered people and their conquerors into one nation. The rudiments of such an apparatus Henry found already existing in the arrangements which the Conqueror had made. The system of frankpledge, increased and adapted to the more general feudal form of society, supplied him

Henry cures
what evils he
can.

His strict police.

Administrative
machinery.

with an efficient system of police. There was no man in the kingdom but some one was answerable for him. If he was a vassal, his lord. If he was a freeman, the knot of freemen of which he was a member. As courts to carry out this system, there were the old Hundred and Shire gemots. These Henry strengthened and, it would seem from one existing order, restored when in any way decayed to their original purity. To these courts criminal cases belonged, and civil suits between vassals of different lords. Questions between vassals of the same lord seem to have fallen within the jurisdiction of the lord. But these inferior courts, although they were excellent for police purposes, and as a check upon the powers of the baronial courts, would have done little towards the formation of nationality had they not been brought into connection with a superior court of which the king was chief. This central court consisted of the King in his ordinary council, which, since the Conquest, was known as the Curia Regis. Over it was the justiciary, who was the King's representative, his regent during his absence, the head of his administration, both judicial and financial, at all times. Under him was a selection of barons, the chief officers of the royal household, and those best qualified for judicial purposes. The clerks of this court were placed under a head, who was the chancellor. The judges themselves sat for financial purposes in the exchequer chamber, and were spoken of as the barons of the exchequer. For general business they were called justices, and their head the chief-justice. The organization of this court dates from the reign of Henry I. The office of chief justiciary had been founded by William the Conqueror, but the regular formation of the Exchequer Court was the work of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, in the hands of whose family the direction of the machinery remained for nearly a century.¹ It was afterwards, as we shall see, brought to its completion by Henry II., but all its essential parts are to be found in the reign of his grandfather. It was as officers of finance that the justices first began to traverse the country. The sheriffs could not always be trusted in their own localities, and change of property and other causes gave rise to difficult questions, requiring to be settled by the immediate intervention of the King's officers. From financial questions their authority naturally passed to questions of justice, and their connection with the local courts was further strengthened when Henry united several sheriffdoms under one of his justices. Following a natural tendency, the men employed

Local courts.

Curia Regis.

¹ Stubb's Select Charters.

for these offices were not the great barons, but new men, who rose by their talents, and were naturally upholders of the royal power and of order in opposition to the anarchical baronial party.

To sum up; after the year 1108, when the local courts were re-established, both the Hundred and county courts were the same in constitution and in arrangement as before the Conquest. But they were connected with the central government; because matters in which the King was interested were set aside for the consideration of the Curia Regis, or travelling judiciary sent out from that body; and because the Norman lawyers had introduced the practice of issuing writs from the King's court, whereby the King, in virtue of what is called his "equitable power," that is, his power of securing justice where the law did not give it, prescribed the method of action in certain difficult cases. The Hundred court was sometimes a lower court for the arrangement of small debts; the Bailiff of the Hundred then presided. Sometimes it was the great court held only twice a year; the sheriff then presided, the court exercised criminal jurisdiction, and was known as the "Court Leet." It also saw to the filling up of the divisions of ten men required by the system of Frankpledge; this was called "the view of frankpledge." The court was then known as "the Sheriff's Tourn." Below these local courts were the feudal manor courts, the old motes of the township, now become the courts of the lord. But we must not suppose that the authority of the sheriff and the local courts (now virtually royal courts) was universal. Certain great lords enjoyed franchises, that is, exercised jurisdiction over several manors. If the lord had "sac and soc," his court had the authority of the Court Leet. If he had "the view of frankpledge," the suitors at his court were free from attendance at the Sheriff's Tourn. His court was then in all points like the Hundred court, but independent of the sheriff. This double system Henry had apparently to submit to, watching the baronial power as well as he could, by means of the local courts and travelling justices.

It is to be carefully remembered that though the Curia Regis, representing the King's council, attested charters, and revised and registered laws, it had no legislative authority. Both the imposition of taxes and the making of laws still rested with the King and his great council, the representative of the Witan, which had become a feudal court, and consisted chiefly of the King's vassals. Their "counsel and consent" was a necessary condition of all legislation.

STEPHEN.

1135-1154.

Born 1105=Maud of Boulogne.

Eustace, Earl of Boulogne.
d. 1152.William, Earl of Boulogne.
d. 1159.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
David I., 1124.	Louis VI., 1108.	Lothaire II., 1125.	Alphonso VIII., 1134.
Malcolm IV., 1153.	Louis VII., 1137.	Conrad III., 1138.	
		Frederick I., 1152.	

POPES.—Innocent II., 1130. Celestine II., 1143. Lucius II., 1144
Eugenius III., 1145. Anastasius IV., 1153.

Archbishops.	Chief-Justices.	Chancellors.
William of Corbeil, 1123—1130. Theobald, 1139-1161.	Roger, Bishop of Salisbury. 1135-1139.	Roger the Poor, 1135. Philip, 1139.

ON Henry's death, according to the oath of the nobles, Matilda, late Empress, now wife of Geoffrey of Anjou, should have become Duchess of Normandy and Queen of England. But the principle of hereditary succession was by no means firmly established; a female sovereign was not desirable for a feudal country; her child Henry was an infant; and the nobles held that the conditions of their oath of fealty had been broken when Matilda had married a foreigner. There was therefore almost a unanimous feeling that one or other of the Princes of Blois, grandsons of the Conqueror, Theobald the elder brother, or Stephen, Count of Mortain and Boulogne, should ascend the throne. Steps were being taken in Normandy to induce Theobald to come forward, when news was brought to him that the superior quickness of his brother Stephen had already secured the crown in England, where, though not without some demur, the influence of the Church, headed by his brother Henry of Winchester, had secured him success.

There followed a period of twenty years without a parallel in the history of England. It was the only time during which the feudal baronage assumed that position of practical independence which it was always aiming at, which it frequently enjoyed abroad, but which the wise management and strong government of the Conqueror and his two sons had rendered impossible in England. The weak title of the King, and the constantly urged claim of the Empress, joined with the personal character of Stephen, who seems to have been unable to refuse a request, afforded an opportunity to the barons of asserting virtual independence and fighting for their own interests, while nominally upholding one or other of the claimants to the throne. The same causes affected the Church, which was now able to make good that commanding position which the legislation of the Conqueror had given it, although up to this time the strong hand of the King had rendered the position worthless. The only organized power in the midst of anarchy, it was enabled to use its influence to the full. It was the Church that set Stephen on the throne; it was his quarrel with the bishops which lit up the civil war in England; the success of the Empress was of no avail till she was accepted by the Church; her attack upon Henry of Winchester was the signal for her discomfiture; it was the mediation of the Church which ultimately produced a cessation of the war.

The facts of the reign are few and in themselves unimportant. To the growth of the constitution it added nothing. It is nevertheless interesting as exhibiting the effects of unbridled feudalism, and as preparing the way for the great work of consolidation perfected by Henry II.; on the one hand by the misery and disgust excited by the lawless outrages of the barons; on the other by the overwhelming power thrown into the hands of the Church, which could not co-exist with any true national monarchy.

On his coronation, Stephen, in general terms, promised to uphold the good laws of his predecessors. At the first great council of his reign he issued a more explicit charter, securing to the Church their property and privileges, and promising to suppress illegalities on the part of the sheriffs. The character of the reign rendered such a charter quite inoperative. The insurrection in Wales, which had been bringing Henry to England when he died, continued. Its conduct fell chiefly to Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and Richard Fitz-Gilbert of Clare. Stephen's

Strange character of the reign.

Great power of the Church.

The interest of the reign.

Stephen's charter.

Affairs in Wales.

presence on the borders did not succeed in checking it. Richard Fitz-Gilbert was killed, and he left the country as before to be conquered by the gradual advance of the lords marchers.

Already, it would seem, the yielding character of Stephen had been discovered. Already barons began to take advantage of it. Roger Bigot seized the Castle of Norwich, and wrested from the King the earldom of that county and of East Anglia. Robert of Bathenton and Baldwin of Redvers, in Devonshire, began to rebel. They were indeed both conquered, but such movements mark the temper of the times. In 1137 Stephen found himself strong enough to cross to Normandy, where Geoffrey of Anjou was making war upon his provinces. His success there was not great. He purchased from Geoffrey a cessation of hostilities. Meanwhile the Northern frontier of England had become a scene of war. David of Scotland, the nephew of Eadgar Ætheling, and uncle through his sister Matilda of the Empress, had himself some claims to the English throne. But these

he declared that he waived, wishing to abide true to the oath he had taken to support his niece. He, however, demanded that his son Henry should be allowed to do homage to Stephen for Cumberland, and that he himself should receive the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon, which he claimed in right of his wife, the daughter of Earl Waltheof. Though he himself declared that he had no desire for the English throne, there is mentioned by one chronicler¹ a general conspiracy of the native English with their exiled countrymen, of whom the south of Scotland was full, for the purpose of taking advantage of the condition of the country to put to death the Normans, and to place the crown upon David's head. The plot was discovered by the Bishop of Ely, who was at once Bishop and Governor of that district, which had been formed by the last king into a modified county palatine. He told his discovery, and many of the conspirators were hanged, but many others found a refuge in Scotland. At length, in 1138, David entered England with a large army, and pushed forward as far as Northallerton in Yorkshire. He was there met by the forces of the Northern bishops and barons, gathered under the command of Walter Espec, Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, William of Albemarle, Roger of Mowbray, and other barons. They gathered round a tall mast borne upon a carriage, on which, above the standards of the three Northern Saints, St. Peter of York,

¹ Ordericus Vitalis.

Early signs of disturbance.

War with Scotland. 1137.

Its connection with an English conspiracy.

St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon, was displayed a silver pyx bearing the consecrated wafer. The motley army of the Scots, some armed as the English, some in the wild dress of the Picts of Galloway, after a well-fought battle, broke against the full-clad Norman soldiers, and were killed by the arrows, which had now become the national weapon of the English; 11,000 are said to have fallen on the field. But, in spite of the victory, Stephen, conscious of his general weakness, accepted an unfavourable peace, by which Northumberland was given to Prince Henry.

All this time the spirit of lawlessness had been increasing. "Many persons," says the chronicler,¹ "emboldened to illegal acts, either by nobility of descent or by ambition, were not ashamed, some to demand castles, others estates, and indeed whatever came into their fancy, from the King. When he delayed complying with their request . . . they, becoming enraged, immediately fortified their castles against him, and drove away large booties from his lands." "He created likewise many earls where there had been none before; appropriating to them rents which had before belonged to the crown. They were the more greedy in asking, and he more profuse in giving, because a rumour was pervading England that Robert of Gloucester would shortly espouse the cause of his sister." The creation of earldoms had been rare under the three first Norman kings, and as those offices died out their places had not been filled. It is said, indeed, that in 1131 there were but three earls in England, Robert of Gloucester, and the Earls of Chester and Leicester.² As the earl received the third penny of the fines of his earldom, the creation of earls manifestly impoverished the crown. But Stephen appears to have gone beyond the filling up of regular earldoms, and to have created titular earls,³ with grants of royal demesne lands to support their dignity. The building of castles⁴ was the great sign of the anarchical condition of England, implying private war and all the other horrors of the worst forms of continental feudalism.

This anarchy began to assume a form when Robert of Gloucester, alleging his previous oath to Matilda, and asserting that the conditions on which he had accepted Stephen had not been kept, renounced

Battle of the
Standard.
Aug. 22, 1138.

Growth of
anarchy in
England.

Creation of
earldoms and
castles.

¹ William of Malmesbury.

² Lappenberg, Thorpe's translation, page 377. There were certainly several more at the time of the accession, as their names occur attesting the charter of Stephen.

³ Fiscal earls.

⁴ Adulterine Castles. Will. Malm. Hist. Nov. I. § 13.

his fealty. His influence was in his earldom, and in the West of England; the headquarters of his party was Bristol; and his agent during his absence was Milo, Constable of Gloucester, afterwards Earl of Hereford. Nearly all the West, and by no means the West only, declared for Matilda. But in most cases the rival claims to the throne were used as an excuse merely. Change of sides was common, and there are instances of leaders excluding their own nominal partisans from strongholds they had won.¹ At first the insurrection was unsuccessful. Stephen, conscious of his weakness, had collected mercenaries from Flanders and from Brittany. The condition of the country made them eager to come. In Stephen's time numbers of freebooters from Flanders and Brittany flocked to England in expectation of pillage.² The chief leader of the Flemings was William of Ypres; the Bretons were commanded by Alan the Black of Richmond, Hervé of Léon, and Alan of Dinan. With the aid of these Stephen speedily regained the great castles he had lost, such as Bath, Castle Cary, Harptree, and Shrewsbury; and might perhaps even yet have established his authority, when an act of supreme folly set him at variance with the Church.

The new administrative class was represented by Roger of Salisbury, who had succeeded in procuring for his nephew Alexander the bishopric of Lincoln, for Nigel the bishopric of Ely, while his illegitimate son Roger was Chancellor. The vast wealth and influence of this family encouraged them to build castles, and Devizes, Sherborne, Malmesbury, and Salisbury were strongly fortified. The family of Beaumont, Earls of Mellent, had been generally firm supporters of the crown and of authority. They now seem to have seen with jealousy their position as chief advisers to the crown occupied by men of law, ecclesiastics, yet without the sanctity which befits the ecclesiastical profession. At their instigation, and at that of their friends, the King took the ill-advised step of beginning his assault on his castle-building barons by demanding the surrender of these bishops' castles. The Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury were suddenly arrested at an assembly held at Oxford (1139); the Bishop of Ely took refuge in the castle of Devizes. Thither the King betook himself, with his two prisoners, as some accounts assert, kept entirely without food, one in a cow-stall and the other in a hovel. This

Robert of
Gloucester
renounces his
fealty.
1138.

Stephen's
mercenaries.

Jealousy
between the
old and new
administration.

¹ See the conduct of Fitz-Hubert and Fitz-Gilbert at Devizes and Marlborough, page 82.

² William of Malmesbury, Hist. Nov. II. § 84.

treatment of the bishops, and a threat of hanging Roger the Chancellor, produced the surrender of Devizes as well as the other three castles.

The success was dearly bought. The King's brother, Henry of Winchester, upheld the dignity of his order. He summoned a council, produced a Papal letter declaring him legate, proceeded to lay his charges against the King before the council, and advised him to submit to canonical punishment. Stephen's case was defended by Aubrey de Vere, who, when the aggrieved bishops spoke of an appeal to Rome, declared that the King advised them not to do so, as whoever went might find it difficult to return; and himself appealed to the jurisdiction of the Pope. This threat, and an ominous appearance of drawn swords around the meeting, prevented the bishops from proceeding to extremities; but none the less had Stephen forfeited their support. The immediate effect was the arrival of Gloucester and the Empress in the South of England.

After a short stay at Arundel, the Empress withdrew to join her brother, who had preceded her, at Bristol. There had been a friendly meeting with Henry of Winchester upon their arrival, and it was the same Henry who escorted the Empress to join her brother.¹

The scene of confusion became still more confused. Brian Fitz-Count² held Wallingford for the Empress; Milo of Gloucester regained many of the Western castles which Stephen had won. In Cornwall, Reginald of Dunstanville, a brother of the Earl of Gloucester, upheld, though without much success, the cause of the Empress. In Wiltshire, Fitz-Hubert, a Fleming, and Fitz-Gilbert fought nominally for the Empress, really for themselves, till Fitz-Gilbert enticed Fitz-Hubert, who had refused admission to the partisans of the Empress for whom he was nominally fighting, to the Castle of Marlborough, and there hanged him.

The quarrel between Stephen and his bishops grew worse and worse. Roger of Salisbury died in 1139. The Bishop of Winchester demanded the See for his nephew. Again Waleram of Mellent thwarted the Church, and his request was refused. At the Whitsuntide festival (1141) held in London, but one bishop,³ and that a foreign one, was with the court. The

Stephen's
quarrel with the
Church.

Consequent
arrival of
Matilda.
Sept. 30, 1139.

Civil war.

Continued
quarrel with
the Church.

¹ The Bishop seems to have been appointed by Stephen as her escort. William of Malmesbury says that no gentleman could refuse an escort even to his enemy.

² Son of Count Alan Fergant of Brittany. Ang. Sax. Chron. ann. 1127.

³ Bishop of Seéz, in Southern Normandy.

state of uncertain anarchy was becoming highly distasteful to Robert of Gloucester. An opportunity occurred of bringing matters to a crisis. Ranulph, the Earl of Chester, had hitherto played fast and loose with both parties, and the King had parted from him at Lincoln, which he possessed in right of his mother Lucia, believing him to be his partisan. But, a few days after his departure, Ranulph and his brother William of Roumare, surprised the castle, on which the King, who was a good soldier and very rapid in his movements, suddenly came back and besieged it. Ranulph escaped from the castle to Robert of Gloucester, who seized the occasion to bring on a pitched battle. With Ranulph, his own partisans, and the Welsh, he reached the Trent, passed it with some difficulty, and appeared suddenly before Lincoln. A great battle ensued, in which the victory fell to Gloucester, and Stephen was himself taken prisoner.

Of course this defeat somewhat changed the balance of affairs. Cornwall was regained for the Empress, and her influence reached eastward as far as Bedford and Nottingham. But she could not hope in any true sense to obtain the crown without the consent of the all-powerful Church. At once therefore negotiations were opened with Henry of Winchester. Having won his adherence, and with it that of the greater part of the bishops, she went from Gloucester, accompanied by the Bishop of Ely and other supporters, to Winchester. In an open plain without the city she swore to follow the advice of the Legate on Church matters. Her oath was attested by Milo, afterwards Earl of Hereford, Earl Gloucester, Brian Fitz-Count, and others. A council of the Church was held a few days after. The Legate addressed the assembly, and declared his adhesion to Matilda. It is to be observed that he waited a day to receive the citizens of London, who were "as it were nobles by reason of the magnitude of the city." Both the Londoners and many of the nobility besought for the release of Stephen, but their request was refused, and many of the royal party executed. Having obtained the castle of Oxford from Robert of Oilli, Matilda proceeded to London; but there the haughtiness of her behaviour soon produced the ruin of her cause.

It seems as though, if he could only have regained his liberty, Stephen himself and his partisans would have been willing now to retire from the contest. The Earls of Leicester and Mellent, hitherto staunch supporters of the King, together with his old friend Hugh, the Bishop of

Robert, to
bring matters
to a crisis,
fights the battle
of Lincoln.
Feb. 2, 1141.

Matilda seeks
help of the
Church, and
becomes Queen.

Importance of
the Londoners.
1141.

Rouen, went so far as to offer the crown to Stephen's brother Theobald. But that prince declined to receive it, and even advised them to transfer their offer to Geoffrey of Anjou, on the sole condition that Stephen should be liberated. Taking advantage of such an opportunity as this, while supported by the friendship of Henry of Winchester and the Londoners, Matilda might have made her throne secure, but she at once took steps which alienated both. To Henry of Winchester, who must naturally have felt the ties of relationship towards his brother, she refused the natural request that Stephen's son Eustace might be placed in possession of his father's foreign fiefs. From the Londoners she demanded a heavy tallage, in spite of their complaints that they had been already stripped by taxations. King Stephen's Queen, to whom many of the fugitives from Lincoln had betaken themselves, made use of the discontent thus excited to advance against London. The inhabitants rose, and the Empress barely escaped with a few followers to Oxford. The insurgents demanded the liberation of Stephen. In this demand the Bishop of Winchester now joined, and the Empress besieged him in his castle outside the town of Winchester. But her besieging army was soon itself besieged, its communications and means of subsistence cut off, and she found herself obliged to retire. The Earl of Gloucester therefore despatched her before him to Devizes, while he himself covered her retreat. But he was hotly pursued and taken prisoner. This neutralized all his previous successes. After some negotiations the great prisoners were exchanged, and the state of parties fell back very much to its position before the battle of Lincoln.

Of decided successes on either side there were none. In 1142, the Empress, hard pressed at Oxford, barely made her escape with two knights, all clothed in white, across the snow. In the following year, Stephen, on the other hand, suffered a defeat at Wilton. The same struggle for individual liberty on the part of the barons was apparent everywhere. Thus the Cathedral of Coventry was changed into a fortress by a baron of the name of Marmion, the Abbey of Ramsey by Mandeville. Nor did the retirement of several of the hotter spirits from the contest to join in a crusade which St. Bernard was then preaching materially change the aspect of affairs. But, in 1147, new actors began to appear upon the scene. Wearied with the long useless struggle, Matilda withdrew to France. But to take her place

Matilda's opportunity, but she offends both Church and Londoners.

Consequent revolution of affairs.

Gloucester taken prisoner, and exchanged for Stephen. 1142.

Renewal of the old anarchy. 1146.

Appearance of Prince Henry.

her son Prince Henry came over to England. As it were to match him, Stephen brought his son Eustace prominently forward. This change of persons is still more clearly marked by the death of the great Earl of Gloucester, a man to whom many acts of cruelty in accordance with the temper of the time could be attributed, but who, if we may judge from the testimony of William of Malmesbury, was far superior in character and civilization to most of those by whom he was surrounded.

The withdrawal of the Empress and the appearance of Henry made a considerable difference in the views of those barons in England who were not wholly selfish. Stephen had been tried and failed. They had no longer to fear the rule of a woman. And thus we find Robert of Leicester, second son of the great Earl of Mellent, who had hitherto served Stephen and done him good service in Normandy against the Angevins, giving in his adherence to the young prince. In company with his cousin Roger of Warwick, he held the town and castle of Worcester for him, and succeeded in driving off the royal army. Henry's accession to the county of Anjou upon the death of his father Geoffrey, in 1151, and still more his marriage with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis, and heiress of Poitiers and Guienne, changed the character of the war. He was no longer a poor claimant, at best the son of a count, but had been suddenly transformed into one of the most powerful princes in Europe. In addition to this, since the death of Pope Innocent in 1144, the Papal See had been taking a more decided course against Stephen. The legatine authority had been withdrawn from Henry of Winchester, whose relationship with Stephen made his action always doubtful, and been given to Theobald the Archbishop, but Stephen, with his usual want of address, contrived to quarrel with him, and he therefore threw his whole weight upon the side of Henry.

Thus, when Henry contrived to form a truce with his rival the French King, and to enter England with a considerable army, the country was much disposed to receive him. Many of the nobility began to declare for him. The Beaumonts, as we have seen, were already his friends. The Countess of Warwick placed her castle in his hands. Robert of Leicester supplied him with provisions, and he marched in good hope to relieve Wallingford, which, defended by Brian Fitz-Count, Stephen was now besieging. There the two armies met; but the desire for peace was so general, that they both demanded that negotiations should be

Death of Robert of Gloucester. 1148.

Henry's marriage and increased power.

Church sides with him.

Meeting of the armies at Wallingford. 1153.

opened. Nothing was then settled, but the armies separated. Stephen proceeded to besiege Ipswich, where Bigot had declared for Henry, and Henry, taking Nottingham on the way, was marching to relieve it, when the heads of the Church saw their opportunity, and Theobald and Henry of Winchester combined to mediate a peace. This was the more easy on account of the death of the young Prince Eustace. On the 7th of November the Treaty of Pacification was concluded at Winchester. It was a compromise. Stephen was to remain King of England during his life; Henry was to be accepted as his son and heir; Stephen's son William was to do homage to Henry for all his large possessions in England and in Normandy. There then followed an arrangement for restoring the administration which the war had ruined. The castles were to be razed, the coinage reformed, the sheriffs replaced, the crown lands resumed, the new earldoms extinguished, foreigners banished, and administration of justice restored.¹ After this treaty

Church mediates
a compromise.
1153.

Death of
Stephen.
1154.

Henry's duties summoned him chiefly to France; and Stephen, for the short remnant of his life, remained undisputed King of England. He died on the 25th of October 1154.

Two short extracts from chroniclers give a more complete view of the misery which attended this lawless period than any fresh description could do. William of Newbury says: "Wounded and drained of blood by civil misery, England lay plague-stricken. It is written of an ancient people, 'In those days there was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes;' but in England, under King Stephen, the case was worse. For, because at that time the King was powerless, and the law languished because the King was powerless, though some indeed did what seemed right in their own eyes, many because all fear of King and law was taken off them, did all the more greedily what by their natural instincts they knew to be wrong. . . . Neither King nor Empress was able to act in a masterful way, or show vigorous discipline. But each kept their own followers in good temper by refusing them nothing lest they should desert them. . . . And because they were worn out by daily strife, and acted less vigorously, local disturbances of hostile lords grew the more vehement. Castles too rose in great numbers in the several districts, and there were in England, so to speak, as many kings, or rather tyrants, as lords of castles. Individuals took the right of coining their private

¹ Stubb's Select Charters, page 21, from Matthew of Paris, 1153.

money, and of private jurisdiction." We have here the effects of the loosened hold of the crown,—castles, private war, private coinage, private justice. The Saxon Chronicle supplies us with a picture of the effect of these feudal usurpations upon the lower ranks of the people:—

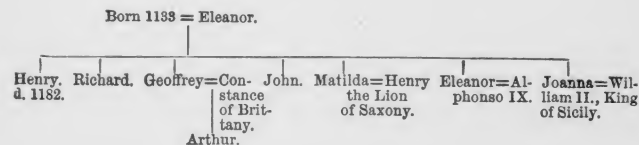
"When the traitors perceived that Stephen was a mild man, and soft and good, and did no justice, then did they all wonder. They had done homage to him and sworn oaths, but held no faith; for every powerful man made his castles and held them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle works. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those men that they imagined had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable torture; for never were martyrs so tortured as they were. They hanged them up by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke; they hanged them up by the thumbs or by the head, and hung chains on their feet; they put knotted strings about their heads, and writhed them so that it went to the brain. They put them in dungeons, in which were adders, and snakes, and toads, and killed them so. Some they put in a 'cruset hūs,' that is in a chest that was short and narrow and shallow, and put sharp stones therein, and pressed the man therein, so that they brake all his limbs. In many of the castles were instruments called a 'lað (loathly) and grim;' these were neck-bonds, of which two or three men had enough to bear one. It was so made, that is, it was fastened to a beam, and they put a sharp iron about the man's throat and his neck, so that he could not in any direction sit, or lie, or sleep, but must bear all that iron. Many thousands they killed with hunger; I neither can nor may tell all the wounds or all the tortures which they inflicted on wretched men in this land; and that lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was King; and ever it was worse and worse. They laid imposts on the towns continually; and when the wretched men had no more to give, they robbed and burned all the towns, so that thou mightest well go all a day's journey, and thou shouldest never find a man sitting in a town, or the land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh and cheese and butter; for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger; some went seeking alms who at one while were rich men; some fled out of the land. Never yet had more wretchedness been in the land, nor did heathen men ever do worse than they did; for

everywhere at times they forbore neither church nor churchyard, but took all the property that was therein, and then burned the church and altogether. Nor forbore they a bishop's land, nor an abbot's, nor a priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man another who anywhere could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, imagining them to be robbers. The bishops and clergy constantly cursed them, but nothing came of it, for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and lost. However a man tilled, the earth bare no corn; for the land was all foredone by such deeds, and they said openly that Christ and His saints slept. Such, and more than we can say, we endured nineteen winters for our sins."

A people who had suffered these things must certainly have sighed for a strong government, by whatever hand it should be wielded; and miserable though the reign had been, it tended towards the consolidation of nationality.

HENRY II.

1154-1189.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Malcolm IV., 1153. William, 1163.	Louis VII., 1137. Philip Augustus, 1180.	Frederic I., 1152.	Alphonso VIII., 1134. Sancho III., 1157. Alphonso IX., 1158.

POPES.—Adrian IV., 1154. Alexander III., 1159. Lucius III., 1181. Urban III., 1185.
Gregory VIII., 1187. Clement III., 1187.

Archbishops.	Chief-Justices.	Chancellors.
Theobald, 1139-1161. Thomas à Becket, 1162-1170. Richard, 1174-1184. Baldwin, 1185-1190.	Robert, Earl of Leicester, 1154-1167. Richard de Lucy, 1154-1179. Ranulf Glanvill, 1180-1189.	Thomas à Becket, 1154-1162. Ralph de Warneville, 1178-1181. Geoffrey, the King's son, 1181-1189.

THE consolidation of the nation was the great work of Henry of Anjou. He brought to it great gifts, sagacity, masterful courage, a legal and judicial mind; while his training, as the prince of widely extending countries, prevented the intrusion of petty local interests into his views for his people's good. The lessons of the last reign were not lost on him. Before all things he desired a strong government and good order. In pursuing these objects he took for his model his grandfather and great-grandfather, and worked out in greater and more systematic detail the policy they had begun. And though in his efforts to subordinate the Church he may seem to have run counter to the legislation of his great-

grandfather, it will be seen that in many points his policy was really the same. In the earlier part of his reign work lay ready to his hand, and the compromise at Winchester had already marked out his line of action. He could not immediately come to England, being detained by an insurrection in Guienne. But when he had settled this, and, by a humility of bearing he knew well how to feign, secured the friendship of Louis VII., he crossed the Channel, and at once proceeded with his reforms.

He renewed the charter of the City of London; fixed a short period during which the Flemish auxiliaries, who had already probably begun to return home, should leave the country; recalled grants of the royal domains which had been made in Stephen's reign; re-established the old number of limited earldoms; and proceeded to lay hands on both the royal castles which individual barons had appropriated and those private fastnesses with which the country had become covered. Their number is variously estimated, by some it is put as high as 1150.¹ It was not without some opposition that he carried out this work. It was chiefly in the North and West that difficulty occurred. Before the year was over he had received the submission of William of Albemarle, who was nearly independent in Yorkshire. In February of the next year he expelled Peveril, who had been guilty among other things of poisoning the great Earl of Chester, from his Earldom of Nottingham. He followed up his success by compelling the border barons, Roger, son of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and Hugh Mortimer, a descendant of the same family as Robert de Belesme, to surrender their fastnesses. To complete his dominion at home he marched against Malcolm of Scotland, who was occupying the three Northern counties. These he compelled him to resign, obliging him to do homage for the county of Huntingdon, which he claimed as a descendant of the old Earl Waltheof. Throughout all the earlier part of the reign the Scotch King appears as a great English baron, following the King to his wars.

Henry even thus early began to think of curbing the overgrown power of the Church; and Henry of Winchester, in fear of what might happen, thought it better to lay aside his episcopal robes and retire for a time to Clugny, from which, however, he was soon induced to return. An event, indeed, soon occurred which rendered the King's position with the Church peculiarly strong. In 1154 Nicolas Breakspear ascended the Papal throne, the only Englishman who ever attained that honour. The con-

Friendship of
Adrian IV.

¹ This is possibly a misreading of letters meaning 850.

nection between England and the Papal See, always close since the Conquest, was drawn even closer, and the Pope made a grant of the schismatical country Ireland to the English King; a grant the enjoyment of which Henry postponed till a more convenient season. Henry's widely spread dominions kept him constantly moving, and in 1156 the affairs of his native county summoned him to France. He left his kingdom in charge of Robert of Leicester, his great justiciary.

The difficulty in Anjou arose from the claim raised by his younger brother Godfrey to that province. This claim rested upon a doubtful will, by which his father was said to have intended Anjou for Godfrey if Henry was called to the throne of England. By force of arms Henry reduced the country; and his brother withdrew on the receipt of certain payments, being shortly after called by the burghers of Nantes to become lord of their town. This affair was scarcely settled when Henry hurried back to England, there to complete his conquest of the Scotch King, by obliging him to surrender his strong castles of Bamborough, Newcastle and Carlisle, and again to do homage for Huntingdon, on which occasion, however, the clause "Salvis omnibus dignitatibus suis" was introduced into his oath. This, with the surrender of castles by Hugh Bigod in Norfolk, and of William, called of Warrenne, son of the late King, and Earl of Surrey, completed the subjugation of the feudal nobles, and rendered him absolute master of England.

Wales alone gave him further trouble. Thither, in 1157, he led an army against Owen Gwynneth at the instigation of his fugitive brother Cadwallader. The expedition was not successful; on this, as on subsequent occasions, Henry found it impossible to reduce the Welsh in their mountain strongholds. It is noteworthy, as affording the first instance of scutage, or money payment in exchange for personal service, which was in this instance demanded of knights holding from the clergy; and for the shameful flight of Henry de Essex, the royal standard-bearer, which gave rise afterwards to a remarkable judicial duel. In the year 1163 Robert de Montfort impeached Henry de Essex for cowardice and treachery. The matter came to the ordeal of battle, and Essex being conquered forfeited all his lands, and retired as a monk to the Abbey of Reading. This, and the confiscation of the property of Peveril, already mentioned, are the only two instances of confiscation during the reign.

It was during this prosperous period of the King's reign that Thomas à Becket becomes prominent. The son of a citizen of

Master of
England, Henry
attacks Wales.

London, his talents had been early seen and employed by Archbishop Theobald. In 1143 he had succeeded in getting for his patron the legatine authority over England, and afterwards that Papal bull which prevented the crowning of King Stephen's son Eustace. He was richly rewarded by livings in the Dioceses of Oxford, London, and Lincoln, and, in 1154, with the position of Archdeacon of Canterbury. The recommendation of the Primate soon placed him about Henry's court. He was appointed chancellor, and as such was the chief clerk of the Curia Regis, kept the King's seal, and had the management of vacant ecclesiastical benefices. He was further intrusted with the guardianship of the Tower of London, and with the castle of Eye in Berkhamstead, thus occupying a position partly secular, partly ecclesiastical. In this situation he exhibited all the splendour of a great noble; kept a magnificent table, followed the sports of the field, and was a proficient in knightly exercises. Henry found much pleasure in his society, and employed him in delicate negotiations. Thus, in the year 1158, he was sent to arrange a match between Margaret of France and Henry's son Henry. His magnificent embassy dazzled the eyes of the Frenchmen and was completely successful. The object of the arrangement was to win the friendship of Louis, and prevent him from interfering with the King's plans on Nantes, where he meant to make good his claim as successor to his brother Godfrey, who had lately died. A meeting with Louis was effected on the river Epte. Henry accompanied him back to Paris, and received from him the child princess, whom he intrusted to the care of Robert of Neuburg, Justiciary of Normandy. Strong in this new-formed friendship, Henry found no difficulty in securing Nantes, and thereby a hold upon Brittany.

In spite however of his apparent agreement with Louis he soon found himself at open war with him. Queen Eleanor's grandfather, on going to the Crusades, had mortgaged the county of Toulouse to Raymond of St. Gilles. The mortgage money had not been repaid, as Raymond of St. Gilles still held the city. This nobleman had married the French King's sister Constance. When therefore Henry raised the claim of his wife, the French King openly adopted the cause of Raymond.¹ Henry determined to have recourse to arms, and in 1159 raised an army for the purpose. The war is interesting, not so much in itself, as in two or three collateral points connected with it.

¹ While Eleanor had been his wife, Louis had systematically pressed her claim.

Rise of Thomas
& Becket.

He is employed
in foreign
negotiation.
1158.

Nevertheless
there is war
with France.
1159.

Interesting
points in it.

Thus Malcolm of Scotland came with forty-five ships, and a Welsh prince likewise joined the army. Again, the presence of Becket at the head of an unusually well-equipped body of 700 men is mentioned. He is said to have urged the King to active measures against the French monarch. But Henry—who was surprised at finding his lately made friend in arms against him, and opposing with all his power a claim he had once himself urged, and who by no means wished to drive matters to extremity—showed some scruple in attacking his suzerain, and contented himself with gaining his object by laying waste the country and capturing the castles. At the same time he contracted an engagement between his son Richard and Berengaria, the daughter of Count Raymond of Barcelona, the son-in-law of the King of Aragon,¹ and in fact Governor of that country. But the most important point about the war was the introduction of the habit of money payments in exchange for military service. This measure had been adopted previously with respect to the Church in the war with Wales. On the present occasion the sum is said to have amounted to £180,000.² There were many advantages in the change. The King was enabled to hire mercenaries, and dispense with the irregular services of his feudal followers; he got contributions from the Church lands, and was enabled to do without the hated tax of the Danegelt, at the same time that he struck a blow at the military importance of his feudal barons.

Thus far the course of Henry's reign had been one of unbroken prosperity. He had settled and increased his dominions both in England and on the Continent, had on the whole gained in his opposition to his suzerain the King of France, and had strengthened himself by prudent marriages for his children. He was henceforward, except for a very few years, to be plunged in disputes and difficulties. It has been mentioned that the Church in England had reached a position of great pre-eminence during the troubled period of Stephen's reign.

¹ Ramiro of Aragon, a monk, who, for the sake of continuing the succession, was taken from his monastery, and married. His only daughter was the wife of Raymond of Barcelona. Their son became King of Aragon.—Robert de Monte.

² The individual payment in Normandy was sixty shillings in Angevin money. The knights' fees of England were popularly put at 60,000: at the same rate this would have amounted to £180,000. The scutage in England was, however, only two marks on a knight's fee. The scutage was repeated two years afterwards. On the supposition that the sum mentioned applies to both those scutages, there would have been a payment of four marks, or £2, 13s. 4d., on a knight's fee. This would give £160,000. The sum actually paid seems not to have been more than a fifth of that sum.

Scotch King
serves him.

Introduction
of scutage.

Having reduced
the State to
order, Henry
turns to the
Church.

The policy of the Norman kings had been always to support the Church to the utmost, to keep on good terms with Rome, but at the same time to make good the supremacy of the power of the king in his own dominions. William the Conqueror, it will be remembered, had entirely separated the spiritual from the temporal jurisdiction. Before the arrival of the Normans, all offences not strictly ecclesiastical had been tried and punished in the County and Hundred courts, where both bishop and ealdormen presided side by side. In withdrawing the bishop from the secular courts, William had desired to raise the character of the clergy by confining them more completely to spiritual matters. But an abuse had easily grown up, which produced a directly opposite effect. As the pretensions of the Church rose, not only were spiritual questions to be tried in the spiritual courts, but spiritual men were also withdrawn from the secular jurisdiction, and the doctrine became prevalent that the clerk could be only tried by his ecclesiastical superior.¹ Now ecclesiastical courts could not inflict corporal punishments. Censures, excommunications, and penances were their weapons. Consequently clerks might and did commit every sort of crime without suffering any punishment. To Henry's love of justice and order this was most repugnant. But at the same time that he wished to curtail the license of the clergy, and to establish the superiority of the royal jurisdiction, he distinctly upheld the policy of his predecessors in supporting the Roman See. It was a critical time for that power. The great Frederick Barbarossa was upon the throne of Germany, and attempting to establish with regard to himself and the Pope on a larger scale what Henry was anxious to do in England. With a comprehensive view of the struggle, he had invited the Kings of England and France to join him in united action for the establishment of the supremacy of the secular power. His overtures had not been received; and when, upon the death of Hadrian, in 1159, after a stormy conclave, the Italian party elected Rolando Bandinelli, under the title of Alexander III., and the imperial party Cardinal Octavian, as Victor IV., the two Western kings gave in their adhesion to Alexander. When expelled from Italy, they received him with extreme honour at Chateauroux, where they acted as his grooms, leading his horse between them. He finally found shelter in the French town of Sens.

¹ This view rested chiefly on the False Decretals, a body of false edicts purporting to be the decisions of very early Popes, which was produced in the ninth century.

General friendship of England and France with the Pope.

In 1161, Theobald the Archbishop died, and it seemed to Henry that the opportunity had arrived for carrying out his reforming plans. Without difficulty he secured the election of his Chancellor, believing that he would serve him still in that capacity. But such were not the views of Becket. He found himself in a position where he might not only serve but rival the King, and he at once became the ambitious and fanatical ecclesiastic. His manner of life was wholly changed, fasts and penances took the place of his former gaiety; the ostentation which he still exhibited was for others and not for himself; he scarcely touched food while his guests were feasting; and poor saints and beggars took the place of the courtiers who had formerly thronged his hall. He did not wait to be attacked, but himself began the quarrel with the King. He at once insisted on resigning his temporal offices. He then demanded homage from some barons whom he declared to be liegemen of the See of Canterbury and not of the King. He refused in bold outspoken words to pay the usual tax for the sheriff at a court at Woodstock. But these were only slight beginnings. A meeting of the clergy was held at Westminster, and the great subject of ecclesiastical jurisdictions was raised. A very bad instance had just excited the King's attention. A clerk of the name of Philip Brois had committed a murder and received no punishment. At the assizes of Dunstable, Simon Fitz-Peter, the King's Justice, had found him guilty of the murder, but Becket insisted on his being withdrawn from the secular jurisdiction, and sentenced him to two years' loss of his benefice. To Henry this seemed at once an insult to his authority and a mere fostering of crime. He determined upon action, and demanded of the bishops whether they would accept the ancient customs of the country. Many of the clergy Henry knew he could rely upon, such for instance as Becket's old enemy Roger of York, and Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London. He did not expect to meet much opposition anywhere. With much persuasion Becket certainly accepted the customs. Henry, determined that there should be no question on this matter, caused these customs to be drawn up in the form of Constitutions, and presented to a great council held at Clarendon. There Becket distinctly broke his word and retracted.

Bishops and laymen, knowing the King's character, besought Becket not to risk the fortunes of the Church by further opposition. For a moment he seemed to yield, but the next day, when his final answer

Election of Becket to Archbishopric. 1161.

Becket upholds encroachments of the Church.

Henry produces Constitutions of Clarendon. 1164.

was to be given, he again refused to sign them. He stated his objections fully. His arguments were based principally on the Canon law of Gratian¹ and the False Decretals. The Body of Customs, as presented to him, consisted of sixteen clauses. By these, which did not pretend to be new legislation, but a recapitulation of the old practices of the country, the line was sharply drawn between criminal and ecclesiastical cases; the criminal clerk being amenable to the civil jurisdiction: questions with regard to land claimed by the clergy were to be referred to a jury: as also cases of crime where there was no accuser: the King was made the ultimate hearer of appeals, except by his own special leave: bishops were restrained from leaving the country without leave, or from excommunicating the King's men: elections to bishoprics were to be held in the King's chapel, in the presence and with the consent of those whom he should summon: and the newly-elected officer was to swear fealty to the King.² Other minor matters with regard to the position of the Church were also settled, but it is these chiefly which were to secure the supremacy of the crown. Becket is said to have particularly objected to any subordination of clerks to secular jurisdiction; to have held that one punishment for one offence was enough, and that the Church should look to; and to have regarded with displeasure any restrictions laid upon the right of clerical jurisdiction or excommunication.³ Ultimately, however, he was certainly induced to accept and to seal them. On retiring from the council he at once began to show signs of repentance, and got absolution for what he had done from the Pope.

Alexander's position was peculiar, and, as in the case of Anselm, it was too important to him in his present difficulties to retain the friendship of England for him to allow himself to side very strongly with Becket. Throughout the quarrel it is the Archbishop who urges the Pope onward, and not the Pope the Archbishop. Such lukewarmness suited neither party, and Henry summoned another council for 8th of October at Northampton.

Lukewarmness
of Alexander
III.

¹ The Decretal of Gratian was produced about the end of Stephen's reign. Gratian, a Tuscan Canonist, produced a collection of Papal decisions, known by his name, in 1151. The Decretals are collections of letters written by the early Popes in answers to questions addressed to them by the Bishops. The first collection was made at Rome by Dionysius in 550. In this collection, letters exaggerating Papal authority were subsequently introduced, known as the False Decretals. They received the Papal sanction from Nicholas I. about 860.

² These Constitutions will be found in full in Stubbs' Charters, p. 132.

³ He is said to have objected especially to Articles 1, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 12.

Two days before the council the Archbishop arrived. He did not receive the kiss of peace, and it was plain that matters were coming to extremities. Again the Archbishop began the attack. He lodged some complaint against a nobleman, and had justice promised him; but was then in his turn charged with delaying justice, in the case of an official of the Treasury called John the Marshall, who demanded a piece of land in his court. Marshall summoned him before the royal court, and he was now told that the case would come on before the council on the following day. On that day therefore the court sat in judgment upon the Archbishop. He was found guilty. The extreme penalty, which would have been the seizure of all his moveables, was remitted, and a heavy fine of £500 substituted. No sooner was this charge finished than a fresh charge was brought against him, and £300 demanded of him, which he had borrowed upon the castles of Eye and Berkhamstead. On the following day a sum of 500 marks, which he had borrowed for the expedition to Toulouse on the King's security, was demanded. Becket declared it was a gift. He found fresh securities, and retired in dudgeon. He found his hall deserted by the knights and barons. Then followed the final blow. As chancellor he had had the administration of vacant ecclesiastical and baronial benefices; and now he was ordered to account for a sum of not less than 30,000 marks. On accepting the bishopric, he had been discharged from all liability by Prince Henry and Richard de Lucy the Justiciary. The demand was manifestly an unjust one, and the greater part of the bishops appealed against it. The temporal nobles refused to allow the appeal, as it had yet to be proved that the King was a party to the discharge. Sickness kept the Archbishop confined to his house for some days. Meanwhile the bishops attempted to make him yield, and finally for the most part deserted him, and betook themselves to the court. The Archbishop was determined to meet the charge in all the magnificence of his office, and went to the council with his cross and other insignia. The bishops, overawed by this unusual demonstration, which they regarded as a challenge to the King, went to him, leaving the accused Archbishop sitting alone with a few friends. They tried in vain to get the King's demand lessened, and changed for the fine usual in Kent, which was only forty shillings. Henry, in wrath, merely asked whether the Archbishop had made up his mind to accept the Constitutions. Becket refused to plead upon any charge except that of John the Marshall, and at length openly declared that

The quarrel
takes a legal
form.

Comes before
the council.

Henry presses
him with
charges.

he placed himself and the Church under the guardianship of the Pope and of God. The disturbance was great. The King wished the bishops to declare the sentence. They earnestly entreated not to be called upon to judge their superior, and finally the duty was left to Robert of Leicester the Justiciary. But the Archbishop would not let him speak. "How can you judge me who appeal to a higher power? And do not thou Earl of Leicester venture to judge thy spiritual father!" He rose, and, leaning on his cross, swept from the hall. As cries of "traitor" arose behind him, his old worldly vehemence got the better of him, and he turned and cried, "Might I but wear weapons, I should soon know how to clear myself of the charge of treason." As he passed on his way through the streets people knelt and demanded his blessing. A final answer was required of him the following day, but in the night, in the midst of wild weather, he secretly left Northampton, and after a difficult flight, on the 2nd of November contrived to cross to Gravelines.

On the very same night, an embassy, consisting of his chief enemies—the Bishops of York, London, Exeter, Chichester and Worcester, together with John of Oxford, the King's chief adviser in this matter,—crossed to seek the Pope. The Archbishop put himself under the protection of the King of France at Soissons; and the two parties carried their case before the Pope at Sens, where John of Salisbury, Becket's emissary, had already been winning him friends. The King's embassy entreated that legates might be sent to finish the case in England. But Alexander, although the Peter's Pence from England were absolutely necessary to him, refused their request. Upon receipt of this information, the King drove abroad all friends and dependants of the Archbishop, who had succeeded meanwhile in getting a favourable reception from Alexander. Till 1170 he remained abroad, carrying on his struggle with the King.

Of course, during that time Henry could not afford to let his other business rest. But it is the quarrel with the Archbishop which gives its complexion to the history of those years. In 1165 the Pope was enabled to return to Italy, but Frederick of Germany, still refusing to acknowledge him, at an Assembly at Wurtzburg caused Cardinal Guido to be elected under the title of Pascal III. in the place of Octavian, who was just dead. Henry seized the opportunity. He had already forbidden all intercourse between England and the Pope, and he now despatched an embassy, headed by John of Oxford and Richard of Winchester, to attempt to act in consort with Frederick.

Becket leaves the court before judgment is given.

He is received by the Pope. 1165.

This was in reply to a demand on the part of the Emperor, who had sent his chancellor, Reginald of Cologne, to ask for two of Henry's daughters in marriage, the one for his son, the other for Henry the Lion of Saxony. The ambassadors declared that there were fifty bishops ready to accept the anti-pope. However, matters did not reach this point: Alexander still temporized. The clergy of England were very averse to deserting the legitimate Pope, and the old policy of the Norman kings had yet a strong hold upon Henry.

Meanwhile, leaving the quarrel in abeyance, he again invaded Wales, again without much success. He was more successful in the following year in his designs on Brittany. "He dealt," says the Chronicler,¹ "with the nobles of the district of Le Mans according to his pleasure, and the region of Brittany, and with their castles. . . ." A treaty of marriage between his son Geoffrey, and Constance, the daughter of Conan of Brittany and Richmond, having been entered into, this Earl made a grant to him of the whole of Brittany, with the exception of Guingamp, which had descended to him from his grandfather. The King received the homage of all the barons of Brittany at Thouars. Thence he came to Rennes, and by taking possession of that city, the capital of Brittany, he became lord of the whole duchy. While thus triumphing, he received news that Becket, weary of the Pope's procrastination, had gone to the Church at Vezelay, and there, after explaining the Constitutions of Clarendon, had excommunicated John of Oxford, Richard of Ilchester, and Richard de Lucy, the King's Counsellors, and Joscelin of Balliol, and Ranulph de Broc, who had entered into possession of his confiscated estates. This step caused considerable anxiety, and the bishops and abbots of England met and appealed to the Pope, thus postponing the execution of the excommunication. The Archbishop, in reply, bid them carry the excommunication at once into effect, and at the same time excommunicated Godfrey Ridel, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, for not remitting to him the income of his see. In anger, the King threatened to expel from England the whole Cistercian order, as a punishment for allowing the Archbishop to dwell in their monastery. To avoid this, Becket withdrew to Sens.

The appeal however went on, and, to the surprise of every one, the Pope, who had perhaps been bribed, at length appointed legates to examine the dispute. In 1167, John of

But Henry refuses to oppose Alexander.

Meanwhile he attacks Wales, and secures Brittany. 1166.

Becket excommunicates his enemies.

The Pope temporizes.

¹ Robert de Monte.

Oxford, the King's ambassador, came home in triumph, declaring that the excommunications had been removed. Naturally therefore Becket dreaded the approach of the legates. By means of his influence with the French many obstacles were thrown in their way, and as a fresh declaration that his views were unchanged, he excommunicated Gilbert of London. At length the legates obtained meetings both with Becket and Henry. In neither instance were they satisfactory. Becket refused to withdraw the convenient words "saving our order," and Henry would hear of no half measures. However, their temper was on the whole conciliatory, and they removed the excommunications conditionally. This friendly feeling on the part of the Pope was still further shown by his suspending the Archbishop for a time from the exercise of his office. In fact, the Pope had just been driven from Rome by Barbarossa, and Henry's support was indispensable to him. All this made no difference to Becket, who, on Palm Sunday, repeated his excommunications, and contrived at length to get them smuggled over into England, where, with striking effect, Gilbert of London was suddenly suspended in the midst of the celebration of mass in his own church.

The political difficulties under which Henry was at this time struggling may have given fresh courage to the Archbishop, for, both during 1167 and 1168, there was war with Louis of France and with his other neighbours. The Count of Flanders was even threatening a descent on England, while the Counts of Marche, Angoulême, and Limousin, counting on the succour of the French, were laying waste Henry's southern dominions. This difficulty he left in the hands of his General, Count Patrick of Salisbury, while he himself was called upon to suppress disturbances in Brittany. His fortunes were indeed at a very low ebb. In presence of these difficulties, Henry found it necessary to lower his tone; a peace with his enemies was patched up at Montmirail. There too a commission from the Pope awaited him, and he found himself obliged to consent virtually to the demands of Becket. As however he refused to give his refractory Archbishop the kiss of peace, which was regarded as the only sure sign of reconciliation, the quarrel was not yet terminated. Although the point at issue was a small one, both parties continued obstinate.

Henry, determined to show his authority, caused his son Henry to be crowned in England by the Archbishop of York. This was a distinct invasion of the rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the coronation was performed

Coronation of
Young Henry.
June 14, 1170.

Critical position
of Henry.

in the southern province. It produced so great an outcry, that Henry felt he had gone too far, especially as he had neglected to have Henry's wife, the French princess, crowned with him, which Louis regarded as a great insult. With this feeling against him, Henry consented to a meeting at Fretheval, and there yielded what was required of him, embracing the Archbishop, raising him from the ground, when he knelt before him, and holding his stirrup for him to remount. The quarrel seemed ended, but some slight delays occurred before Becket could return to England, and more than one warning message was sent to him that England was no safe place for him. When he demanded a safe conduct from Henry, it did not promise any true reconciliation that John of Oxford was sent as his escort. He ventured however, but found the feeling in England, among the laity at all events, very strong against him, and was bidden to withdraw to his city of Canterbury. Although conscious of the power of his enemies, he continued his obstinate course, excommunicated the Archbishop of York, De Broc, and other lay holders of the property of the See, whom he found it difficult to dispossess. When the King heard of this conduct, the anger which had been boiling within him, but which circumstances had obliged him to suppress, broke loose, and he accused his courtiers of caring nothing for him since they suffered this audacious priest to live. Four knights took him at his word, hurried across to England, collected followers among his enemies, and proceeding to Canterbury, demanded the immediate removal of the excommunication. The monks in terror hurried the Archbishop to the Cathedral, and wished to shut the doors, believing him then in safe sanctuary, but he would not allow any sign of weakness. The knights, at the head of an armed mob, still demanded the removal of the excommunication, were still refused, and killed him at the altar.

The outcry which rose throughout Europe told Henry that he had lost his cause. He at once declared himself innocent, refused food, took on him all the outward signs of penitence, and despatched a mission to exculpate him at the court of the Pope. Though Alexander was very angry, he was persuaded to send legates for a formal inquiry. Henry did not await their coming, but as a means of employment and retirement, proceeded to carry out an intention he had long had of conquering Ireland.

His opportunity there indeed had fully come. The country, divided among petty chieftains, had from time to time been gathered

Finding this
step unpopular,
Henry submits.

Becket ventures
to return to
England.

His death.
Dec. 29, 1170.

under the command of one chief king. When his authority was at all strong, some little order existed; when he was weak, wild disorder reigned. The present holder of that position was Roderic O'Connor of Connaught.

In 1153, Diarmid, or Dermot, King of Leinster, had carried off the wife of O'Ruark, Prince of Breffni, or Leitrim. When O'Connor gained the crown of Tara in 1166, he proceeded to punish

the offender, who fled to England, and, collecting round him some Welsh adventurers, returned home.

Still unable to cope with his enemies, he sought Henry in Guienne, did homage to him, and received leave to collect an army in England. In 1169, the half-brothers Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald crossed over to Wexford. This advance-guard was followed by a stronger party of Welshmen under Richard of Clare, Count of Strigul, surnamed Strongbow, who, deeply in debt,

*Invasion by
Strongbow.
1169.*

had lost his possessions in England, and was glad to seek some elsewhere. He took Waterford, and married Eva, Dermot's daughter; while Dublin, which belonged to the

Danes who had settled in Ireland, was captured by Milo of Cogan. In 1171 Dermot died, and Strongbow succeeded to the crown of Leitrim as his heir. Henry was not pleased with the rapid success of his vassal, and proceeded to deprive him of his English property. In vain were ambassadors sent to the King; he refused them admittance. It was only when the Earl surrendered Waterford, Dublin, and his other castles, to the King, that Henry secured to him his other conquests. Matters were in this condition when Henry determined himself to visit

Ireland. After a month spent in preparation, he reached Waterford with a fleet of 400 ships in October. Here

Strongbow did homage to him for Leinster, and several Irish princes acknowledged him for their chief. From Roderic O'Connor he had to be contented with such slight acknowledgment as the acceptance of his envoys, De Lacey and William Fitz-Aldelm, might imply. With the Church he was more successful. All the archbishops

and bishops took the oath of fealty. At a synod held at Cashel the Roman discipline was introduced; and in 1174, bulls from Rome, authorizing the collection of Peter's

Pence and the conquest of the country, were received and accepted. In a wooden palace, built outside the walls of Dublin, Henry exhibited the splendours of the English crown, and granted out the conquered lands to his vassals. Hugh de Lacey received the Earldom of Meath, and was made Viceroy; Fitz-Bernard received Water-

*Henry retires to
the invasion of
Ireland.*

*Condition of
Ireland.*

*Henry himself
invades Ireland.
1171.*

*Irish Church
adopts Roman
discipline.
1172.*

ford, De Courcey and others were instructed to carry on the work of conquest; and English colonists were placed in Dublin and other devastated towns. Having made these arrangements, Henry returned to Normandy, where his presence was much required. But his conquest was by no means completed; disturbances arose at once upon his departure; nor was it till 1175 that Roderic was subdued. He then sent delegates to make his submission to the King at a council held at Windsor. A treaty was arranged, which acknowledged him as chief of all the Irish princes, with the exception of Henry and his knights. He consented to pay a yearly tribute. But except in the conquered countries, Irish law (the Brehon law as it was termed) held good throughout Ireland, and English law only within those provinces which had been thoroughly subdued and were called the English Pale.

It was partly to meet the Papal legates that Henry returned from Ireland. He met them at Avranches, and there swore that he had nothing to do with the murder of the Archbishop, and promised adhesion to Pope Alexander in opposition to the German antipope, free intercourse with Rome, the abrogation of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and personal attendance at a crusade, either in the East or in Spain, within three years, meanwhile paying the Templars to undertake this duty for him. Although this seemed a complete submission, it in fact left the question of the supremacy of the civil power open.

All his dominions seemed now at peace, but a great danger was brewing. His son Henry, since his coronation, had already, at the instigation of the French King, his father-in-law, demanded the actual possession of some portion at least of his kingdom, and this combination caused him well-grounded apprehension. He took the opportunity of the general peace of his kingdom to negotiate a marriage for his son John with the daughter of Count Humbold of Savoy, and promised to give with him as her dowry Chinon, Loudon, and Mirabeau. The young king Henry protested against this treaty, and suddenly disappearing from court, took refuge with Louis VII. at St. Denis. The old king understood only too well what

this meant. Shortly, there was a universal insurrection throughout all his dominions. It is not difficult to understand. His domestic relations were not happy, although he was very fond of his children; his wife was constantly urging them to disobedience. His dominions were widespread, and consisted of various races; his hand was heavy upon the feudal nobility, when the English nobles had not yet forgotten the charms of the late reign; while the defeat which the King had sus-

*Henry's recon-
ciliation with
Rome.
1172.*

*Great insurrec-
tion of 1174.*

tained in his quarrel with Becket gave a false impression of his weakness. The discontent was very general. While Louis recognized the young Henry as the rightful king, and entered into his quarrel in company with the Counts of Blois, Boulogne, Flanders, and others, the nobles of Aquitaine rose in insurrection, the princes Richard and Geoffrey made common cause with the insurgents, William the Lion of Scotland was engaged to take part with them, and the great Earls of the middle and north of England, Leicester, Ferrars of Derby, Chester, and Bigod, joined in the general alliance. Henry, though alarmed, did not despair. His policy had led him to trust much to his auxiliaries, and with these he determined to withstand the feudal malcontents. Leaving his generals to resist the attack from Flanders and France, he won a great battle before Dol in Brittany, took the great Earl of Chester prisoner, and re-established his power in that province. Meanwhile, Leicester had been besieged by Lucy, his justiciary in England; the efforts of William the Lion, who demanded Northumberland and refused homage for Huntingdon, were thwarted by the brave defence of the border castles; and an invasion of Flemings from the East, headed by the Earl of Leicester, was defeated at Farnham, near Bury St. Edmunds. But the existing truce with France terminated at Easter; the king of that country was able to enter actively into the war; and Henry's successes, and the large offers he made his sons, seemed alike unavailing. Hostilities began again, and Henry was obliged to take the command in person in his hereditary provinces, Maine and Anjou, where he was received with enthusiasm. The troops of his son Richard were conquered; while in England the King's natural son, Geoffrey Plantagenet, and Richard de Lucy, made head against the nobles in the East and a fresh invasion from Scotland; but were still so pressed, that messengers were sent in haste to summon Henry across the Channel. It was indeed a moment of great danger.

Crisis of the
danger.
1174.

Philip of Flanders and his allies, to whom Kent had been promised, were assembling a fleet at Whitsand; the Scotch invaders had reached Alnwick. Henry hastened home. But before he proceeded to active measures, in deference to the popular feeling, which attributed his difficulties to the Divine anger at Becket's death, he made a pilgrimage and did penance at the shrine of the martyr. Immediately after this, while still in anxious doubt as to the fate of his kingdom, news was brought him that Ranulf de Glanvill had surprised the Scotch at Alnwick, and that William the Lion and many of his nobility

Henry's penance
at Canterbury.

Capture of the
Scotch King at
Alnwick.

were prisoners. A few days afterwards the town of Huntingdon was taken, and Hugh, the Bishop of Durham, who had joined the insurgents, conquered. By July all the English nobles had returned to their allegiance, and Prince David had withdrawn the Scotch troops. The same rapidity which saved England saved Normandy also. The sudden arrival of the King before Rouen raised the siege of that place, which had been hard pressed, and before long a peace between Henry and Louis was made, by which all the French conquests were restored, and the young King Henry's dependants had to abjure the fealty which they had taken to him. The great insurrection which for a moment had threatened the existence of Henry's monarchy was thus over. To his sons Henry was merciful. To Richard he granted two castles in Poitou, with half its revenues; to Geoffrey, similar terms in Brittany. They were required to renew their allegiance. William of Scotland was forced to content himself with harder terms. He was only released upon condition of appearing at York in the following year with all his barons, and swearing fealty to Henry as his suzerain. He and his brother did homage for Scotland, for Galloway, and for their English possessions; while the Scotch clergy acknowledged the supremacy of the Archbishop of York. In the following year the young Henry left his French patron and reconciled himself completely with his father.

This outbreak may be regarded as a consequence of Henry's defeat in his dispute with Becket. The King had shown how little that defeat had weakened his real power in temporal matters. His appointments to the vacant bishoprics, which were a necessary consequence of the termination of that quarrel, prove how little he had really lost even in ecclesiastical influence. Of the six bishoprics which were filled up, three were given to avowed partisans of the King. Winchester fell to Richard of Ilchester; Ely, to Godfrey Ridel, Becket's great opponent; and Lincoln to Geoffrey Plantagenet; while, shortly after, the Bishopric of Norwich was given to John of Oxford, who had been Henry's chief agent throughout the Becket difficulty. Such disputes as still existed in the Church ceased to have political meaning, and assumed the form of quarrels between the monks and the secular clergy. It was thus that Richard, the Prior of Dover, a man in the royal interests, was elected to succeed Becket after a lengthened dispute between the monks of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, who claimed the right of election, and the bishops of the province. Henry's influence was

Henry's com-
plete success.

Small diminu-
tion of Henry's
power, either
temporal or
ecclesiastical.

naturally employed in favour of the episcopal candidate, but he contrived to confine the dispute within the limits of the ecclesiastical body.

The period which elapsed between the suppression of the great rebellion and the outbreak of the quarrel between Henry and his sons is the period of his greatest power. It is at this time that we find the greatest marks of his activity as a lawgiver. The year 1176

Henry's judicial
and constitu-
tional changes.

is marked by the great Assize of Northampton, an expansion of a similar Assize of Clarendon in the year 1166, the fruit perhaps of his experience in the late rebellion, and the knowledge gained by his inquiries into the conduct

of the sheriffs in 1170. That inquiry, which was called for by the complaints of the exactions of the sheriffs, proved to him that their conduct had not been free from peculation, and led him to believe that the employment of local nobles as his chief officials was dangerous. He took the opportunity of making a general examination of the judicial system of the country, the fruit of which was the concentration and organization of the Curia Regis, and the arrangements embodied in the Assize of Northampton.

The Curia
Regis.

The King's court consisted originally, as has been already mentioned, of all those tenants who held their land direct from the crown (tenants *in capite*), and was the ordinary feudal court, and the natural parent of our present Parliament, and especially of the House of Lords. But for the ordinary despatch of business, whether judicial or financial, what may be regarded as a permanent committee of this body of immediate holders was employed. This committee consisted of the great officers of the household, such as the chancellor, treasurer, marshal and others, and other selected barons closely connected with the royal household. The head of this committee, or Curia Regis, was the great justiciary, the King's representative. The royal chaplains or clerks were formed into a body of secretaries, at the head of which was the chancellor. The Curia Regis at first attended the King and had a twofold duty; when they sat as judges its members were called justices, in financial questions they sat in the exchequer¹ chamber, and were called barons. This administrative system, which had been organized in Henry I.'s reign, was entirely destroyed by the wild reign of Stephen. Its reconstitution was the great work of Henry II. In the earlier part of his reign the visitations were renewed upon

Itinerant
justices.

the old system, the itinerant justice being usually either the great justiciary, chancellor, or some other great household officer. In the year 1168 four barons of the exchequer

¹ So called from a table chequered like a chessboard, and used for reckoning.

performed this duty; in 1176 the country was divided into six circuits. This number was not permanent, several alterations were made in it. Nor was the number of visitations thoroughly established. By Magna Charta in John's reign commissions are promised four times a year, but shortly afterwards it would seem that the general journey of the itinerant justices was every seven years, until the reign of Edward I. It is to be remembered that these visitations were for all sorts of objects; for hearing civil cases, for inspecting the working of criminal jurisdiction, and, perhaps before all things, for arranging the financial matters of the country, and superintending the sheriffs in all matters connected with the exchequer. The itinerant justices during their circuits superseded the sheriff's authority and presided in his courts. They were also allowed to enter and preside in the baronial courts. It has been mentioned that these courts were in most respects complete Hundreds. The two parallel systems, now on certain occasions presided over by the same official, were thus assimilated and brought into immediate connection with the central authority. This administrative organization gave rise to what is of much political importance, a new class of barons, new men who had risen by their talents and by the King's favour, whose interests were therefore on the side of order and of the crown. At one period, in 1178, Henry II. appears to have found his new ministers untrustworthy, at all events in that year he restricted the Curia Regis to five persons, keeping the highest appellate jurisdiction in the hands of himself and the old Curia Regis, which may henceforth be regarded as the King's *ordinary council*. The name Curia Regis has thus passed through three phases; a feudal court, a permanent committee of the feudal court, and a restricted committee of that committee. In these various bodies we have the sources of all the judicial bodies in England. The *feudal court*, with certain additions, became the Parliament; without those additions the Great Council, retaining its natural prerogative of final court of appeal, and represented now by the House of Lords. The permanent committee, or *ordinary council*, is represented by the *privy council*, still retaining some of its judicial powers. From its *body of clerks*, headed by the chancellor, arose the courts of Chancery. While the *limited committee* was divided shortly after the *Magna Charta into three courts*, the exchequer, the common pleas, and the king's bench, at first with the same judges for all, but by the end of Edward III.'s reign with a separate staff.

Henry's legal mind, which thus organized the administration, introduced many improvements in judicial procedure. It is to

this reign that can be traced the origin of trial by jury. This method was not employed first in criminal cases, but in carrying out inquiries of various kinds. As soon as such inquiries came to be made on oath, the beginning of the jury system had arrived. As early as the great Domesday survey, the sheriff, barons, freeholders, the priest, the reeve, and six villeins of each township, had been all examined upon oath. Judicially this method of inquiry was first applied in civil cases. By the ordinance of the Grand Assize, a choice was given to any person whose right to the possession of land was called in question. He might either if he pleased defend his claims by the old-fashioned appeal to battle, or he might have his right examined by twelve freeholders on their oath, selected by four freeholders also on their oath, nominated by the sheriff. These sworn freeholders were evidently at first witnesses; twelve others were subsequently added to them, who, from their neighbourhood or other reasons, might be supposed to be better acquainted with the facts. This took place in Edward I.'s reign. The double jury was then separated, the original twelve playing their part as jurors of the present day, judging of the facts asserted by the second twelve, who represent the witnesses. In 1166, by the Assize of Clarendon, the same process was extended to criminal cases; that is to say, twelve lawful men from each hundred, and four from each township, were sworn to inquire whether there were any criminal, or receiver of criminals, in their district, and to present the same to the itinerant justices or to the sheriffs. These criminals were then put to the ordeal without further investigation. This was the origin of the grand jury. The abolition of ordeal rendered some substitute necessary, and ordinary trial by jury was the consequence.

The Assize of Northampton in 1176 was, as has been said, a repetition in stronger terms of the Assize of Clarendon. It is moreover interesting, as giving a notion of the duties of the itinerant justices, who on this occasion were six in number. Not only was the examination of crimes in their hands, but they had to arrange the law with regard to tenure of land, reliefs of heirs, dowers of widows, and other such matters, and to exact fealty from all classes of the commonwealth, and to see to the complete destruction of private castles, and the secure guardianship of those of the crown. These latter points were probably rendered necessary by the Rebellion of 1174. The same feeling of mistrust of his feudal barons which dictated these precautions was the cause of two other measures of this reign. The military service of the tenants in

chief was changed into a money payment called scutage. This money enabled the King to hire men for his foreign wars, and to dispense with the service of his barons; while, by the Assize of Arms in 1181, the national militia of England, the old *fyrd* of the Saxons, to follow which was one of the duties of the *trinoda necessitas*, was reorganized, and the arms required of each class in the country carefully defined.

At the same time that Henry was thus organizing his authority in England, his position in Europe was a great one. Two of his sons were married or betrothed to daughters of the King of France. Of his three daughters, the eldest was the wife of Henry the Lion of Saxony, the rival of Frederick Barbarossa; the second, Eleanor, was Queen of Castile; the third, Joanna, though still a child, was taken to Sicily as the bride of the Norman king of that country, which at this time was the dominant power of the Mediterranean. His importance indeed was such that he seemed of all the kings in Europe most firmly seated on his throne, and was selected on account of his power and character, as well as for family reasons, as arbitrator between Alphonso of Castile and his uncle Sancho of Navarre, and as the strongest ally to whom Henry the Lion could have recourse when he was stripped of his German possessions. This befell him in consequence of his desertion of Frederick Barbarossa before his invasion of Lombardy, which terminated in the great battle of Legnano. But in the midst of his greatness there were two dangers constantly besetting Henry; on the one hand was the King of France, on the other were his own children. Not only did the great power of a feudatory naturally excite the French King's jealousy, Henry had pursued a crooked policy with regard to the marriage of his sons; he had refused to surrender to Louis the Vexin and Bourges as he had promised to do upon their marriages. There was thus a constant opportunity for quarrel. On the other hand, with regard to his sons, his measures had been still more unfortunate. Anxious to secure his succession, and conscious probably that his kingdom was too large to be held by one hand, he had caused his eldest son to be crowned, thus exciting the envy of his brothers; while, at the same time, he had given them large duchies, which rendered them nearly independent of him. In addition to this, his dislike for his wife had rendered her a constant enemy, while his foolish affection for his youngest son John gave still further cause of offence. When there-

Scutage.

Assize of arms.

Henry's importance in Europe.

Closing troubles with his sons and France.

fore, as was likely to happen, any of his sons determined to oppose him, they were certain of assistance from France, and of bad advice from their mother.

It is difficult to arrange the constant brief wars which characterized the close of his reign, complicated as they are by the rising interests in the affairs of the East, which were gradually bringing on the third Crusade. They may perhaps be divided into four; the first extending to the death of young Henry; the second to the death of Geoffrey of Brittany; the third from 1184 to a peace negotiated in the interests of the crusades in 1188; and the last, the quarrel with Richard and John, which terminated with the King's death. The first of these broke out in 1183. Richard had entered with zest into the wild feudal life of Poitou and Aquitaine, and had been very successful there. He had even pushed his arms to Bayonne, in the territories of the Basques, and to the borders of Navarre. This had aroused the envy of his elder brother. This young prince, who regarded himself, and was regarded by many, as the flower of knighthood, was capable of any amount of hypocrisy and double dealing, and seems to have so far cajoled his father as to persuade him to demand from his younger brothers homage to the elder. This Richard positively refused to give. But his arbitrary rule in Poitou and Aquitaine had made him many enemies, at the head of whom was the wild intriguing noble, at once warrior and troubadour, Bertram de Born. With these young Henry allied himself, and, with the aid of his brother from Brittany, pressed so heavily upon Richard, that the old king had to come to his assistance. At this crisis the young king caught a fever and died, forgiven but unvisited by his father. The King took advantage of his son's death to pursue his success, and succeeded in subjugating the refractory barons, and re-establishing peace. Conscious that the young King Philip II. of France, who had succeeded to the throne in 1180, and over whom he had once had much influence, had been mixed in his son's rebellion, Henry tried to make peace with him too. Philip met the request by a demand for the restitution of Gisors and the dower of his sister Margaret, young Henry's widow, and it was with much difficulty that temporary peace was patched up; but it was finally arranged that part of the dowry should be restored, and Gisors transferred to Richard on his marriage with the Princess Alice.

Constantly unwise in his conduct to his sons, Henry now demanded from Richard, perhaps as a recompense for his assistance, a part of Aquitaine, to be given to his favourite son John. This Richard refused

First war;
against young
Henry.
1183.

to give, and consequently both John and Geoffrey of Brittany attacked him. But though Geoffrey was thus ready enough to quarrel with his elder brother, it was from no love of his father that he did so. He, as well as Richard, was hurt by Henry's evident partiality for John. He took the opportunity of putting in his own claim for Anjou. On Henry's refusal, he at once fled to France, where he was as usual well received. His death relieved his father for the time from his opposition, but sowed the seed of further difficulties; for on the one hand his province Brittany was at once divided between the French and English faction, and on the other King Philip II. raised claims as overlord to the guardianship of his young son Arthur. There was a growing disinclination however on all sides to plunge into war; for the Pope was constantly urging a general peace, and the combination of Christian princes for the great Eastern Crusade. A succession of weak princes, and the unnatural and artificial character of the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem, together with the rise of the new Mahomedan power of the Saracens under Saladin, had reduced European power in the East to a very low ebb; and in 1184, Heraclius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, had found it necessary to come over, to attempt to persuade the Kings of England and France to embark in a new crusade. But to Henry, although under a pledge to join such an expedition, the idea of leaving his European dominions in their present critical situation was very distasteful, and he consequently postponed taking action. The feeling however that a crusade was imminent rendered hostilities more difficult; so that when, in 1187, the arbitrary behaviour of Richard in Aquitaine had produced fresh difficulties with France, which as usual terminated in the flight of Richard and the junction of his interests with those of his father, the news of the great battle of Hettin, in which the flower of the Christian army of Jerusalem had been entirely destroyed, and the arrival of William of Tyre for the purpose of exciting the enthusiasm of the West, put a sudden end to the hostilities; and, in 1188, the two kings met in perfect friendship under the old elm in the neighbourhood of Gisors, which was their usual place of treaty, and joined with apparent heartiness in taking the Cross. Upon this occasion Henry imposed upon England the tax, known as the Saladin tax, which was a tenth on all property, and in the collection of which the King's officers were to work hand in hand with the Church.

But nothing could keep the restless Richard in order; before the year

Second war,
against Richard.
1184.

Third war.
1187.

was over, he was engaged in fresh quarrels with Geoffrey of Lusignan and Raymond of Toulouse. After mutual demands for the ransom of some captives, Richard advanced in arms against Raymond, who applied to his suzerain Philip for assistance. This open attack on his dominions Philip could not put up with. At length he declared himself the open enemy of the English. It was in vain that his great feudatories reminded him that he was under the crusader's vow, in vain that a meeting was held at Gisors. The enmity of the kings was only thereby enflamed, and, in token of his eternal hostility, Philip had the old elm of reconciliation hewn down. One would have supposed that Richard, the cause of the quarrel, would have clung to his father; nor is the reason for his not doing so very plain. Perhaps it may be traced to his father's refusal to give him up Alice, the French King's sister, for his wife, wishing it is said to make her his own; perhaps it was continued jealousy of his brother John. Certainly he did betake himself to the French court, and with him many others of Henry's French feudatories fell away. Henry thus found himself in a difficult situation; broken in mind and body, his resources strained to the utmost by the late heavy taxation of England, and his nobles rapidly deserting him.

His health appears to have influenced his mind. He remained inactive at Le Mans, while Philip overran Maine and threatened to besiege Tours. At length Le Mans, where Henry was with his son Geoffrey, was taken. The city where he had himself been born was the particular object of Henry's love. He felt its loss as a heavy blow, and though he knew his weakness, could not bring himself to retreat to Normandy, where his chief strength lay. With a sudden accession of energy, he reappeared in Anjou. But his appearance had no effect. One by one the fortresses of Maine were captured, and Philip constantly approached Tours. When that town fell, Henry's spirit was quite broken. He agreed to an interview with Richard and Philip on the plain of Colombières, to make his submission. Almost fainting, and held upon his horse by his attendants, in the midst of a violent thunderstorm, he met his undutiful son, and brought himself to give him the kiss of peace, whispering as he did so, however, "May God not let me die until I have taken me due vengeance on thee." The terms of his submission were complete. He promised to give up the Princess Alice; he allowed his nobility to swear fealty for their lands to his son Richard; he promised to pay Philip 50,000 marks for the restoration of his conquests. He had asked, in exchange, for a list of those

Last War; with
Richard and
Philip.
1189.

Henry's dis-
astrous peace
and death.

nobles who had joined Richard in rebellion. When he found at the head of the list the name of his beloved son John, his heart was broken. "I care no more for myself nor for the world," he said. A day or two longer he lingered, and was carried to Chinon, murmuring at intervals, "Shame, shame, on a conquered king," and there died, attended only by his natural son and Chancellor Geoffrey.¹

It is scarcely possible to place the importance of this reign too high, or to overvalue the work of Henry II. We find in his reign the organization of almost all departments of the government subsequently completed by Edward I. The arrangements of the Curia Regis and the reforms in judicial procedure have been already mentioned. The exchequer also was put on a new footing. It now becomes possible to see with some clearness the sources and amount of the royal revenue. To the revenues derived from the domain lands and from the Danegelt, the Norman kings had added feudal dues. Both the proceeds of the royal domain and of the Danegelt appear to have been farmed. The farm of the counties amounted in Henry II.'s reign, after the deductions caused by the grants both of Stephen and of Henry, to about £8000 a year. The Danegelt, originally two shillings on every hide, amounted in Henry I.'s reign to about £2500. As this is about a tenth of what the tax would have produced had it been fully exacted, it must probably also have been farmed to the sheriff, who collected what he could of it, and paid a fixed sum to the exchequer. This unsatisfactory tax came to an end in Henry II.'s reign, perhaps through the agency of Becket. The other source of revenue was the *Donum* and *Arcilium*, contributions paid by vassals to assist their lords. The first term applied to the counties, the second to the towns. These names became the general names of all irregular imposts, which are also sometimes called hidage, scutage, or tallage, the tallage being the aid raised from towns, the scutage the aid raised from knights' fees, the hidage the aid raised from tenants in socage. The importance of the scutage as a commutation for military service has been already dwelt upon. Recourse appears to have been had to these scutages only three or four times during the reign. To these sources of revenue are to be added the fees from the law courts, and the incomes arising from feudal incidents, such as wardship, marriage, and reliefs. The whole income of the country was perhaps about £50,000. The taxes seem to have been assessed

¹ The details of the King's last days are to be found in Giraldus Cambrensis, and in Hoveden. They are thrown together in an eloquent passage by Professor Stubbs in his Preface to Hoveden.

by Barons of the Exchequer, aided by the declaration of the knights as to their own holdings, by juries in the case of minor tenants. But it was not only in details of administration that Henry showed his character. He constantly summoned great councils, and as his power was so great and centralized that he could certainly have acted without them, this appears to show a fixed intention on his part to assume the position of a national and constitutional king. The general effect of his work at home was to form the nation. Normans became English. The English no longer felt themselves a conquered people. Their oppressors, the feudal nobility, were destroyed or kept in restraint. The new nobles were chiefly ministers of the crown, and all sections of the people looked to the King as the national representative. The importance of Henry's reign abroad was scarcely less striking. His immense continental dominions made him one of the great powers of Europe. His close contact with France, and the difficulties which it produced, began the hereditary policy of opposition to that country which has characterized the whole of English history. On the other hand, though he may have had no clear view of what he was doing, he set on foot also the lasting friendships of the nation. The marriage of his daughter with the Guelph Duke brought England into constant friendship with Germany, and caused Otho, the son of Henry the Lion, to be brought up in England, and to be regarded as an English prince. The marriage of his other daughter with Spain set on foot that connection which lasted even beyond the Reformation. His work as a whole may be summed up in the words of Professor Stubbs: "He was faithful to the letter of his engagements. He recovered the demesne rights of the crown, so that his royal dignity did not depend for maintenance on constant taxation. He restored the usurped estates; he destroyed the illegal castles, and the system which they typified; he maintained the royal hold on the lawful ones, and the equality and uniformity of justice which their usurpers had subverted; he restored internal peace, and with it plenty, as the riches of England in the following reign amply testify. He arranged the administration of justice by enacting good laws and appointing faithful judges. He restored the currency; he encouraged commerce, he maintained the privileges of the towns; and, without encouraging an aggressive spirit, armed his people for self-defence. He sustained the form, and somewhat of the spirit of national representation. The clergy had grounds of complaint against him for very important reasons; but their chief complaints were caused by their preference for the immunities of their class to the common safeguard of justice."

RICHARD I.

1189—1199.

Born 1157 = Berengaria of Navarre.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
William, 1165.	Philip Augustus, 1180.	Frederick Barbossa, 1155. Henry VI., 1191. Philip, 1198.	Alphonso IX., 1158.

POPES.—Clement III., 1187. Celestine III., 1191. Innocent III., 1198.

Archbishops.	Chief-Justices.	Chancellors.
Baldwin, 1185—1190. Reginald Fitz-Jocelin, 1191. Hubert Walter, 1193.	Hugh of Durham, and William Earl of Essex, 1189. William Longchamp, 1190. Walter of Rouen, 1191—1194. Hubert Walter, 1194—1198. Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, 1198—1199.	William Longchamp, 1189. Eustace, Bishop of Ely, 1197.

RICHARD began his reign with some show of penitence. He got absolution for his disobedience to his father, and gave his friendship to the existing ministers, with the exception of the Seneschal of Anjou and Ranulf de Glanvill. It is possible that the government of this great justiciary had been over arbitrary, for in England, where his mother acted principally for him, Richard is said to have freed all those prisoners who were confined by the orders of his father or the justiciary, but demanded bail for those who were legally imprisoned. He also seems to have punished the severity of some of the sheriffs. His coronation pomp was interrupted by a strange disturbance. The Jews had been ordered to absent themselves from the ceremony. This strange people had been admitted to England by the Conqueror; the only capitalists of the time, their ability and willingness to lend money rendered them invaluable both to the rising industry of the country and to the

crown; and to their knowledge is due much of the growth in science which was beginning to be made in this century. So great was their use, in spite of the heavy usury they demanded, that they were allowed to establish themselves in various towns, in districts known as Jewries, to build synagogues, and follow their own customs. They were not however admitted to full citizenship. The Jewries, like the forests, were not under the protection of the common law of the country, but were entirely in the King's power. In spite of the evident advantages derived from their presence in England, their wealth, their foreign manners, their high usury, and their strange worship rendered them objects at once of contempt and hatred to the people. Some of them, in spite of the order forbidding their presence, showed themselves at the ceremony of the consecration. They were assaulted by the soldiery. This gave a signal to the crowd who attacked the detested people in all parts of the city. Nor was this all; the same feeling spread throughout England. In some places the Jews gained safety by conversion; but early in 1190, in Norwich, in Stamford, and in York, many were put to death. In the last-mentioned place, the Jews sought refuge in the castle, and being besieged there, determined to die together. Firing the tower, they first killed their own women and children, and then sprang with them into the flames.

Persecution of
the Jews.

In fact, the Crusades brought with them a passion for adventure and licentiousness, as well as religious enthusiasm. This spirit was now abroad in England, and the King, with his wild love of adventure at any price, was its fitting representative. For the sake of adventure, honesty, good government, and national honour, were sacrificed. Thus there was scarcely an office which was not openly put up for sale; cities bought their charters, judges their seats on the bench, bishops their sees. Thus too Hugh de Pudsey bought the Earldom of Northumberland for £1000; and Longchamp, the Bishopric of Ely for £3000; while the King relinquished all the advantages his father had won over William the Lion of Scotland for 10,000 marks; it was for Huntingdon alone that the Northern King did fealty to Richard.

All offices put
up for sale.

Having by such unjustifiable means procured money for his purposes, entirely regardless of the misery he could scarcely fail to leave behind him, Richard crossed over to France to join his forces with those of Philip Augustus. Such precautions as he did take against maladministration in England were not of the wisest. He put the whole power into the

Starts for the
Crusade, leaving
England to
Longchamp.
1190.

hands of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, whom he made at once Chancellor and Chief Justiciary, securing for him also the authority of Papal Legate. But Longchamp was a man who could not fail to have many enemies. Of low extraction, and regarded as merely the favourite of Richard, he was fond of exhibiting his grandeur in the most ostentatious manner; moreover, in making him justiciary Richard supplanted Hugh de Pudsey, to whom the office had already been given. Pudsey did not surrender without some opposition. He obtained from the King letters patent, naming him justiciary north of the Humber: when he exhibited these to Longchamp, the Chancellor contrived indeed to entrap him to London, and there made him surrender his claims, but he had made himself a powerful enemy for life. Richard also, as a second precaution, made his brother John, and his half-brother Geoffrey, who had got the Archbishopric of York in exchange for the chancellorship, promise not to enter England during his absence. But he afterwards unwisely absolved John from his vow. He thus left behind him in England a possible claimant to the succession, whose power as a baron was very great, for he was the possessor of Derbyshire, the inheritance of the Earl of Gloucester, which he had obtained by marriage, and of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, which Richard had himself given him.

The death of William II. of Sicily, and of the French Queen Isabella, delayed the Crusade till June 1190. But at the end of that month, the Kings set out towards their first point, which was Sicily, Philip by Genoa, Richard by Marseilles. At the same time, a fleet of more than a hundred sail left the harbours of Brittany and Guienne. On reaching Sicily the friendship of the two kings was at first most edifying, but it was not long before various causes of dispute arose between them. To the inhabitants of the island the Crusaders seemed a horde of new invaders. The overbearing character of Richard exasperated the feelings of jealousy thus aroused. The conciliatory manners of Philip, on the other hand, were such that he was known as the Lamb, in contradistinction to Richard, who was called the Lion. The difference of feeling with which they were regarded was plainly shown when, on the occasion of some quarrel, the town of Messina was closed against Richard, while Philip was admitted within its walls. The enemies of the French King suggested indeed that his mildness was a proof of treasonable lukewarmness towards his fellow Crusaders. These suspicions were afterwards confirmed. On the death of William II.,¹ Tancred, an illegitimate son of

Quarrels with
Philip in Sicily.

¹ See genealogy at the end of the chapter.

William's brother Roger, had seized the throne, despoiling of her rights Constance, the daughter of Roger and the wife of Henry VI. of Germany, and keeping in some sort of confinement Richard's sister Joanna, the widow of William the Good, and retaining the dowry secured her by her husband's will. The enmity thus excited in Richard's mind gave way, after a lengthened dispute, to the natural feeling of friendship between the two Norman houses. Joanna and her dowry were given back to Richard; and at one of the meetings between the two princes, Tancred informed him of a plot on the part of the French to fall treacherously on the English army. Philip does not seem to have denied the charge, and it was perhaps the consciousness of his guilt which prevented him from making any effectual opposition when Richard repudiated his sister Alice. Contrary to the national feelings, and on purely political grounds, Richard had been contracted to this princess by his father. He now, throwing over this unnatural match, sought for himself a wife from Spain, a country then and for long afterwards connected by close friendship with England. This wife was Berengaria, the daughter of Sancho I. of Navarre. Though unavenged, the insult was felt. From that time onwards Philip and Richard were enemies.

At length the armies broke up from Sicily and sailed for Acre. With the three leading ships of the English fleet were Berengaria and the King's sister Joanna. Richard brought up the rear. Two of the Queen's vessels were wrecked upon the Isle of Cyprus, and their crew imprisoned by Isaac, the ruler of that island. This monarch, a descendant of the Emperor John Comnenus, banished from Byzantium, had established himself with the title of Emperor in the Isle of Cyprus. He was an inhuman tyrant, the dread of pilgrims and of shipwrecked sailors. He tried to entice the two queens to land, but luckily Richard's fleet arrived. The Cyprians were driven from

Conquers
Cyprus.
1191.

Lymesol, where the King established his court. He there received Guy of Lusignan, the nominal King of Jerusalem, completed his marriage with Berengaria, and made a treaty with Isaac. But when the Emperor sought to evade his engagements, Richard conquered the rest of the island, and organized it in the feudal fashion. On the 8th of July he reached Acre. The arrival of this warlike prince raised the spirit of the besiegers, who were in a very depressed condition. The siege had lasted since 1189, having been undertaken by Guy of Lusignan, who saw the importance of the place, if he was to continue to hold his kingdom. This was indeed a doubtful question. The Christian fortunes

had sunk very low. Among the Mahomedans power after power had arisen with rapid success, and sunk as rapidly under the attacks of its own slaves or vassals. As the Abbassid Caliphs yielded to the Seljukian Turks, the Seljukians in their turn yielded to the Atabeks. The power of this race was brought to its height by Nouredin, who established his rule at Damascus, and extended it even into Egypt. Saladin, the son of Ayub, had attended his uncle Shiracouh, when he destroyed the rule of the Fatimite Caliphs in Egypt, and brought that province under the power of Nouredin. On Nouredin's death, Saladin acquired possession of Egypt, to which he subsequently added the provinces of Damascus and Aleppo, and raised an empire which reached from Tripoli in Africa to the Tigris. It was this new warlike power which had overwhelmed the kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin IV.,¹ King of Jerusalem, became a leper. His sister Sybilla married Guy of Lusignan, a French prince of weak character, who succeeded to the throne. His elevation excited the jealousy of Raymond, Count of Tripoli, the greatest of his vassals. By his treacherous advice, Saladin attacked Tiberias. To complete his treachery, Raymond persuaded the Christians to take up a position in a camp destitute of water, and withdrew with his forces at the moment of attack. Jerusalem taken by Saladin. 1187. The destruction of the Christians was complete. In a few months Jerusalem itself was taken, and Tyre and Tripoli the only places left in Christian hands. Tyre was defended with success by the bravery of Conrad of Montferrat, who, in consequence of this success, was regarded as the great champion of the Christians. He had married a young sister of Sybilla of Lusignan, and upon the death of Sybilla, holding that the right went to the living princess, his wife, rather than to Lusignan, the husband of the dead princess, he demanded the throne. Meanwhile Guy besieged Acre, thirty miles south of Tyre, and was there surrounded by an army under the command of Saladin, and cut off from all assistance except by sea. It was under these circumstances, in the midst of the disputed succession to the throne, that the third crusade had begun. Frederick Barbarossa, who had marched with the Germans by land, perished on the road, and the Duke of Swabia reached the camp with only five thousand wearied men. The arrival of the hosts of England and France by sea changed the aspect of affairs; and the kingdom might have been regained had it not been for the bad feeling which existed between Richard and Philip, which found new food in the rivalry of

Acre besieged.
1189.

Arrival of the
Crusaders.

¹ See genealogy at the end of the chapter.

the two claimants for the crown of Jerusalem. Conrad of Montferrat at once allied himself with the French monarch; Guy of Lusignan, whose family in Languedoc were English vassals, attached himself to Richard. Directed by the enthusiasm of Richard, who, whenever mere fighting was the question, came prominently forward, the arms of the besiegers were successful, and Acre fell. The superiority which Richard acquired in actual warfare added fresh fuel to Philip's anger. There were besides certain circumstances in his own kingdom, where he had lately acquired Flanders, which seemed to require his presence. He therefore withdrew from the crusade, leaving the Duke of Burgundy with a part of his army under Richard's command. Had Richard been a general as well as a soldier, he had still forces enough to have brought this crusade to a successful issue. As it was, it consisted but of a series of brilliant but useless skirmishes. Even the great battle of Arsouf, which Richard won in September on his way to Joppa, brought him no nearer his object.

The presence of Philip in France, in close proximity to his own dominions, made him wish to be at home; and in 1192 he began negotiations with Saladin. He might even yet have been successful. In the course of the year he marched within sight of the Holy City.

But his allies insisted that the capture was impossible, and he withdrew to Ascalon. There all causes for giving up his enterprise became stronger. The split with France widened. He quarrelled deeply with the Archduke of Austria, and with the faction of Conrad of Montferrat, who was also intriguing with Saladin. News of the disturbances in his own kingdom reached him. Everything urged him to go home. He summoned a council to settle the dispute as to the kingdom, was astonished when Conrad was named, but unwillingly gave his consent. At this very time, in what appeared to be only too opportune a moment for Richard, Conrad was murdered, as there seems no reason to doubt, by two members of the sect of the Assassins sent by the Old Man of the Mountain;¹ but the crime was soon fastened upon Richard. For the present, however, he was free to take advantage of the death of Montferrat. Sure of the incompetence of Lusignan, he gave the kingdom to Henry of Champagne. To save appearances, he made one

Richard
quarrels with
Austria.

Richard saves
Acre.

Philip goes
home.

¹ A fanatical sect established in 1090 in the mountains of North Persia. They had two chief places, the one the fortress of Alamout in Persia, the other Masgat in the mountains of Libanus. Their name is derived from *Haschisch*, an intoxicating drink with which they raised their enthusiasm.

more rapid advance towards Jerusalem, but halted within sight of the city, apparently overborne by the argument that an attack on Egypt would be more profitable. Hearing that Saladin was besieging Joppa, he hastened to the relief of that town, and there won his final victory. Both he and Saladin were worn in health and weary of the strife. A three years' truce was arranged between them. By this it was agreed that Ascalon should be shared with the Turks, while the Christians should possess from Joppa to Tyre, the Counts of Tripoli and Antioch should be included in the treaty, and pilgrims have free access to Jerusalem. He then set off on his homeward voyage.

It was indeed time for the King to return. Richard had left William of Ely the chief command both in Church and State. An ambitious upstart, of ostentatious habits, William speedily roused against himself the bitterest hatred. He had one dangerous enemy who could give a voice to this unpopularity. This was the King's brother John, who wished to secure what he believed would be the speedy succession to the throne, while William sought to give a seeming legality to his position by upholding the claim of young Arthur of Brittany. Hence arose two great factions in the kingdom. The King, hearing in Sicily of the misdeeds of his Chancellor, had commissioned Archbishop Walter of Rouen, and William, the heir of Strongbow of Pembroke, if necessary, to remove him from the regency; at all events to join themselves with him and Fitz-Peter in a committee of government. Archbishop Walter shrank from the task. The quarrel came to an issue at Lincoln, which Gerard of Camville held in the interests of John, and which the Chancellor claimed for the crown. John seized the royal castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and the question was brought before a meeting at Winchester, where a compromise was effected. A second cause of quarrel occurred, when the Bishop caused Geoffrey, the King's natural brother, the new Archbishop of York, who had landed in England contrary to his oath, to be apprehended in the very church at Dover. The two brothers made common cause. They demanded satisfaction for Geoffrey, and summoned a meeting between Reading and Windsor. Meanwhile the Chancellor suddenly left Windsor, and shut himself up in the Tower of London, and the meeting reassembled in St. Paul's. There all the charges against the Chancellor were produced; Hugh of Durham produced his old grievances, Geoffrey of York his late injuries. The Tower was ill provided with food; the Chancellor was obliged to

Truce with
Saladin.
1192.

John's beha-
viour in
England.
1191.

appear and to plead; but now at length Richard's envoys produced their authority. Longchamp was dismissed from his offices. Walter of Rouen was put in his place, and the fallen Chancellor took refuge in France. The Pope received him, and excommunicated his enemies; but as usual this proceeding, when against the popular feeling, had but little effect.

Meanwhile Philip Augustus had been returning from the Holy Land. In December 1192 he reached Paris, and early in the following year demanded from the Seneschal of Normandy the restoration of his sister Alice, the Castle of Gisors, and the towns of Aumale and Eu, which he said that Richard had promised him. On the refusal of this request he began to tamper with John, begging him to come to him, when Normandy and England should be assured to him. John was stopped from immediate action by the influence of Queen Eleanor, but the disorder in the country was becoming flagrant. Richard's French vassals in Aquitaine were with difficulty suppressed.

It was plain that the return of the King alone could save the kingdom. Yet those English pilgrims who returned home before Christmas were surprised to find the King yet absent. He did not come, and the gloomy news was at length noised abroad that he was in a dungeon in Germany. He had attempted to return by sea, but afraid to travel through France, he had made his way up the Adriatic, intending to cross Germany to the dominions of his friend and relative the Duke of Saxony. Travelling in disguise, he had been discovered while in the Duchy of Austria; and the Archduke, whose anger he had roused at Ascalon, made him his prisoner. He shortly after sold him to Henry

Return of Philip Augustus.

Need of Richard's return.

His imprisonment in Germany.

John and Philip combine against him.

VI., Emperor of Germany. The capture of the King, whose name was in every one's mouth, strongly excited the feelings of Europe, and steps were immediately taken for his liberation. But to John his imprisonment served only as a means of aggrandizement. He hurried abroad, did homage to Philip, purchasing his favour with Gisors, the Vexin, and with Tours. and pledging himself not to make peace with his brother without Philip's permission. He tried to persuade the English justiciaries that his brother was dead, and secured, with his auxiliaries, Wallingford and Windsor. Philip, too, basely took advantage of his rival's position, used all his influence to lengthen his imprisonment, broke off the feudal connection between them, and invaded his dominions

Richard's subjects were, however, remarkably true to him. The justiciaries, assisted by Queen Eleanor, boldly opposed John in England, and the burghers of Rouen put Philip to a shameful flight.

In Germany Richard did homage to Henry for England. The connection of England with Germany makes it possible that there may have been some political meaning in this act. Some general action against France, or against Apulia, may have been thought of. But it came to nothing. It was afterwards cancelled by Henry himself, and has been generally regarded as a mere formality. However formal the act of homage may have been, Richard was certainly much connected with the German Empire. He mixed authoritatively in the next imperial election, after the death of Henry VI. in 1198; and it was chiefly by his influence that Otho, his nephew, a prince of the Guelphic royal family, and generally regarded as an English prince, was elected to succeed him. Of more immediate importance to England than this connection was the sum of money demanded for the King's ransom. The form of a trial was gone through at Spiers. All the charges which had been brought against him in the East were repeated;—his friendship with Tancred, his victory over Isaac, the murder of Conrad, his insults to Austria, even his final treaty with Saladin. He replied frankly and eloquently to these charges, and it was finally agreed that he should be liberated on the payment of 100,000 marks of silver, and 50,000 additional as a contribution to the Emperor's proposed march against Apulia. He was to be liberated as soon as the first sum was paid; for the payment of the second hostages were to be left. With considerable difficulty the money was collected, chiefly from the estates of the Church; and after some further difficulties, caused by the intrigues of Philip Augustus, in 1194, on the 13th of March the King landed at Sandwich.

His appearance in England at once destroyed the influence of John's party. Hubert the Justiciary had been doing his best to suppress it; such castles as still held out surrendered at the presence of Richard. His residence in England was short. He caused himself to be re-crowned, to remove the stain of his captivity, had recourse to his old nefarious means of gathering money, and then, weary of idleness, crossed into the more troubled country of France. With Philip it was impossible that he should have peace. An almost continuous war between the kings occupied the rest of the reign. Richard never displayed the talents of a general, and the war dwindled into an uninteresting series

England ransoms him.

Destruction of John's party.

War with France.

of petty skirmishes. These were usually decided in favour of Richard. Once, in the year 1196, united action among the enemies of France seemed to threaten Philip with a heavy blow. Raymond of St. Gilles, Richard's old enemy, married his sister, Joanna of Sicily; the Count of Flanders, the Bretons, and the Count of Champagne joined in the league: and in the following year, Count Baldwin of Flanders succeeded in taking Philip prisoner, but he was freed on promising peace; nor for want of leaders did the alliance get much beyond the ordinary petty warfare of the time. At length, in 1198, a truce was patched up by the Papal influence, but before disbanding his troops, Richard led them to attack the Castle of Chaluz, where the Count of

Richard's death
at Chaluz.
1199.

Limoges was said to be keeping some treasure which the King claimed. He was there wounded in the shoulder, as he rode round the walls, and the wound proved fatal. During his illness the castle was taken, and all the garrison hanged, with the exception of Bertrand de Gourdon, who had discharged the fatal arrow. He was reserved for the King's own judgment. "What have I done," asked the King, "that you should take my life?" "You have killed my father and my two brothers," answered he, "and I would willingly bear any torture to see you die." King Richard is said, in spite of his merciless temper, to have ordered his life to be spared. Mercadi, the chief of his mercenaries, was not so scrupulous; he had him flayed and hanged.

Although the King himself was but a few months in his own country, the conduct of affairs in England possesses some interest, as showing the further advance of the administrative system established by Henry II. After the King's return from his captivity, and final triumph over the machinations of John, the kingdom was left in the hand of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been trained by Glanvill, and belonged to the class of officials created by the late King. It was through his activity that, while the ransom was still being collected, the kingdom was reduced to tranquillity, and John's castles captured in the name of the King. On Richard's withdrawal to his native dominions, Hubert held the three high offices of Justiciary, Archbishop, and Papal Legate. The whole government of the kingdom was virtually in his hands. It was carried on by him in harmony with the system in which he had been trained; and in the instructions given to the justices, for a great visitation of the kingdom in the year 1194, we find the superiority of the central to the local courts still further increased by an order, that sheriffs should not act as justices in their own counties. The dangerous power of

these officers was for the time destroyed, when afterwards by the Magna Charta they were forbidden to hold the pleas of the crown at all, that is to say, all business in which the crown was interested was removed from their jurisdiction to that of the central courts. The demands of Richard for money were incessant. And on one occasion, when a large carucage, or tax upon every carucate of land, was demanded, which was in fact a renewal of the Danegelt in another shape, a fresh survey of the country, established by sworn and representative witnesses, and very similar to the Domesday survey, was ordered. In this system of representative inquiry for financial purposes is to be found the beginning of the representative system subsequently employed in Parliament. So heavy were the taxes, that opposition was finally excited, and Hugh of Lincoln followed the example of Thomas à Becket, and refused payment from his Church land. It was apparently in connection with this opposition that Hubert, in 1198, withdrew from his secular work, and was succeeded by Geoffrey Fitz-Peter. Politically, the strength of the crown exhibited in these transactions, the very completeness and excellence of Henry's system, tended to change the interests of the various classes in England. The crown, hitherto the champion of the people against the feudal barons, began to overstrain its power, and all classes were gradually forced into opposition to it,—a work completed by the greater and less glorious tyranny of John, and by the increased feeling of nationality excited among the barons, when the loss of Normandy severed them entirely from France.

Lines of Jerusalem and Sicily.

Godfrey de Bouillon, 1st King of Jerusalem; his brother Baldwin I., 2nd King.

Baldwin II., cousin of Godfrey, 3rd King.

Melisenda = Fulk of Anjou.

Baldwin III. Almeric.

Baldwin IV., the leper. Sybilla = Guy of Lusignan. Elizabeth = Conrad of Montferrat.

Tancred of Hauteville, descended from Rollo, Duke of Normandy.

Robert Guiscard,
conquered Sicily,
1090.

Roger.

Roger, 1st King of Sicily, 1130—1154.

Roger, died 1148.

William I., 1154.

Constance = Henry VI., Emperor.

Tancred, 1189.

William II., 1166 = Joanna.

JOHN.

1199—1216.

Born 1167 = 1. Hadwisa of Gloucester.
= 2. Isabella de la Marche.

Henry III.	Richard. d. 1272.	Jane=Alex- ander II.	Isabella=Frede- rick II.	Eleanor=1. William of Pembroke. =2. Simon de Montfort.
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CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Scotland.</i> William, 1165. Alexander II., 1214.	<i>France.</i> Philip 1180. Augustus,	<i>Germany.</i> Philip, 1198. Otho IV., 1209.	<i>Spain.</i> Alphonso IX., 1158. Henry I., 1214.
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POPE.—Innocent III., 1198.

<i>Archbishops.</i> Hubert Walter, 1193—1205. Stephen Langton, 1207— 1228.	<i>Chief-Justices.</i> Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, 1199. Peter des Roches, 1214. Hubert de Burgh, 1215.	<i>Chancellors.</i> Hubert Walter, 1199. Walter Grey, 1205. Peter des Roches, 1213. Walter Grey, 1214. Richard de Marisco, 1214.
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KING Richard had nominated John as his successor, having never renewed the recognition of Arthur of Brittany which he had made in Sicily. The new King at once set about securing his possession. He succeeded in laying hands upon the treasury at Chinon and the castles of Normandy. In Brittany, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, there were signs of opposition. The barons put forward the claim of Arthur; Constance, his mother, took the young prince to the court of Philip, and that king proceeded in his name to master the towns and fortresses. But the assistance of his mother Eleanor, who had taken possession of her old inheritance Poitou and Aquitaine, enabled John to make successful opposition to the invasion, and on the 25th of April he was crowned at Rouen, and felt himself strong enough to establish his claims in England. Thither he had already sent the chief of his brother's ministers—Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Fitz-Peter, justiciary, and afterwards Earl of Essex; and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. These ministers had already obliged the nobles to tender their oath of allegiance; and John, on his arrival in May, was crowned at Westminster, taking the usual oaths to guard

1199]

JOHN'S STRONG POSITION

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the Church, to do justice, and to repeal bad laws, but giving no further charter. The Archbishop is said to have begun the coronation with the declaration that the throne was elective, an assertion received with acclamation by those who were present. He is said afterwards to have declared that he took this step, knowing the King's character; he was, however, throughout his life a devoted servant of the crown.

John's position at the beginning of his reign was good. He was accepted in England; he was strong enough to refuse the Scottish King's demands on Northumberland and Cumberland; the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne made offers of friendship; and Otho of Germany even pressed him not to make peace with the French king, promising to come to his assistance. It was from Philip only that he appeared to have to dread any danger; for that king's early friendship for him had now changed to hatred, as he declared because he had accepted his continental dominions without asking leave of him, his feudal superior. We have thus early the key to the policy of Philip Augustus, who was determined to make use of the letter of the feudal law to bring his great vassal into subjection and establish royalty in France. He had a ready weapon in the person of young Arthur, who had already done homage to him for Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Brittany. The efforts of the Church were however constantly exerted to keep the peace between these rivals; and Philip had a difficulty on his own hands which induced him to desire peace. He had married Ingelborga of Denmark, but had almost immediately separated from her and married Agnes de Méranie. The cause of the divorced princess was warmly taken up at Rome, and in this year Innocent III. had laid France under an interdict.

Under these circumstances a treaty was patched up. John promised to young Louis, the heir of France, the hand of his niece Blanche of Castile, and along with her the Earldom of Evreux; at the same time pledging himself not to assist his nephew Otho against the rival Emperor of Germany, Philip of Swabia. Philip in return secured to England the disputed province of the Vexin, and for the time dropped the claims of Arthur. A formal interchange of homage was then made; on the part of John for his French possessions, on the part of Louis for his newly acquired earldom, on the part of Arthur for his provinces in France. John at once began to destroy his good position. A large aid gathered before his coronation, and another for the purpose of paying

a sum of money demanded by the late treaty, had already caused anger in England. He now proceeded to rouse the displeasure of some of his chief French nobles. He put away his wife Hadwisa, the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, and was beginning to treat

Marriage with
Isabella de la
Marche.

for the hand of a Portuguese princess, when he suddenly fell in love with Isabella, the daughter of the Count of Angoulême, and carried her off from her betrothed husband, the Count de la Marche. Before the storm broke, however, he

Homage of
Scotland.

was able to oblige the Scotch king, with whom he had been in constant correspondence, to meet him at Lincoln, and there to do him homage, and to swear to be his liegeman for life, limb and land. It must be supposed that this was real personal homage for the kingdom of Scotland, as William the Lion's claims on the Northern counties were still postponed.

But the King's difficulties soon began. Wishing to collect an army to suppress disturbances in Poitou, he was met by a refusal from his barons, who assembled at Leicester, and demanded the establishment of their rights. The disturbances in Poitou

Outbreak in
Poitou.

were caused by the insurrection of the Count de la Marche, full of anger at losing his wife. Deserted by his barons, John was unable to suppress the insurrection. He had been invited to Paris, and received with every demonstration of friendship; but while there the barons of Poitou, following the policy of Philip Augustus, and it is fair to believe induced by him, lodged formal complaints with the French king as their suzerain. John was called upon to plead before the feudal Court of Peers. He refused, averring that the Duke of Normandy had never transacted business with his suzerain except personally upon the borders of his own duchy. Philip seized the opportunity, urged that the Duke of Normandy was

John's French
provinces
forfeited.
1202.

at the same time Count of Poitou, obtained judgment against John, declared all his fiefs forfeited, and again raised the claims of Arthur. War was the immediate consequence. The defection of the Count of Boulogne opened the west of Normandy, and that side of the country was speedily in the hands of the French.

Arthur himself now appeared in arms, renounced John, and entered Poitou in alliance with the insurgent barons. He there besieged Mirabeau, where the old Queen then was lying ill on her return from a journey into Spain, whither she had gone to fetch the Princess of Castile, according to the treaty with the French King. The capture of the castle seemed inevitable, when John, with one of those sudden

acts of vigour which broke his indolent life, suddenly came upon the besiegers, and surrounded them, rescued his mother, and took the young prince captive. The war became still more vehement. The Bretons claimed the restoration of their prince. Philip moved his army to the Loire, and town after town was captured, while John lay in sensual enjoyment at Rouen. The Norman barons, unused to an unwarlike governor, deserted to Philip, and John was compelled to return to England.

He had hardly reached it when the terrible rumour spread that the young Prince Arthur had disappeared. His fate is variously related. The more commonly accepted story

Death of
Arthur.
1203.

is, that, imprisoned at Falaise, under the care of Hubert de Burgh, he escaped, by the good will of his custodian, from the designs of John, who had sent to have his eyes put out. He was thence removed to Rouen, to the charge of Robert de Vipont, and murdered, perhaps by his uncle's own hand, and his body thrown into the Seine.

However he may have died, his death raised a storm of indignation. Philip pressed more boldly forward. In March 1204, Chateau Gaillard, the key of Normandy upon the Seine, was taken. One after the other, Caen, Bayeux, Coutances, Lisieux, and all the country to Mont St. Michel, were captured; Rouen alone remained. John was again summoned before the Peers at Paris. Philip even prepared to invade England, and to make good there the claims of the Counts of Brabant and Boulogne, who had married the granddaughters of King Stephen. In June, Rouen was compelled to capitulate, and in the following year, Loches and Chinon, south of the Loire, yielded, and Rochelle, Niort, and Thouars, in Poitou, were the only towns left in the possession of the English.

Loss of
Normandy.
1205.

Meanwhile John had tried in vain to assemble an effective army in England. He had raised money and collected troops, but it would seem that they were disaffected; for, at the urgent entreaties of his faithful servants, Hubert of Canterbury and William Marshall, they were disbanded. One futile attempt was indeed made from Rochelle, and John boasted loudly of his capture of Montauban, but he was none the less compelled in October of this year to make a two years' peace with Philip. The connection between England and Normandy was thus for ever broken; henceforward the country was thrown upon its own resources, and its life and interests became more distinctly national.

Peace with
Philip.
1206.

Many causes had been at work to separate the interests of the crown and nation, but before mentioning them it will be necessary to speak of the second great event of John's reign, his dispute with Innocent III.

In July 1205, had died Hubert of Canterbury, whose influence as minister of the crown had been paramount during this and the preceding reign. The right of election to the metropolitan see had been constantly disputed between the monks of the cathedral and the suffragan bishops of the province. The younger monks thought to steal a march upon their rivals, and, even before the Archbishop had been buried, had elected Reginald, the sub-prior. Without waiting for the King's approval, which had been invariably required during the reigns of the Norman kings, they hurried the Archbishop elect abroad, binding him not to disclose his election till he reached Rome. His vanity got the better of his wisdom; he boasted of his good fortune. A rumour of what had been done reached the ears of the King. The elder monks took fright, betook themselves to John, and received orders from him, in complete disregard of the claims of the bishops, to elect John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, one of his ministers. He was elected, invested with the temporalities, and messengers stating the fact were at once sent to Rome. It was now the turn of the bishops to complain. In point of fact, the last three archbishops had been elected by the common consent of the bishops and monks, and with the approval of the crown. The older right was decidedly with the bishops, and they too despatched messengers to the Papal Court. A claim raised by three distinct parties, and brought to his court to settle, was exactly the opportunity Innocent desired. There was much in the position of England and the English Church which he would have wished to see changed. The election of bishops and archbishops, under whatever forms it had been carried on, had been virtually in the hands of the crown. Many of these appointments had been given to Churchmen, who had devoted their chief time to the great administrative system which Henry II. had perfected.¹ The mixture of lay and ecclesiastical elements was very objectionable to the Pope; while if there was one thing more than another which he was desirous of suppressing, it was the independence of national churches as represented by their bishops. Innocent, therefore, now ruled that the bishops had not the slightest voice in the matter, that the monks alone had from time immemorial possessed the right of election, although it had accidentally fallen into abeyance. He thus robbed both king and bishops of their share in the election, and then declaring that the election of Reginald in the present instance had been irregular, bade the monks, a considerable number of whom had come

¹ John de Grey belonged to this class.

Election of the
Archbishop of
Canterbury.

to Rome, proceed at once to the election of his old friend and fellow-student, Stephen Langton, cardinal priest of St. Chrysogonus. He so far acknowledged the existence of John as to write him several letters pressing him to receive the Archbishop. On the rejection of these overtures, foreseeing that he was entering on an important struggle, he arranged a peace with Philip of Swabia, the rival of Otho the Guelph, the Papal candidate for the throne of Germany, and proceeded to consecrate the new archbishop with his own hands at Viterbo.

John had already quarrelled with the bishops, because they had refused, at a council held at St. Albans, to give him a contribution which he had required, for the assistance of this same Otho, who was his nephew. The news therefore of the consecration at Viterbo at once moved him to violence. The monks of Canterbury were driven from their monastery, and when, in the following year, an interdict which the Pope had intrusted to the Bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, was published, his hostility to the Church became so extreme, that almost all the bishops fled; the Bishops of Winchester, Durham and Norwich, two of whom belonged to the ministerial body, being the only prelates left in England. The interdict was of the severest form; all services of the Church, with the exception of Baptism and extreme unction, being forbidden, while the burial of the dead was allowed only in unconsecrated ground; its effect was however weakened by the conduct of some of the monastic orders, who claimed exemption from its operation, and continued their services. The King's anger knew no bounds. The clergy were put beyond the protection of the law; orders were issued to drive them from their benefices, and lawless acts committed at their expense met with no punishment. While publishing the interdict, the Pope had threatened still further measures, and the King, conscious of his unpopularity among the barons, sought to secure himself from the effects of the threatened excommunication by seizing their sons as hostages. Nevertheless, though acting thus violently, John showed the weakness of his character by continued communication with the Pope, and occasional fitful acts of favour to the Church; so much so, that, in the following year, Langton prepared to come over to England, and upon the continued obstinacy of the King, Innocent, feeling sure of his final victory, did not shrink from issuing his threatened excommunication. John had hoped to be able to exclude the knowledge of this step from the island, as his father Henry had done; but the

Election of
Stephen
Langton.
1207.

John's violence.

Interdict and
flight of bishops.
1208.

Excommuni-
cation.
1209.

rumour of it soon got abroad, and its effect was great. The fidelity even of the ministers was shaken, and one of them rose from the council table, asserting that it was unsafe for a beneficed clergyman any longer to hold intercourse with the excommunicated King.

In a state of nervous excitement, and mistrusting his nobles, the King himself perpetually moved to and fro in his kingdom, seldom staying more than a few days in one place. None the less did he continue his old line of policy. Sums of money were still frequently demanded, and sent out of the kingdom to support the cause of Otho, who, having procured the assassination of his rival, was again making head in Germany. Nor did he refrain from carrying out a policy which in any other king would have been accepted as national and good. The loss of the French provinces had thrown England back upon itself, and the country now seemed inclined to seek a surer foundation for its power in the more complete subjection of the immediately surrounding nations. Thus William the Lion of Scotland was compelled, by the advance of an English army, to make a treaty which was in fact a complete submission to England. He was obliged to pay a large sum of money, and to give up into the hands of John his daughters Margaret and Isabella, as well as hostages drawn from the noblest families of the country; while some years later, in 1212, his son Alexander appeared in London, and was knighted and swore fealty to the King.

Shortly after this success in the North, John betook himself to Ireland, where quarrels had arisen between the angry Irish nobles, and where Hugh de Lacy had suppressed his rival John de Courcy, and, being enfeoffed with the kingdom of Ulster, had arrogated to himself rights closely touching upon royalty. John raised supplies from the English towns, and crossed over to Waterford. He there succeeded in establishing order, and having introduced the English form of administration, returned to England, leaving John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, behind him as his representative. He then directed his arms towards Wales. Along the marches of that country there was constant strife, as the Lords Marchers erected new castles and encroached upon their neighbours. In 1211 the King marched through the country, and received at the foot of Snowdon the submission of Llewellyn, his son-in-law,¹ and other princes. A fresh outbreak, accompanied by the usual cruel slaughter of the garrisons of the castles, roused his anger. At Nottingham he had all the Welsh

¹ He had married Joanna, John's natural daughter.

hostages he had taken under the late treaty hanged, and was preparing for further vengeance when news reached him of the discontent of the Northern barons. He was induced therefore to direct his arms against them, filled Northumberland with his foreign mercenaries, and seized fresh hostages from his suspected nobles.

These wars had but afforded still further opportunities for the King's rapacity; from which every class in the kingdom was now suffering. Those classes even which John had hitherto somewhat spared now felt the pressure. There was a universal persecution of the Jews, who were all suddenly apprehended, and many of them tortured to declare their wealth. He is said to have extracted 60,000 marks from the race. The clergy too had been obliged to find him £100,000; the Cistercian monks some £30,000, or £40,000, and subsequently, in 1212, another £12,000 was wrung from them, because the chief of the order, acting as Papal Legate, had, during the Albigensian crusade, injured Raymond, the King's brother-in-law.

While he had been thus, even in the pursuit of national objects, estranging by his tyrannical conduct his own subjects, John had been carrying on his opposition to the Pope outside the limits of the kingdom; and events in Europe were rapidly approaching a crisis. Otho, the Guelphic Emperor, upon the death of his rival, had so completely succeeded, that in 1209 he had been solemnly crowned Emperor in Italy. But no sooner had he gained his object than the inevitable rivalry between Pope and Emperor again arose, and in a few years he had forfeited the Pontiff's favour so completely as to become the object of his greatest hatred; he had even been excommunicated, while the Pope found a new protégé in the young Frederick of Sicily, whose anti-papal tendencies were not at that time suspected. Similarity of circumstances rendered still closer the bond of union between John and his nephew, and in 1211 a league of excommunicated leaders was formed, including all the princes of the North of Europe; Ferrand of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant, John, and Otho, were all members of it, and it was chiefly organized by the activity of Reinald of Dammartin, Count of Boulogne. The chief enemy of most of these confederates was Philip of France; and John thought he saw in this league the means of revenge against his old enemy.

To complete the line of demarcation between the two parties, Innocent, who was greatly moved by the description of the disorders and persecutions in England, declared

Disaffection of the Northern barons.

The King's rapacity.

League with Northern princes.

John is deposed 1212.

John's crown forfeited, and intrusted the carrying out of the sentence to Philip. In 1213 armies were collected on both sides, Philip was already on the Channel, and John had assembled a large army on Barhamdown, not far from Canterbury. But Innocent probably never intended to proceed to extremities. To embroil two Christian nations would have been to thwart one of his greatest objects, which was a new crusade. But he knew his man; he knew the weakness which was hidden under the violence and ostentatious passion of John, and he also well knew from his emissaries in England the widespread disaffection there. While the army was still lying in its camp, there appeared at Dover Pandulf, as the Pope's Legate. He demanded and obtained an audience with the King, and there explained to him the gravity of his position. He found means to bring home to his mind the perfect insecurity of his position at home, while John, from his own experience, knew both the power and the skill of Philip. The consciousness of his danger destroyed his boastful obstinacy, and he made an unconditional submission. The paper which he signed was drawn up almost in the very words of the demands of Pandulf. He offered to plead before the Papal Court; he promised peace and a good reception to Langton, the other bishops, and banished laity; he was to restore all Church property, and to make restitution for all loss since the interdict. Having accepted these conditions, the King went further. On the 15th of May, at Dover, he formally resigned the crowns of England and Ireland into the hands of Pandulf, and received them again as the Pope's feudatory.

It was not without ulterior objects that John took this disgraceful step. He believed that he saw in it a way out of all his difficulties, and the means of revenging himself upon his enemies. He had no intention of allowing his new position to interfere with his continental alliances, and it was to their success that he looked to re-establish his power. When Philip of France was no longer the agent of Papal authority, he believed that it would be possible for him to resist the storm that was gathering round him. He expected that one great victory would go far to give him back his lost French dominions, when the prestige of success, the friendship of the Church, and the increase of power derived from his regained dominions, would make him master of the situation in England. At first all seemed to work as he wished. Pandulf immediately hurried to France, and forbade Philip to attack the Pope's new vassal. The opportune attacks of Ferrand of Flanders

*Surrender of
the crown to
the Pope.*

*John's improved
position.*

diverted the French army towards the dominions of that prince; the English fleet which was sent to assist the Flemings destroyed the whole French shipping in the port of Damme; the Archbishop Langton was received with honour, John threw himself at his feet, reconciled himself with the Church, issued writs to all the churches to inquire into the amount of damages to be restored, and ordered a great council to meet at St. Albans to settle finally the restitution of the Church property. He then summoned his barons to meet him, and join him in an attack upon Poitou. But he was mistaken, both in the character of the Churchman, in whom he hoped to find an obedient servant of the Papal See, and in the amount of dissatisfaction among his nobles. The barons of the North refused to follow him, and the meeting at St. Albans resulted, not in a settlement of Church difficulties, but in the open declaration of the complaints of all classes. A few weeks after, Langton, who had seen through the character of John, and was full of hatred of his tyranny, met an assembly of malcontents at St. Paul's in London, and there declaring that he had found documentary proof of their rights, produced the coronation charter of Henry I., which was at once accepted by the barons as the declaration of the views and demands of their party.

*Renewed diffi-
culties with
Stephen
Langton.*

In the meantime, two events had happened disastrous to the royal cause. Nicholas of Tusculum had arrived as Papal Legate, and the justiciary Godfrey Fitz-Peter had died. The Legate, ignorant of the feelings of the English, and eager to support and make real the Papal authority, had thoroughly adopted the King's cause. He threatened the clergy unless they at once accepted the arrangements which the King offered; and although it was the very thing which had before excited the anger of the Pope, he proceeded to fill vacant benefices with the devoted adherents of the royal party. In the place of the experienced Fitz-Peter, who, however far he might have strained the administrative power of the crown, had yet exercised a wholesome restraint on the King, Peter des Roches was raised to the office of justiciary, and appointed to be the representative of the crown during John's absence in France. The people saw themselves, as they thought, both in spiritual and temporal matters in the hands of the tyrant. A great success abroad might yet have checked the growing disaffection. The King led an army to Rochelle. At first he was successful everywhere. He overran Poitou, and crossing the Loire captured Anger, but the Poitevin barons had been too deeply injured by him to be faithful

*John hopes to
remove them by
victory in
France.
1214.*

friends; their disaffection soon compelled him to retire. But the great confederation was at work upon all sides. The Count of Flanders was pressing in upon the North, Otho was advancing from Germany. In July a junction was made at Valenciennes. Thither Philip now betook himself; he was followed faithfully by most of his great nobles, and by the militia of the chartered cities. The whole success of his policy was at stake. A defeat would ruin the object of his life—the establishment of the royal power in France. For Otho too the stake was high; the triumph of the Guelphic house in its long war against the Hohenstaufen would be the fruit of

Battle of
Bouvines.
1214.

victory. For such prizes the battle of Bouvines was fought, at a small place upon the little river Marque. The fortune of the day was with the French; in all directions they were victorious. Both for Otho and John the defeat may be said to have been final; the Emperor withdrew to his hereditary dominions in Brunswick, where, after some not very important fighting, he died in 1218. John returned, having lost his last hope of re-establishing his power at home by foreign conquests.

He returned to England to find himself in a worse position than ever; for Innocent had found out the errors his legate had committed, and recalled him; and John had lost another of his most trusty counsellors by the death of the Bishop of Norwich. Thus left to his own resources, with his usual folly he took the opportunity of demanding a heavy scutage from those barons who had not followed him abroad. The nobles of the North rose. A meeting was held in November at Bury St. Edmunds, and it was there determined that they would make their formal demands upon the King in arms at Christmas time. John was keeping his Christmas at Worcester; but having no doubt heard of the action of the barons, hurried to London, where they appeared before him in arms. He demanded till Easter for consideration. The time was given him. He used it in an attempt to sow dissension among his enemies. He granted to the Church the free right of election, hoping thereby to draw Langton from the confederation. He took the oaths of the crusader to put himself more immediately under the guardianship of the Church, and hastily summoned troops of mercenaries from Poitou.

The barons at once reassembled at Brackley. At their head was Fitz-Walter, an old enemy of the King, and William Marshall, son of the Earl of Pembroke. Their strength consisted of the nobles of the North—and they were spoken of as the

Meeting at
Brackley.

Northerners,—but many barons from other parts of England joined them, and in spite of various compromises offered by the King, they laid siege to the castle of Northampton. They there received messages of adherence from the mayor and citizens of London, into which city they were received in May; and thus masters of the greater part of England, and of the capital, they compelled John to receive them and hear their demands at Runnymede, a meadow by the Thames' side not far from Staines. There was signed, on the 15th of June, the paper of forty-nine articles, which they presented, and which were afterwards drawn up into the shape of the sixty-three articles of the Great Charter.

Capture of
London.

Runnymede.

That Great Charter was the joint work of the insurgent lords, and of those who still in name remained faithful to the crown. In many points this rising of the barons bears the appearance of an ordinary feudal insurrection. Closer examination proves that it was of a different character. The very success of Henry II. in his great plan of national regeneration had tended to change the character of English politics. Till his time, the bulk of the people had regarded the crown on the whole as a defence against their feudal tyrants. In the pursuit of good government he had crushed the feudal nobles, and had welded Norman and English into one nation. In so doing, he had greatly increased the royal power; for in those early times good government invariably implied a strong monarchy. In patriotic hands his work might have continued. But when the increased royal power passed to reckless rulers, such as Richard and John, it enabled them to play the part of veritable tyrants. They had used this power in ruthlessly pillaging the people. The great justiciaries, Hubert and Fitz-Peter, content with keeping order and retaining constitutional forms, had almost of necessity lent themselves to this course, while lesser officials had undoubtedly acted with arbitrary violence. The interests of the King and his ministers had thus become separated from those of the nation. To oppose this tyranny, nobles and people could now act in concert. The struggle was no longer between King and people on one side against the nobles on the other, but nobles and people had joined against the King. Besides this political change, a great revolution had taken place in the character of the nobility itself. The feudal nobles, the friends of the Conqueror, had for the most part given place to a new nobility, the sons of the counsellors and ministers of Henry II. In the centre of England alone did remnants of the old feudal families remain.

Political posi-
tion of England.

The insurrection then, coming from the North, was the work not of feudal barons but of the new ministerial baronage. Again, the claims raised, although, inasmuch as the monarchy was still in form a feudal monarchy, they bear a resemblance to feudal claims, were such as might have been expected from men trained in the habits of administration. They were claims for the redress of abuses of constitutional power, and were based upon a written document. In addition to this, they were supported by the clergy, who were never and could never be feudal in their views, and by the towns, whose interests were always opposed to those of the feudal nobility. There is another thing to be recollected; the Charter, as ultimately granted, was not the same as the demands of the barons. A considerable number of the older barons, of the bishops, and even the Archbishop himself, remained ostensibly true to the King, and were present at Runnymede as his followers. We are told that it was the younger nobles who formed the strength of the reforming party. Nevertheless, with the exception of the King's actual ministers, and of those foreigners, the introduction of whom was one of his gravest errors, the whole of John's own following acknowledged the justice of the baronial claims, sympathized with the demands raised, and joined in putting them into the best shape. The movement was in fact, even where not in form, national.

The terms of the Charter were in accordance with this state of affairs. To the Church were secured its rights and the freedom of election (1). To the feudal tenants just arrangements in the matters of wardship, of heirship, widowhood, and marriage (2-8). Scutage and aids, which John had from the beginning of his reign taken as a matter of course, were henceforward to be granted by the great council of the kingdom, except in three cases, the deliverance of the king from prison, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter (12). The same right was secured by the immediate tenants to their sub-tenants. The great council was to consist of archbishops, bishops and abbots, counts and greater barons, summoned severally by writ, and of the rest of the tenants in chief, summoned by general writ to the sheriff (14). The lands of sub-tenants, seized by the king for treason or felony, were to be held by him for a year only, and then to be handed over to the tenant's immediate lord (32). Similarly the crown was no longer to claim wardship in the case of sub-tenants, nor to change the custom of escheated baronies, nor to fill up vacancies in private abbeys (43, 46). These are all distinct regulations of feudal rela-

Magna Charta.

tions. The more general acts of tyranny of the crown were guarded against, by fixing the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster (17); by the settlement of land processes by itinerant justices in the counties where the disputes arose (18); by the limitations of punishments within reasonable limits (20-22); by the restriction of the powers of constables, sheriffs, and other royal officers, both in the matter of royal lawsuits and of purveyance (28-31); by an article (36), which is held to foreshadow the Habeas Corpus Act, stipulating the immediate trial of prisoners; and by other articles (38-40), which are held to foreshadow trial by jury, and which forbid the passing of sentence except on the verdict of a man's equals, and witness upon oath. Other points secured their liberties to the free towns and to merchants. This Charter was to be guaranteed by the appointment of a committee of twenty-five nobles, any four of whom might claim redress for infractions of it, and upon refusal proceed to make war upon the king.

This Charter, which with its final clause implied absolute submission, John never intended to keep. No sooner were his first ebullitions of anger over, than he proceeded to take steps for destroying it. Messengers were at once sent to Rome to get it annulled, and to Poitou to collect mercenaries. Troops came over in crowds, and the barons in alarm ordered William D'Albini to attack the castle of Rochester. He seized it, but was there besieged, and compelled to surrender to John's mercenaries. All the common men of the garrison were hanged. John's other message was equally successful. A letter from Innocent announced that he totally disallowed the Charter, and ordered Langton to excommunicate the King's enemies. This he refused to do, and other excommunications and interdicts were also futile. John's temporal weapons were more successful. He overran England with his mercenaries, burning, slaying and harrying with vindictive fury, and so superior was he in the field, that the barons found themselves obliged to summon Louis of France to their assistance. Louis' wife was John's niece, and they probably intended to use this slender connection to change the dynasty.

His success was not very rapid, though at first he seemed to have the game in his hands. He wasted his time and lost his opportunity before the castles of Dover and Windsor. His conduct also in bestowing fiefs upon his French followers began to excite the jealousy of the English; and John's cause was again wearing a more hopeful appearance, when,

John's attempts to break loose from it.

Louis is summoned 1216.

marching from Lincoln, which he had lately conquered, he crossed the Wash, with all his supplies which he had lately drawn from Lynn. The rise of the tide destroyed the whole of his train, and broken by his loss, or perhaps poisoned, or perhaps a victim to his greediness, he died on the 19th of October at Newark. In July of the same year he had lost his great protector Innocent III.

John's death.

HENRY III.

1216—1272.

Born 1207=Eleanor of Provence.

Edward I. Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. Margaret=Alexander III.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Alexander II., 1214.	Philip Augustus, 1180	Philip, 1197.	Henry I., 1214.
Alexander III., 1249.	Louis VIII., 1223.	Otho IV., 1208.	Ferdinand III., 1217.
	Louis IX., 1226.	Frederick II., 1218.	Alphonso X., 1252.
	Philip III., 1270.	Interregnum, 1250.	

POPES.—Honorius III., 1216. Gregory IX., 1227. Celestine IV., 1241 (vacancy 1241). Innocent IV., 1243. Alexander IV., 1254. Urban IV., 1261. Clement IV., 1265 (vacancy 1268). Gregory X., 1271.

Archbishops.	Chief-Justices.	Chancellors.
Stephen Langton, 1207—1228.	Hubert de Burgh, 1215—1232.	Richard de Marisco, 1214—1226.
Richard le Grand, 1229—1231.	Stephen Segrave, 1232—1234.	Ralph Neville, 1226—1244.
Edmund Rich, 1234—1240.	Hugh Bigot, 1258—1260.	Walter de Merton, 1261.
Boniface of Savoy, 1245—1270.	Hugh le Despencer, 1260.	Nicholas de Ely, 1263.
	Philip Basset, 1261.	Thomas Cantilupe, 1265.
		Walter Giffard, 1265.
		Godfrey Giffard, 1267.
		Richard Middleton, 1269—1272.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of John, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and Gualo, the Papal Legate, the leaders of John's faithful followers, declared Prince Henry king. It was a moment of extreme danger. The Scotch had advanced as far as Carlisle, the Welsh were harassing the Marches, the East and South of England were in the hands of Louis and the revolted barons, the court could with difficulty uphold its influence in the West. But Marshall was a man of tried experience, of trust-

Difficulties at Henry's accession.

worthy character, and, though a firm adherent of the crown, no friend to tyranny. The presence of the French prince in England shocked all national prejudices. Pembroke set on foot a policy of conciliation, and attempted to unite all parties against the foreigner. He at once separated the cause of the young Henry from that of his father by accepting the Charter. He wrote friendly letters to the leaders of the revolted barons, and found assistance in the ecclesiastical weapons wielded by Gualo. One by one the insurgents, feeling themselves sure of constitutional treatment at the hands of Pembroke, joined the royal party. Pembroke found himself strong enough to risk a battle. Louis had received reinforcements, and with the insurgent nobles who still upheld his cause marched to Lincoln, where, though the town was in his possession, the castle still held out for the English king. Thither

Fair of Lincoln.

Pembroke betook himself, determined to bring on a decisive engagement. Gaining access to the town through the castle, his troops fell upon the French in the streets, and completely routed them, capturing nearly all the English leaders. London and its neighbourhood alone remained to Louis, and when a great French fleet, under Eustace the Monk, which was bringing him assistance, was completely defeated by Hubert de Burgh and D'Albini, Louis felt that his cause was lost, and consented to treat. The English, who only wanted to get rid of him, granted easy terms, including the freedom of most of their prisoners. They even advanced 10,000 marks towards defraying the heavy fine which Gualo on the part of the Church demanded as an expiation for disobedience to the Roman See, and Louis was escorted with all honour to the sea coast, and retired.

With Louis the great obstacle to the settlement of the country was gone. Pembroke continued to act in a conciliatory spirit. A pardon was issued, including all political offenders; peace with Scotland was secured; and the Charter, together with the charter of the forests, was again signed. It underwent, however, some changes. The King was no longer acting under coercion; restrictions which Pembroke considered inexpedient were therefore removed. His object appears to have been to reproduce as far as possible the state of things existing in the reign of Henry II. The destruction of castles erected during the late reign was therefore ordered, and the clause of the Charter forbidding the levy of scutage without the consent of the barons omitted. The reconciliation thus effected was in fact the triumph of the crown; the offices were filled with adherents of John. But in

Pembroke's conciliatory measures.

Louis leaves England.

the hands of Pembroke the regained power of the crown would have been constitutionally employed.

His death, in 1219, opened the door to a strange attempt on the part of the Pope. The influence of Gualo, the Papal Legate, had been great. It had been so because John's resignation of his crown was regarded at Rome as no vain formality, but as a real cession. But Gualo, a man of somewhat weak character, was no match for Pembroke, and was unfitted to make good the authority which Rome was inclined to claim. He was recalled, and a much more energetic legate appointed in the person of Pandulf, now Bishop elect of Norwich. His appointment represents an effort on the part of Rome to govern England as a conquered province by means of its legates. The natural governor of England during the minority of the sovereign was the great justiciary Hubert de Burgh. But Pandulf assumed authority over him, and his letters amply prove how overbearing he used it. His government was at first successful. The dangers of a French invasion were averted by a renewal for four years of the Peace of Chinon. The friendship of Scotland was secured by the marriage of Henry's sister Jane with the Scotch king. A splendid coronation, and an ostentatious ceremonial at the removal of Becket's bones to the Cathedral of Canterbury, seemed to show the restored grandeur both of King and Church; while a Bull from Pope Honorius commanded the restoration of the royal castles, which the poverty of the King had, in many instances, obliged him to pledge to their governors. But Pandulf's conduct was too overbearing to be endured. Langton, as the head of the English Church, and therefore no friend to the immediate government of Rome, tried to curb him by demanding his obedience as one of his suffragan bishops. The Pope declared him free from this obedience so long as his consecration to the see of Norwich was uncompleted. Langton finally betook himself to Rome, and there, by what means we know not, succeeded in obtaining an order for his recall, accompanied by a promise that no resident legate should be appointed in England during his own lifetime.

Hubert de Burgh at once took his proper position as regent, supported by the national Church; and the attempt at immediate rule from Rome may be said to have failed, though throughout the reign England was regarded as in a special manner a fief of the Papal See, and, as Pope Innocent IV. said afterwards, "a well of wealth from which Rome might draw unlimitedly." For eight years Hubert ruled England well. He was

Papal attempt to govern by legates.

Pandulf's government.

His fall.

Triumph of national party under Hubert de Burgh.

unduly grasping of money, he was occasionally arbitrary, but on the whole his government was directed to the honest support of the Great Charter, and the destruction of that foreign influence under which England was suffering.

The centre of this influence was Peter des Roches, who had the care of the King's person. These two ministers, Hubert and Peter, were the representatives of the different sides of that quarrel which gives its tone to the whole reign. The characteristic feature of the period is the growth of national feeling. This feeling had been outraged by John by the introduction of foreign favourites. The claims of the Pope on England, the tyranny which he exercised on the national Church, and the constant bestowal of English livings upon foreigners, had a similar effect in shocking the feelings of the clergy. Thus while the Pope and King appear throughout the reign as the favourers of foreigners, the national party both in State and Church were closely connected. As yet, indeed, the King was too young for such a part; the representative of the foreign party was Des Roches. Round him gathered themselves all classes of malcontents, consisting chiefly of those foreign mercenaries whom John had raised to power, and who were occupying the royal castles, of Llewellyn of Wales in close connection with them, and of the nobles of Ireland. Des Roches' influence at Rome secured for this party on most points the support of the Pope. For two years they were constantly thwarting the government of De Burgh. The necessities of the government had obliged him to be severe in the collection of money; but there was some slight colouring for the charge of undue severity which was laid against him. An uproar in London, headed by Constantine Fitz-Alulf, an old partisan of the French invaders, had been followed by the summary execution of that demagogue. Attacks both in Wales and in Ireland upon the property of William Marshall, who was thoroughly English in his views, were the first signs of the coming storm. A Bull which De Burgh obtained from Honorius declaring the King of age, and demanding the restitution of the castles, brought matters to a crisis. Under this provocation the barons and Peter des Roches proceeded to action. An attack on London was planned, but failed. But the discontented nobles openly appeared before the King; and Peter des Roches formally charged Hubert with treason, and demanded his dismissal. Led by the Earl of Chester, they retired, and kept Christmas with great pomp at Leicester. The Justiciary and the King determined to hold a rival meeting at Northampton. The royal

Parties in
England.

Opposition
barons at
Leicester.
1223.

appeal for help was warmly answered. The force collected at Northampton was too strong for the malcontents. Excommunication issued against them by Stephen Langton completed their discomfiture. They separated and obtained peace as a price of the surrender of the castles. There was one exception, Faukes de Breauté, who contrived to retain his strongholds. This man, a mercenary of John, had risen to be the sheriff of six counties, the governor of several castles, and a Baron of the Exchequer. Hubert determined to complete his victory by destroying him. His opportunity occurred, when Faukes' brother William laid hands on the travelling justice Henry Braibroc and imprisoned him at Bedford. With extreme rapidity De Burgh marched against him and captured Bedford. Faukes fled to join his former comrades; but it was in vain that both Chester and Peter des Roches, now at one with the Justiciary, petitioned in his favour, De Burgh remained unmoved, and De Breauté was stripped of all his offices, and condemned to perpetual exile. He betook himself to Rome, where he managed to obtain the ear of the Court, and still further increased the difficulties of the English government.

Although he had thus worsted his domestic enemies the Justiciary was surrounded with difficulties. Philip Augustus had died in 1223, and had been succeeded by his son Louis VIII., the old enemy of England. He had begun his reign with a threat of renewed war, to which the disturbed state of Poitou and Guienne afforded a constant opportunity. In those countries there was a succession of unceasing disputes between town and town and noble and noble; the country roughly forming itself into two parties, the towns and the nobles. In 1224, war had in fact broken out. Henry had sought the friendship of the German Emperor Frederick against France, and connected himself with Peter Duke of Brittany, and when Louis appeared at the head of a great army, nominally for a war against the Albigenes, it seemed probable that its real aim was the English provinces. Louis' unexpected death changed the state of affairs. The new king was a child in the hands of his mother Blanche, and the French nobles took the opportunity to loosen the connection between themselves and the crown which Philip II. had established, and thus destroyed for the present the possibility of united national action. But although, on the first slackening of authority, all Poitou passed into the English hands, the chance of forming a united opposition among the discontented French nobles was allowed to pass unused.

Resumption of
royal castles.

Destruction of
Faukes de
Breauté.
1224.

Danger from
France. Death
of Philip.

English neglect
the opportunity.

One by one even the old allies of the English returned to their allegiance to France. At length, Richard, the King's brother, who had the title of Count of Poitou, and had commanded his army, joined in the general pacification.

It was the financial difficulties of the government which had chiefly prevented the success of this war. The opposition to Hubert de Burgh was constant, and it had only been upon condition of again signing the Charter that the King had been able to raise a fifteenth for the French war. This tax was probably the first raised in strict accordance with the terms of the Charter. De Burgh was honestly desirous, in opposition to the arbitrary views of his rival Des Roches, that the King should rule constitutionally, and both by proclamation and by official letters he took care to spread a knowledge of the Charter in the country. Although Henry was declared of age in 1227, when he was twenty, the government of De Burgh practically continued. He was made Earl of Kent, and declared Justiciary for life; and his victory was completed by the absence of Peter des Roches, who thought it better to withdraw for a time to the Crusades. His rule was not very popular among the nobles: not only was he naturally disliked by the chiefs of the adverse party, he even quarrelled with Richard, the King's brother, and with William Marshall. Such an act indeed as the following could scarcely have failed to make him enemies. An inquisition was issued to examine into the title deeds¹ of all tenants in chief, who were obliged to make good their titles by large payments. The sum derived from this inquiry amounted to £100,000.

The support which the Justiciary invariably received from Langton bears witness to the national character of his government. The Archbishop's efforts to free the Church from its foreign slavery were perhaps even more laborious than those of the Justiciary. Already the system which reached such excesses afterwards had been established. Gualo and Pandulf had been but single instances of a number of Roman officials who had grown rich on gifts of English benefices; and now the Roman Court determined, under the pretext of raising money for the Crusade, to demand both in France and England two benefices in each diocese and each abbey for the exclusive use of Rome. In neither country was the demand allowed. Otho, a Papal legate, held a council in 1226 at Westminster, and brought forward the demand. The clergy would probably have had to yield, had not the Archbishop, by private negotia-

¹ By writ of *quo warranto*.

tions with the Pope, succeeded in getting the Legate's commission withdrawn. The clergy then expressly declared that by the laws of England they were free from such exactions. That England was allowed thus to escape, and that the exactions were comparatively so light in these first years of the reign, is due to the character of Honorius and to the interest which he always took in the young King, whom he regarded as his special vassal and ward. The case was different when he was succeeded by Gregory IX., the nephew of Innocent III., and the heir to his imperious temper. It was fortunate that his constant war with the German Emperor prevented him from meddling much with English politics.

But this period, during which England was governed by such patriotic leaders as De Burgh and Langton, working in harmony with one another, was coming to a close. In 1228, the Archbishop died, and was succeeded, after a disputed election, by Richard Chancellor of Lincoln, who was authoritatively nominated by the Pope. The new Archbishop did not live long, and was in his turn succeeded, also on the nomination of the Pope, by Edmund Rich, a man of great sanctity and singleness of purpose. In the following year, a quarrel occurred between the King and the Justiciary, which was probably the beginning of that nobleman's fall.

Henry, now that he was of age, had become anxious to distinguish himself by regaining some of his continental dominions. To this he was pressed by the discontented French nobles, more especially by the Count of Toulouse, who was suffering from the Albigensian crusades, by the Counts of Brittany and of the provinces in the north-east of France. In other words, he was thinking of throwing England back into that position of entanglement and dependence which had hitherto prevented the formation of the national spirit. This was exactly opposed to the Justiciary's views. He was unable to change the King's mind; but when Henry arrived at Portsmouth, where his army was assembled, he found the ships insufficient for its transport. Full of rage, he turned upon Hubert, abusing him as a grey-haired traitor, and affirming that he was bribed by France. The expedition had to be postponed, which was fortunate, as the scutage which had been demanded from the Barons and the Church had indeed been granted, but not yet collected. It was not till the end of April 1230 that the armies sailed. Although the expedition was unwise in itself, it was well timed. With the

Poitou remains French.

Hubert's continued power.

Change of Popes: increased exactions.

Death of Langton. 1228.

Quarrel of Henry and De Burgh.

Henry's false foreign policy.

exception of the Count of Champagne, nearly all the French Barons were in arms, or ready to rise, against the Queen Regent Blanche; but Henry was incapable of seizing the opportunity. He tried diplomacy instead of war, but it was in vain that he persuaded many of the Barons of Poitou to join him; Blanche found means to break up the confederation against her. This change in the aspect of affairs compelled Henry to make a truce, and before the end of the year he returned home, leaving a small army behind him.

Under pretext of continuing the war, a new scutage was demanded and granted, not without opposition from the clergy; but finally a peace for three years was concluded in July 1231, which was again renewed for five years in 1235. We may suppose, although Henry declared that he was on perfectly good terms with the Justiciary, that their great difference on foreign policy made his suspicious mind inclined to listen willingly to the insinuations of Des Roches, his evil genius, who in this year returned from the Crusade. Every difficulty of the Justiciary was artfully taken advantage of. Among other things laid to his charge was the insecure state of the Welsh borders. He was even represented as fostering a strange lawless opposition to the encroachment of Rome, which had been showing itself in the kingdom. A secret society, part lay, part clerical, had been formed to check the habit of granting English livings to foreign priests, thus not only destroying the funds of the English clergy, but overriding the rights of private patronage. The society wrote letters to all ecclesiastical bodies, threatening them with vengeance if they paid the incomes of the foreign interlopers.

The associates did not confine themselves to threats; several foreign priests were robbed and outraged. The head of the conspiracy, Sir Robert Twenge, boldly justified his conduct to the King, and was allowed to depart unharmed, and carry his complaints direct to Rome. The rioters were said to have shown in their justification letters from the Justiciary.

It is scarcely possible that this could have been true; but, together with the disturbances on the Welsh Marches, it formed the chief among a series of very trivial charges which were brought against Hubert, and produced his fall. On the 29th of July 1232, he was suddenly suspended from all his offices. His place was taken by Stephen de Segrave, a close ally of Des Roches. Peter de Rivaux, probably the Bishop's son, was made treasurer, and other favourites of the Bishop were raised to office. Hubert, aware of the strength of his enemies, took refuge in the Priory of Merton in Surrey.

Fall of
De Burgh.

He was granted a few weeks to prepare his defence, and to get ready accounts which were demanded of all the money that had ever passed through his hands. Supposing that he was thus at liberty for the present, he went to Bury St. Edmunds to join his wife, but on his journey thither, at Brentwood, he was, by order of the Court, assaulted, and fled for refuge to the sanctuary of a neighbouring chapel. He was torn from his refuge, and hurried to London. The favour he had gained in the eyes of the people and his whole political aim are well shown in the words that are reported to have been used by a smith when ordered to put irons on him: "Is not this that true and noble Hubert who has so often snatched England from the devastating hand of the foreigners, and made England, England?" The Church obliged Henry to restore him to his sanctuary, and the love with which he was regarded was shown by the touching offer of his own chaplain, Luke, Bishop of Dublin, to give himself up in his place. The effect of taking sanctuary was, that the fugitive was bound to swear before the coroner that he would leave England for ever. This exile he was bound to seek within forty days, leaving the coast within a tide after his arrival there, or, if the wind made that impossible, walking daily into the sea to show his willingness to do so. Hubert could not bring himself to abjure England; he would not therefore leave his sanctuary, and being surrounded by his enemies, was starved into submission. He was treated mercifully; his Crown fiefs were taken from him, his own property he retained, but he was kept in confinement in the Castle of Devizes.

Once in command of the government, Peter des Roches pushed headlong to the attainment of his objects. The friends of De Burgh were swept from the Court. The offices were filled with foreigners. Henry was persuaded to bring over 2000 troops from France. But Hubert was not the only Englishman among the nobility. Richard Marshall of Pembroke, the second son of the great Regent, and now his representative, raised the voice of patriotism, and declared to the King that as long as foreigners were ruling none of his English counsellors would appear at Court. Des Roches answered insolently that the King and his foreigners would soon bring rebels to reason. At assemblies at Oxford and at Westminster the same sort of language was used. By Peter's advice, the King began to proceed against his discontented subjects. He deprived Gilbert Basset of his property, and ordered the apprehension of his brother-in-law Siward; they

Effects of taking
sanctuary.

Revolution
under Des
Roches.
1233.

Earl of Pem-
broke upholds
Hubert.

fled to the Earl Marshall, their property fell to Rivaux. In August, a day was appointed for the delivery of hostages by the suspected nobles. Pembroke, the Marshall, hearing that there was a plot against his life, retired to his Welsh possessions. The King summoned troops to meet him at Gloucester. The Marshall and his friends were outlawed without trial; fresh foreign troops came thronging over, and civil war began. The King's army did not fare well, and the clergy began to take up the cause of the Marshall. They protested against the confiscation of a peer's property without trial. "There are no peers in England," said des Roches, "as in France; the King may sentence whom he will, and drive them from the country." The clergy could not hear such absolute principles unmoved. They threatened Des Roches and his favourites with excommunication; and when the King demanded their censure upon the Marshall for an attack upon Gloucester, they said the city was his, and they found no grounds for censure.

Meanwhile, afraid for his life, De Burgh had escaped from Devizes and again taken sanctuary. Again he was illegally torn from it, again the Church remonstrated, and he was again restored. A sudden inroad into Wiltshire under the Marshall's friend Siward set him at liberty, and he immediately joined the Marshall at Strigul. Again

and again the royal troops were worsted; and at length, in 1234, at a meeting of the clergy at Westminster, Archbishop Edmund took the matter up, explained to the King the wretched effects of trusting to his foreign counsellors, warned him that excommunication would most likely fall upon him too, and induced him at length to order the Bishop of Winchester to retire and attend to his spiritual work in his diocese. For a month longer the war went on, or rather attacks continued to be made upon the followers of Peter. But in May, news arrived that Richard Marshall had been treacherously killed in Ireland at the instigation of Des Roches. This was more than the King himself could bear, and the Archbishop received orders to restore to favour all those whom Des Roches had outlawed. Gilbert Marshall received the property and office of his late brother, and Hubert was allowed to retain the earldom of Kent and his own property. This change was followed by the removal of Peter's creatures. After some years of absence, he himself returned to England, was received into favour, and died in his diocese in 1239.

The fall of Des Roches was not productive of such advantageous changes in the government as might have been expected. Segrave

Edmund of
Canterbury
causes Des
Roches' fall.
1234.

held for a few years the office of Justiciary. On his death the office was not renewed till after the Parliament at Oxford. Ralph Neville continued in more or less favour as Chancellor till 1244, when that office also fell into abeyance. The King practically became his own minister, and unfortunately his views of government had more in common with those of Des Roches than with those of De Burgh. It is true that the growing power of the Great Council, which was gradually gaining the name of Parliament, prevented any great infractions of the Charter, and compelled the King again and again to renew that document, though always in exchange for an aid. The frequency of renewal, however, seems to show repeated efforts on the part of the King to free himself from it; nor was the state of his treasury such as to enable him to do without legitimate sources of revenue. The real faults of his reign were not illegal extensions of the royal power, but the readiness with which he allowed and even joined in the exactions of the Papal See, and the total absence of national objects which distinguish his rule, which may be traced to his culpable partiality to foreigners. From the year 1236 till the Parliament of Oxford, these errors were continually on the increase.

The first great influx of foreigners was caused by his marriage. In 1236, he married Eleanor, the second daughter of Count Raymond Berenger of Provence, and sister of the Queen of France. From that moment, the Court was in the hands of the Queen's relatives. It was especially the Queen's uncles into whose hands patronage fell. William, Bishop of Valence, was the first. To him was given the vast property of Richmond in Yorkshire, which had previously belonged to the Counts of Brittany, and the King had almost succeeded in securing for him the Bishopric of Winchester when news of his death was brought. He was succeeded by another uncle, Peter of Savoy. Richmond was handed on to him; Pevensey and Hastings were intrusted to him, and the wardship of the Earl of Warrenne, which completed his power in the south-east corner of England. To increase his influence, he brought over numbers of young foreign ladies, and married them to some of the great Earls of England. The death of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1240, allowed the King to secure that See, after an interval of five years, for another of the uncles, Boniface, whose violence and warlike bearing, as well as his youth, made him a strange contrast to his predecessor. Peter de Aigue Blanch, another Savoyard, was made Bishop of Hereford, and afterwards

Henry becomes
his own
minister.

Henry's
marriage.

Influence of the
Queen's uncles.

became Henry's disreputable agent in the business of the Sicilian monarchy. This lavish support of foreigners naturally caused great discontent in England, and was repeatedly the subject of complaints in the Great Council. Thus, in 1236 and 1237, there were three stormy councils, nor was the money the King required granted till the sanctions of the Magna Charta were again renewed. The arrival of the Cardinal Otho as Papal Legate did not mend matters; his efforts at reconciliation were useless, and he soon turned his attention to collecting money for the Church. At this time, for a very short period, it seemed as if Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, might have assumed the post of leader of the English party; but his patriotic efforts were short-lived. A few years after he married the Queen's sister, and threw his influence upon the side of the foreigners.

A far greater man took the post he thus resigned. Simon de Montfort, destined to be the real national leader of England, was rising into importance. The sister and heiress of Count Robert of Leicester had married the Count of Montfort, and died in 1204. In 1215, the whole English property had been given to Ralph Earl of Chester. Simon de Montfort, the Conqueror of the Albigenses, never possessed it, but his eldest son Almaric, after the death of the Earl of Chester, in 1232, demanded the property and honours of Leicester for his younger brother Simon, who was thus acknowledged as the owner of the property. He held the bason of water as High-Steward at the Queen's coronation, shortly after married the King's sister, the widow of William, second Earl of Pembroke, and succeeded in getting that marriage acknowledged by Gregory IX. in 1238. Like all those who had to do with Henry, he was obliged to bear extraordinary changes of fortune from the fickle character of the King. An angry quarrel drove him abroad, and, in 1240, in company with Richard of Cornwall, he set out for the Holy Land.

During their absence the government of England grew continually worse. Men began to weary of the personal government of the King. For several years the great offices of judiciary and chancellor had been left unfilled, and their duties performed by subordinate officials, upon whom the King lavished his favours. One of the chief of these was Mansell, who is said to have held no less than 700 livings, and to have been in the yearly receipt of 8000 marks. The Church was gradually driven to make common cause with the lay opposition. It was a time of spiritual revival. The great monastic orders had lapsed into the position of wealthy

Formation of a
national party
under Simon
de Montfort.

Revival in the
Church.

landowners. The work which in the early times they had so well performed, the civilization of the country districts, was over. They had become lazy and luxurious. The prelates had for the most part deserted their spiritual calling and become statesmen. The Church as a whole, as represented by the Pope, had misused its influence. Crusades had become the instruments of temporal aggrandizement, or of revenge upon the personal enemies of the Pope. A spiritual revival had been set on foot almost at the same time by St. Dominic and St. Francis d'Assisi, who had founded the two great orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, the Black and Grey Friars. The vow of poverty, evaded by the older orders, had become a reality. The establishments of the Friars had met with great success; thousands thronged to be enrolled in their orders. They had rapidly spread over Europe, and had lately arrived in England, and there begun their work of regeneration. They had laboured chiefly in the towns and among the most wretched outcasts of society, and had there called into life new religious energy, mingled with hatred towards their wealthy predecessors the old monks, and with a consciousness of personal equality in the sight of God, which tended much to strengthen the democratic feeling which supplied Simon de Montfort with his strongest support. Their teaching had not affected the lower classes alone; numbering among them many learned men, they speedily got possession of the education at Oxford, and found a friend in Grosstête, the learned Bishop of Lincoln. The reforms which the Church demanded

Grosstête.

were carried out by him as far as possible in his diocese; and under his guidance, and that of Edmund Rich, the Church of England was becoming at once spiritual and national. The folly of the King, who filled the high ecclesiastical offices with foreign favourites, the exactions of the Pope, who, acting hand in hand with him, placed hundreds of benefices in the hands of Italian priests, compelled all that was best in the Church to throw itself absolutely on the side of the reformers.

Ecclesiastical and secular misgovernment went on side by side. Disastrous expeditions to France, and consequent exactions from the people, were intermingled with the visits of Papal emissaries, to wring from the wretched clergy contributions for the Papal war against the Hohenstaufen. In 1242, the King undertook to regain Poitou. Richard of Cornwall had been nominal Count of that province, when, in 1241, Louis gave his brother Alphonse the same title. The most important nobleman in the country

Affairs of
Poitou.

was the Count de la Marche, who had married Henry's mother. He at first did homage to the new Count, but afterwards, urged it is supposed by his ambitious wife, renounced his fealty, and demanded assistance from Henry. The King therefore landed in the following year in Gascony. De la Marche soon began to repent of what he had done, and Henry, never a very active warrior, was disheartened by his treachery. The armies at length met near Taillebourg, on the Charente. Afraid of being surrounded, Henry employed his brother Richard, who had gained general favour with the French by liberally ransoming prisoners in the Crusade, to secure an armistice. He took the opportunity of falling back to Saintes, where he was almost surprised by the pursuing enemy. After this he was gradually driven backwards to the Garonne, while Marche and his revolted barons again accepted their French lord. The year was wasted in fruitless negotiations with the discontented Count of Toulouse, and in collecting money and troops from England. Henry quarrelled with his own nobles, who gradually left his army; and early in 1243 returned to England, having accepted a peace, which deprived him of the whole of Poitou and of the Isle of Rhé. Gascony was now the only part of France remaining to the English. It was during this campaign that Richard of Cornwall met and married Sancha, the Queen's sister, throwing up from this time all chance of leading the national party, and attaching himself to the foreigners.

Loss of Poitou.
1243.

Prince Richard
joins the foreign
party.

Exactions in
Church and
State.
1244.

Council at
Lyons.

Such a war did not tend to the popularity of the King. The exchequer had been empty, money was stringently and often illegally exacted. A new Pope, Innocent IV., was elected, and the exactions from the English clergy resumed more vigorously than ever: for the Pope was carrying on the contest he had inherited against Frederick II., and was now summoning at Lyons the council his predecessor had failed to collect, in hopes of destroying for ever the power of the Hohenstaufen. His agent, Master Martin, travelled through England, pillaging the clergy till the English could bear it no longer, and the barons joined with the Church in demanding his dismissal. The foreign element in the Church too continued its baneful activity. Boniface, the Archbishop, laid waste his rich see, cutting down the timber and sending the profits abroad, while the King attempted, though in vain, to secure the Bishopric of Chichester for Robert de Passelewe. The nation determined to demand its rights at the Council of Lyons. The English ambassadors

there took an opportunity of charging the Pope with not being contented with his Peter's Pence and the yearly 1000 marks which John had promised, with sending his messengers to make further exactions, and with filling English benefices against the will of their patrons with Italian priests. 60,000 marks a year thus passed into the hands of foreigners, ignorant of the language, and mostly living abroad. The Pope vouchsafed no answer, but shortly afterwards issued a Bull forbidding pluralities, and promising to respect the rights of patrons. The Bull remained a dead letter; and the very next year 6000 marks were exacted, and foreign priests were as plentiful as ever, admitted to their benefices under what was spoken of as "non obstante" clauses, which set aside all previous Bulls. The feeling in England against the Pope, who exacted, and the King, who allowed the exactions, grew more and more determined.

Futile attempts
to check
exactions.
1246.

In 1247 matters grew still worse. A fresh swarm of foreigners arrived in England; De la Marche was dead, and the King's half-brothers came over and were at once received with favour and honoured with profuse gifts. Chief among them was William of Valence, and his brother Aymer, who, in the year 1250, was made Bishop of Winchester, though he was never consecrated. The foreign policy of England was by these men managed for their own interests. Thus on the death of Raymond Berenger, Provence was allowed to pass into the hands of Charles of Anjou, who had married the Queen's youngest sister; and thus Henry made use of a crusade, on which he said that he was going, to demand large sums of money from the people. In 1248 the crisis seemed approaching. At a meeting of Parliament many charges were raised against the favourites; and the feeling against the King's personal government, which had long been growing, found vent. In blind security, Henry continued his course. The King's revenue, squandered in empty magnificence or lavish grants to his foreign friends, became more and more dilapidated. Money had to be borrowed. All men with an income of £20 were compelled to take up their knighthood; and afraid to have recourse to illegal aids from the nobility, the King turned upon the cities, more especially London, and demanded and obtained great tallages from them. The crusade constantly supplied him with an excuse for these exactions; yet even when the King of France was taken prisoner in Egypt, Henry and his crusaders made no movement. He contented himself with appointing

Inroad of
Poitevin
favourites.
1247.

Discontent of
Barons.

Continued
misgovernment.

Tallages on
the cities.

a day for his expedition; the expedition itself did not take place. Innocent indeed had other ends in view; he was bent far more on the destruction of the Hohenstaufen than on the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick II. had died in December 1250, and the Pope's energies were now directed to driving those who remained of this family from their kingdom of the two Sicilies.

Far indeed from assisting Louis, Henry had regarded his absence as an opportunity for regaining his power in the south of France. Gascony was in a state of complete confusion, chiefly through the insurrections of Gaston of Bearn and assaults from the King of Navarre. To bring it into order, Henry had, in 1248, appointed Simon de Montfort his governor there. His government had been completely successful, and at length, in 1250, Gaston was sent a prisoner to England. In his foolish soft-heartedness, Henry at once pardoned and released him. But the vigorous government of Simon had excited the displeasure both of the nobles and of the towns. They sent an embassy under the Archbishop of Bordeaux to lay charges against him before Henry. The King, fickle and jealous, listened to them; and Leicester was summoned home. He had almost ruined himself in his efforts to carry on his government well, and an angry scene of personal recrimination occurred, the King charging him with treason, while Simon demanded repayment for the money he had expended. It shows the state of personal contempt into which the King had fallen, that Leicester could venture to give him the lie direct. But the King could not do without him; by the influence of the Earl of Cornwall the quarrel was adjusted, and De Montfort returned as he believed to his government. His back was scarcely turned when the King appointed in his place his young son Edward, and ordered the Gascons not to obey De Montfort. Feeling himself thus freed from his charge, De Montfort went to Paris. The opinion of his abilities was so high, that he was offered the regency of France; but slighted though he had been at home, he was still true to his adopted country, and declined the flattering offer.

Left to himself, Henry found the Gascons more than he could manage. He collected indeed much money for the expedition; the Charter being renewed as usual at the price of a grant. The Jews had to advance money, the towns were tallaged. But, after all, things would have gone badly had not Leicester again patriotically offered his services, and taken command

Diversion of
the crusade.
1250.

Montfort's
government
of Gascony.

His quarrel
with the King.

By Leicester's
aid Gascony
is saved.

of the disturbed province. With his assistance, and with money obtained from England, by dint of lying letters, narrating the extreme danger of the King from the approach of a vast army of Christians and Saracens under the King of Castile, peace was made with Alphonso X., at that time the King of Castile, and a marriage arranged between Edward and his daughter the Princess Eleanor. This expedition therefore had on the whole been successful; but it plunged the King still deeper into money difficulties, while his constant demands for money, and the dishonest means he had taken to secure it, had lowered him still further in the eyes of the people. His foolish ambition and his adherence to the Papal See completed what his long reign of misgovernment had begun.

It has been said that the Pope's chief object was to remove the Hohenstaufen from their Italian dominions. As early as 1252, seeking some prince whom he might set in their place, and being assured of the fidelity of the English King, he offered the throne of Sicily to Richard of Cornwall. That Prince, remembering that Henry, Frederick's son, was his own nephew, and too prudent to trust himself blindly to the Pope, declined the offer. But when young Henry died in 1253, and Sicily fell into the hands of Conrad and of his half brother Manfred, the Pope repeated his offer to King Henry's son Edmund. By him it was foolishly accepted; Conrad also died, and a great opportunity was opened for the Pope's intrigues. There were three parties in Sicily: the German party, who upheld a son of Conrad, the Italian Gibellines, who obeyed Manfred, and the Sicilians, who followed Peter Rufus, the Emperor's lieutenant. The Pope succeeded in bribing the leader of the German party, and his views seemed on the point of realization, when he died. He was succeeded by Alexander IV., who was reputed a moderate man, but who accepted all the arrangements of his predecessor. Henry had returned from Gascony, after a costly visit to Paris, deeply in debt. The Charter of London was again set aside, and a heavy tallage inflicted; the Jews were again compelled to pay large sums of money; and the Barons in Parliament were loudly complaining of grievances, and demanding the appointment of a Parliamentary Justiciary and Chancellor. In the midst of all these difficulties, the King was foolish enough to accept the Sicilies on ruinous terms. Two hundred ounces of gold yearly, and the support of 300 knights, were to be promised, the expenses of the war to be paid, and an army at once sent to claim the kingdom. The Pope kept the

Henry's money
difficulties.

The Pope offers
Edmund the
kingdom of
Sicily.
1254.

Henry accepts
Sicily on
ruinous terms.

management of this war in his own hands, but the Bishop of Hereford, Henry's envoy, was allowed to make the King responsible for the outlay. The Pope began immediately to send his creditors direct to Henry, and twice before the end of the year 1256, a Papal Legate of the name of Rustand had appeared in England, raised money of unknown value from the English Church, and freed the King from his Crusader's oath, that he might employ his forces against Sicily.

The English Church was indeed at his mercy. Boniface of Canterbury lived abroad, and was completely in the Papal interest, the Archbishopric of York was vacant, the Bishops of Winchester and Hereford were creatures of the King. Henry himself was acting in complete harmony with the Pope, who had several times granted him a tenth from the clergy, and had given him the incomes of all vacant benefices, and of intestates. The Church was driven into close union with the rapidly rising baronial opposition, and was obliged to regard its temporalities as ordinary baronies. Scotland and Wales were again becoming troublesome, and the lukewarmness of the English Barons prevented successful

Consequent
exactions.
Terrible famine.
1257.

resistance to their inroads. To add to the difficulties of England, 1257 was a year of fearful want. The weather was so bad that the harvest stood rotting in the fields even in November. Wheat rose from two shillings to fifteen or twenty the quarter. The harvest of 1258 promised to be as bad. Thousands were dying of hunger.¹ And when, in the midst of this misery, the Pope's Legate (who in 1257 had stated the amount of debt to the Pope to be 136,000 marks, and had succeeded in wringing 52,000 marks from the clergy) repeated his demand the following year, and threatened an interdict unless the debt was at once paid, Englishmen of all classes felt that the time for action had arrived, and, taking advantage of the absence of the Earl of Cornwall, who was abroad attempting to make good his election to the German Empire, the Barons assembled at a Parliament held at Westminster determined upon reform.

Parliament at
length roused
to resistance.

It was a stormy scene. William de Valence and Simon de Montfort almost came to blows. William spoke of Montfort as "an old traitor, and the son of a traitor." "No, no," said Simon, "I am no traitor, nor traitor's son; my father was very different from yours," referring to the constant treasons of the old Count de la Marche. He then poured out his grievances, the squandering of the royal property on favourites, the folly, in the face

¹ 20,000 are said to have died in London alone.

of such financial difficulties, of accepting the Sicilian throne, and the admission of Papal legates to rob the clergy. At length a sort of compromise was arrived at, and aid was promised if the Pope would lower his demands, and the King on his side promised reform, a promise to which several of his chief favourites had to put their signatures. The King also pledged himself to give full consideration to the Barons' demands at a Parliament to be assembled at Oxford at Whitsuntide, and to leave the question at issue to be decided by a commission of twelve from either side, whose verdict should be final.

On June 11th, this Parliament met. It is known by the name of "The Mad Parliament." The Barons, of whom there were about a hundred,¹ appeared in arms, under the pretext of the war with Wales, in reality to overawe the King's violent step-brothers. Mad Parliament
1258.

At that Parliament the promised commission of twenty-four was chosen. The King's Commissioners, with the single exception of John of Plesseys, Earl of Warwick, were men pledged to the old evil courses, either by their relationship with the King or by the favours they had obtained from him. At the head of the Barons appeared Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, the natural head of the English party, and De Montfort, himself indeed a foreigner, but of such high ability and character that he was indispensable to his party. To these twenty-four was intrusted the duty of securing reform. They were not like the twenty-five guardians of the Charter, pledges for the carrying out of the treaty, but a committee representing for the time the executive authority of the Crown. These Barons chose a council of four, John Mansell, the King's secretary, the Earl of Warwick, and two Bigods (the Earl of Norfolk and his brother). These in their turn were to nominate a council of state or executive ministry of fifteen. The predominance of the baronial party is shown by the fact that of those fifteen two-thirds were on the Barons' side.² This Council of fifteen produced the Provisions of Oxford, and appointed new officers. Hugh Bigod was chief justice, John of Peterborough, treasurer, Nicholas of Ely, chancellor. The royal castles were ordered to be placed in the hands of Englishmen; and three times a year a Parliament was to be held, consisting of the fifteen, and twelve members of the old twenty-four represen-

Provisions of
Oxford.

¹ There were about 150 Baronies at this time, but several Barons had more than one.

² They were the Bishop of Worcester, the Earls of Leicester, Gloucester, Norfolk, Hereford, John Fitz-Geoffrey, Peter de Montfort, Richard de Grey, Roger Mortimer, and Albemarle. Of the King's party, Boniface of Canterbury, Peter of Savoy, the Earl of Warwick, John Mansell, and James d'Audley; (in the English copy he signed his name as James of Aldithel, Fitz-Geoffrey as Geoffreyson.)

tative Barons. These are said to be representatives of the commonalty of England, but it does not as yet appear that the commonalty meant anything but the baronage. These Provisions were accepted and sworn to by the King, Prince Edward, and the Barons, and subsequently, on his return to England, by Richard, King of the Romans.

The article which demanded the surrender of castles by foreigners met with much opposition.¹ The King's step-brothers refused to surrender theirs. Simon de Montfort, as a foreigner, on the other hand, showed a good example by surrendering two of those he had in charge.² When William de Valence refused this order, "I will have the castles," said De Montfort, "or your head." The threat was too serious to be disregarded; the foreigners crept off in the night, and went to Winchester, where they hoped that Aymer de Valence would afford them protection. The Barons at once pursued them. They were obliged to yield, and were exiled. The Barons then proceeded to check the bad government of the sheriffs. Four knights from each shire (a step towards the coming admission of the lower gentry to Parliament) were appointed to inquire into the question; and it was arranged that the sheriffs should be elected yearly. The Londoners readily accepted the new order of things; and finally, in October, the Provisions were solemnly proclaimed, together with the Magna Charta, in Latin, French and English. In this the King declared his full adhesion to the Oxford Ordinances. It was countersigned by thirteen of the fifteen counsellors. This is the first public document issued in the English language, and may be regarded as a sign of the real question at issue during the reign: Was England to be, in fact, England, and the English to be a nation?

Exile of aliens.

Proclamation of the Provisions.

The fifteen counsellors were intrusted with the duty of producing other reforms before the following Christmas. This they neglected to do, and it was only in October 1259 that they produced another series of Provisions. These by no means answered the expectations of the Barons, and were so moderate that, after the cessation of the war, they were incorporated in the Statute of Marlborough, 1267. They were chiefly directed to prevent encroachments on feudal rights. Prince Edward had earnestly pressed for the production of these Provisions. He was at this time

¹ Fifteen at least of the royal castles were in the hands of foreigners.

² Kenilworth and Odiham.

a strong reformer, and it was perhaps on account of the inefficient character of the reforms now produced, that a quarrel arose between Leicester and Gloucester, in which, we are told, that Leicester was supported by Edward, Gloucester by the King. The government was meanwhile practically in the hands of the fifteen. They felt that their chief work was in England, and therefore freed themselves as much as possible from foreign complications. They made peace with Wales, entirely renounced all claims upon Sicily, and made a definitive treaty with France. By this treaty Bordeaux, Bayonne and Gascony, with the addition of the Bishoprics of Limoges, Cahors and Perigord, which the honesty of the French King restored, were to be held by England as fiefs of France; all claim on Normandy, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou was to be given up; and the King of France promised to give a sum of money for the maintenance of five hundred knights for two years, to be used only for the good of England or the Church. This last article proved afterwards a source of danger to the baronial cause.

Final treaty with France 1259.

Their whole government seems to have given satisfaction; but it was not likely that Henry should calmly submit to their domination. With the peculiar faculty of making his religion compatible with bad government and dishonesty, which was the characteristic of this King, he applied, almost immediately after the Parliament of Oxford, to the Pope for an absolution from his promises. A visit twice repeated to the King of France gave rise to the suspicion that he was concerting measures with that monarch; and, in 1261, he was certainly fortifying the Tower. In April of that year an answer of Alexander IV., entirely absolving him from his vows, reached him.

Henry thinks of breaking the Provisions.

Pope's absolution arrives.

He ordered it to be publicly read, proceeded to give some castles into the hands of foreigners, and proclaimed that he would no longer consent to the restraint imposed upon him. The Barons met at Kingston; and, unwilling to proceed to extremities, agreed to refer their differences to the King of France, whose character for honour stood high, though in this instance rumours were afloat that he was already pledged to the King's interest.¹ The King would probably not have ventured on this course had not a quarrel arisen in the baronial party, which deprived them of their ablest leader. It is not certain what the cause of quarrel was, but as early as 1259, De Clare and Montfort had exchanged hot words, and from that time De Montfort had been very much abroad.

Quarrel between De Clare and De Montfort.

¹ Formal reference does not seem to have been made till 1263.

and the leadership of the baronial party entirely in the hands of De Clare. In 1262, a second absolution reached the King, and was by his orders publicly promulgated by Mansell, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the Bishop of Norwich.

But meanwhile a stronger leader than Richard Earl of Gloucester had appeared in England, and the King's attempts at recovering his authority were peremptorily checked. The Earl of Leicester, hearing of the death of Gloucester, had returned from abroad, and found himself the unquestioned chief of the party. With himself he associated the late Earl's son, young Gilbert de Clare, and matters soon seemed to be coming to extremities. Llewellyn of Wales, apparently in the baronial interest, attacked the lands of Roger de Mortimer and of that foreign Bishop of Hereford who had been the King's agent at Rome. A general persecution of all those who could not speak English followed in the border counties. The Bishop of Hereford's treasures were seized, and he himself had to fly abroad. At the same time the Bishop of Norwich, who was disliked for having published the absolution, was attacked. John Mansell was driven into France; while, on the other hand, Prince Edward, who had hitherto remained true to the Statutes of Oxford, was reconciled to his father, and appeared in arms against the barons. The people of London joined in the general disturbance. The Queen had to leave London and retire to Windsor. On her way thither, as she was passing up the river, she was assaulted and maltreated by the Londoners, an event which Prince Edward is said not to have forgotten.

While the parties were thus already beginning to appeal to arms, in January 1264, the King of France published his verdict at Amiens. It was entirely in favour of the Crown, and annulled the Provisions of Oxford, especially declaring that the King had right to employ aliens as the governors of his castles. The verdict was clear enough, and Henry believed that it put him entirely in the right. On the other hand a clause was added of which the Barons took hold to support their cause. By this it was asserted that the verdict was not intended to derogate in anything from the royal privileges, charters, liberties and laudable customs of the kingdom. With this loophole for variety of opinion, the award left the main question unsettled, although it enabled a certain number of those who were pledged to the Provisions, but disliked the Barons' rule, to join the King. Among others, his brother Richard, the King of the Romans, took advantage of this opportunity. Still

Return of De Montfort.
Outbreak of hostilities.
Award of Amiens 1264.

unwilling to press their claims to the uttermost, the Barons offered to accept the award, excepting only the one clause, which was in fact the point for which they were fighting, that, namely, which permitted the employment of aliens. The Londoners would not even go so far as this.

The King refused their offer, and war became inevitable. It began by the capture of Northampton by Prince Edward, and gradually drifted southward, till the two armies met at Lewes. The King occupied the town, with the castle and priory; the Barons, the down to the west. The battle ended in a decisive victory for the Barons. Prince Edward, carried away by his anger against the Londoners, whom he despised and hated, was induced to pursue an advantage he had won over them too far. Richard, the King of the Romans, was misled into an attack upon a cage-shaped litter, which he believed to contain De Montfort, who had been wounded by a fall from his horse. De Montfort had purposely left it in his rear, together with his standards and baggage; it really contained only four refractory Londoners of the King's party. These two errors on the part of the enemy secured the victory to De Montfort; and when Prince Edward returned from his pursuit, he found the battle lost, and the struggle only prolonged by the fighting round the castle at Lewes. De Montfort, evidently the victor, offered to put an end to the bloodshed by an immediate truce; and an agreement known as the Mise of Lewes was made, by which the questions at issue were to be settled by a court of arbitration consisting of two Frenchmen and one Englishman. The two Princes, Edward and Henry d'Almeine, were to remain in captivity meanwhile, in exchange for their fathers, the King and his brother Richard, who had been taken prisoners; and the prisoners on both sides were to be released.

De Montfort was for the time completely master of the country. He at once proceeded to act with vigour to bring the country into order. The King's peace was proclaimed everywhere. The prisoners were exchanged, and till the open question with regard to the election of sheriffs should be settled, guardians of the peace were appointed for each county. In the offices thus created, as well as in those of the King's Council, the friends and followers of Simon were put. A Parliament was then called, which assembled in June, at which it is probable that knights of the shire were present. At this Parliament a committee of three was appointed, who nominated nine others, in whose hands the government was to be placed. If the nine could not come to agreement, the final de-

It fails.

War, and battle of Lewes. May 14.

The Mise of Lewes.

Appointment of revolutionary government.

cision remained with the three, who were the Bishop of Chichester, Simon de Montfort, and Gilbert de Clare. At the same time the affairs of the Church were put in order, its grievances being left to the settlement of three bishops appointed by statute.

De Montfort thus seemed in a fair way to make his position durable; but unfortunately three important men had made their escape from Lewes:—these were the Earl of Warrenne, Hugh Bigod and William

Exiles assemble
at Damme.

de Valence. These three fugitives betook themselves to Damme, in Flanders, where the Queen, in company with the exiled foreigners, Archbishop Boniface, Bishop of Hereford, Peter of Savoy, and John Mansell, had assembled an army of hired troops. Great preparations were made to meet the expected invasion, but the winds were so contrary that the ill-provided army, weary of waiting, separated. The closeness of the danger, however, induced Simon to send ambassadors to France, to urge on the completion of the settlement according to the Mise of Lewes. The embassy was at

Montfort
desires final
settlement.

the same time to try and make terms with the Papal Legate, who had been quickly despatched to uphold the cause of so good a vassal of Rome as Henry. They were unsuccessful in both their objects. The Queen had been beforehand with Louis, and the Legate, who shortly afterwards ascended the Papal throne as Clement IV., replied only by excommunication. The Bull, however, was taken by the mariners of the Cinque Ports before reaching England, and thrown into the sea; and the excommunication did not take effect.

Meanwhile, the royalist barons on the Marches of Wales, especially Mortimer, Clifford and Leybourne, began to bestir themselves. Some of them even pushed as far as Wallingford, where Prince Edward was a prisoner, and attempted, though in vain, to liberate him. The liberation of this Prince was now the chief object of the royalists, and the pressure put upon Leicester was so great, that he had, though unwillingly, to consent to measures which should bring it about. There was indeed every reason to desire that he should be freed. The part he had played in the late disputes had been highly honourable; he had remained true to the Provisions of Oxford, till the breaking out of the war seemed to render it his imperative duty to assist his father; and from his subsequent conduct it is plain that, although he must have disliked the present restrictions upon the royal power, there was much in the national policy of the Barons with which he sympathized. All those who resented the assumption of power by Mont-

Royalist move-
ments on the
Welsh Marches

fort, while desiring a reform in government, would have found in him a welcome leader.

It was principally for this object that the famous Parliament of 1265 was called. To it were summoned only twenty-^{Parliament of 1265.} three peers, friends of De Montfort, though the great Northern and Scotch barons, who had strongly supported the King at Lewes, also received safe conducts. Of the higher clergy there were no less than one hundred and eighteen, a number by no means unprecedented, but which seems to show how completely the Church sympathized with the Barons. There were also knights of the shires—two from each county. Even from the time of the commission for forming the Domesday Book, elected knights had been occasionally consulted upon the affairs of their county; since Henry II.'s reign, although they had never been properly summoned to Parliament, this practice had been more frequent. But the addition of two burghers from the chief cities was wholly new, and although the practice was not continued without a break, this, says Hallam, is the epoch at which the representation of the Commons becomes distinctly manifest. To De Montfort it was of the greatest importance that the general acquiescence of all important classes of the country in his government should be shown.

The assembly thus formed had first of all to consider what was to be done with the present insurgents and with the exiles, and, secondly, on what conditions Prince Edward might be with safety liberated. On the first point it was decreed that the barons of the Welsh Marches should be exiled to Ireland for three years, and the fugitives from Lewes were summoned to stand their trial before their peers, a summons to which, of course, they paid no attention. The other question was more important, but the conditions were finally arrived at on which the Prince might be set at liberty. There was to be complete amnesty for all that was past; the King and Prince were never to receive their former favourites; the royal castles were to be placed in trustworthy hands; the great charters of liberty were to be again established; the Prince was not to leave the country for three years, and must choose his council by the advice of government; and the county of Chester, with its castle, together with the castles of the Peak and Newcastle, were to be given up to De Montfort. For this, however, an equivalent was to be given from De Montfort's county of Leicester. All these arrangements were made under the most solemn sanctions. On the last article much of the abuse of Leicester for avarice and self-seeking

Conditions of
the Prince's
liberation.

has been rested. But, in fact, the position of the lands commanding the Scotch and Welsh borders afforded a sufficient political reason for requiring their cession. A copy of this arrangement was sent to each sheriff, and the great charters of liberty publicly read, with a solemn threat of excommunication against all who should break them.

These arrangements tended to the establishment of a peaceful government and to the healing of faction; but unfortunately there was constant jealousy of De Montfort among his colleagues, arising probably in part from his foreign birth and royal connections, in part from the truly popular nature of his views, with which the Barons had but little sympathy. Again, as on a previous occasion, De Clare, the leader of the English Barons, deserted him, and began to intrigue with his enemies. At the same time, William de Valence landed in his lordship of Pembroke. By the instrumentality of Mortimer, Edward made his escape from Ludlow Castle; and the invaders, the Prince, the Lord Marchers, and Gloucester opened communications one with the other. The trick by which Edward effected his escape is well known. On pretence of racing, he wearied the horses of his guardians, and then galloped from them on a particularly swift horse that had just been sent him, which he had kept fresh. The danger had become so pressing that Leicester advanced against the invaders in the South of Wales: but while in that distant corner of the country, the Prince, with the men of Chester, who willingly joined their old governor, marched down the Severn and took Gloucester, thus cutting Leicester off from the rest of his supporters.

De Montfort at once recognized that Edward was his chief enemy, and turned back to meet him, at the same time summoning to his aid his son the younger Simon, who was with an army at Dover. Had he executed this duty intrusted to him satisfactorily, Edward would either have been enclosed between the two armies, or De Montfort largely reinforced. As it was, he wasted some time at Kenilworth, his father's chief stronghold, and foolishly suffered his troops to encamp outside the walls of the castle. A female spy brought Edward news of his enemy's mistake, and a sudden onslaught scattered De Montfort's reinforcement in disgraceful flight. Edward tried to check De Montfort's return by breaking down all the bridges over the Severn, but a way was at length found to cross the river about four miles below

Defection of
De Clare.
He joins the
Marchers.

Escape of
Edward.

Leicester op-
poses Edward
in Wales.

Defeat at
Kenilworth.

Worcester, and the baronial army reached Evesham in the full expectation of speedily meeting their friends.

As they marched out in the early morning on the 4th of August, they saw a well-ordered army approaching, and Leicester's barber, who happened to be the longest-sighted man amongst them, at first recognized all the standards as belonging to young De Montfort; only after he had ascended a church-tower did he perceive the emblems of De Clare and Edward mingled with them. De Montfort was thus greatly outnumbered and surprised. As the enemy approached in three well-arrayed divisions, "Ah," said he, "that arrangement is not your own, I have taught you how to fight." Then, as it became evident that he had neither time nor men to secure the victory, he added, "God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are the Prince's." The stories of the fidelity of his party are touching. He begged his partisans to fly while there was time. They refused to leave him, while his son Henry begged him to make good his retreat, and leave him alone to fight the battle. He was not a man to listen to such advice. At length the assault came. He saw the best of his followers and his son killed or disabled around him. But still, though his horse was killed under him, "like a giant," says one, "like an impregnable tower for the liberties of England," says another of the Chroniclers, he fought on, wielding his sword with both hands, till he fell overpowered by the assault of numbers. Three hours completed the battle, which was little else than a massacre. "Thus lamentably fell the flower of all knighthood, leaving an example of steadfastness to others. But since there is no curse more baleful than a domestic enemy, who can wonder at his fall? those who had eaten his bread lifted their heels against him, they who loved him by word of mouth lied in their throat."¹

The victory produced a complete reaction in England. Castle after castle opened its gates to the royalists. At Kenilworth alone, which Simon had defended with extraordinary machines which his skill as an engineer had invented, and in the inaccessible marshes in the East of England, the baronial party still held out. The conqueror proceeded at once to act with reckless severity. The whole of Leicester's property was confiscated and given to Prince Edward, all his followers were deprived of civil rights and property, and all acts of the government since the battle of Lewes were declared null. This was the work of a Parliament summoned at Winchester, where of course there

Battle of
Evesham.
Aug. 4.

¹ Rishanger de Bell. Lew.

is no sign either of county or of borough representation. After London, which made some opposition, was conquered, and for the time disfranchised, all efforts were directed against Kenilworth. This stronghold had become a centre from which, as from the Eastern Fens, disorderly bodies pushed out to wreak their vengeance on the King's followers. The defence was heroic. It seemed plain that the reaction had been carried much too far. One party at all events of the royalists, with Prince Henry d'Almeine and perhaps Prince Edward at its head, desired a more conciliatory policy, and at length, at the end of the year, a Commission of twelve was established to attempt to produce peace. Under their management, a Parliament and Convocation was held, the Magna Charta again acknowledged, even by the Papal Legate, and those who had been disinherited were allowed to regain their lands by paying a certain number of years' income to the new possessors. The sons of Lord Derby and Leicester were alone excepted. In accordance with this arrangement, called the Dictum of Kenilworth, the castle was surrendered.

The insurgents in the Fens afterwards submitted on the same terms, but not before Gilbert de Clare had again changed sides, making it plain to the government that, however much jealousy of De Montfort might have broken the baronial party, the feelings which had dictated the Provisions of Oxford were still unconquered. Under these circumstances it was found necessary to take further measures to insure moderation of government. In May 1267, Magna Charta was again enacted, and from this time forward kept. The offices were given into the hands of Englishmen, and Englishmen only. The Sicilian project had become impossible, indeed the crown had been given to Charles of Anjou; and, finally, Prince Edward, whose influence might have been dangerous, had withdrawn from England on a crusade, and taken many English nobles with him. The Barons' war had thus, although in its outward form a failure, secured its main object—tolerable constitutional government, and the establishment of a national rule. In 1272 the King died.

It is always difficult to know how far the popular feeling is engaged in political revolutions. The great bulk of the nation is never the originator of such changes. The fate of a country is settled by the conduct and thought of its educated men, though the mass of the people plays a very

Kenilworth
and the Fens
hold out.
1266.

Dictum of
Kenilworth.

De Clare
compels more
moderate
government.

Constitutional
end of the
reign.

Views of the
people on the
revolution.

prominent part as an instrument in the hands of its leaders. There is much to make us believe, however, that the movement of the Barons was in reality a national one. More particularly is this true in the case of Simon de Montfort. He is constantly spoken of by contemporary writers with admiration. "Il aime droit, et hait letort," (He loves right and hates the wrong), says one poet. "It should, however, be declared," says the Chronicler of Melrose, "that no one in his senses would call Simon a traitor, for he was no traitor, but the most devout and faithful worshipper of the Church in England, the shield and defender of the kingdom, the enemy and expeller of aliens, although by birth he was one of them." The Londoners were his devoted adherents, while the character of the Parliament which he summoned after the battle of Lewes was certainly popular. It seems fair to believe that he was the unselfish supporter of the national policy.

Again, all the writers of the time, with very few exceptions,¹ whether chroniclers or poets, were in favour of the baronial party. When some of the leaders seem flagging in their energy, they were cheered by such words as these,—

"O Comes Gloverniæ, comple quod cepisti,
Nisi claudas congruè, multos decepisti."

"O tu Comes le Bygot, pactum serva sanum
Cum sis miles strenuus, nunc exerce manum.
O vos magni proceres, qui vos obligatis.
Observate firmiter illud quod juratis."

Again, in one political poem of the day we have the question at issue argued out in a manner which shows the advance of political knowledge, and in a constitutional tone which would become a modern Whig. "All restraint does not deprive of liberty. He who is kept from falling so that he lives free from danger, reaps advantage from such keeping, nor is such a support slavery, but the safeguard of virtue. Therefore that it is permitted to a king all that is good, but that he dare not do evil—this is God's gift. . . . If a prince love his subjects, he will be repaid with love; if he reign justly, he will be honoured; if he err, he ought to be recalled by them whom his unjust denial may have grieved, unless he be willing to be corrected; if he is willing to make amends, he ought to be raised up and aided by those same persons. . . . If a king be less wise than he ought to be, what advantage will the kingdom gain by his reign? Is he to seek by his own opinion on whom he should depend to have his failing

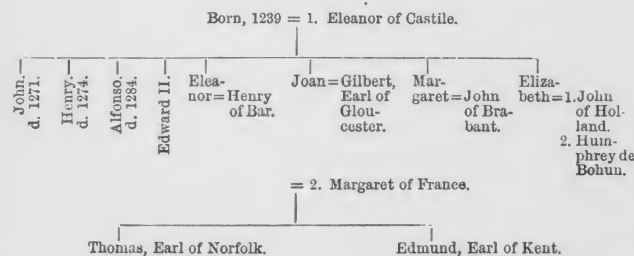
¹ Wykes is the most important.

supplied? If he alone choose, he will be easily deceived. Therefore let the community of the kingdom advise, and let it be known what the generality thinks, to whom their own laws are best known. Since it is their own affairs that are at stake, they will take more care and will act with an eye to their own peace. . . . We give the first place to the community; we say also that the law rules over the king's dignity, for the law is the light without which he who rules will wander from the right path."

That proclamations should be published in English is also a significant fact, and it may on the whole be considered that this war was practically the conclusion of foreign domination in England. It is the great honour of Edward I. to have perceived this so clearly, that he willingly accepted the new national line of policy which the Barons had marked out, and he may be regarded as our first purely national monarch.

EDWARD I.

1272-1307.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Alexander III., 1249. Margaret, 1286. Interregnum, 1290. Balliol, 1292. Interregnum, 1296. Robert I., 1306.	Philip III., 1270. Philip IV., 1285.	Rodolph, 1272. Adolphus, 1291. Albert, 1298.	Alphonso X., 1252. Sancho IV., 1284. Ferdinand IV., 1295.

POPES.—Gregory X., 1271. Innocent V., 1276. Adrian V., 1276. John XX., 1276. Nicholas III., 1277. Martin IV., 1281. Honorius IV., 1285. Nicholas IV., 1288. Vacancy, two years. Celestine V., 1292. Boniface VIII., 1294. Benedict X., 1303. Vacancy, one year. Clement V., 1305.

Archbishops.	Chancellors.	Chief-Justices.
Robert Kilwardby, 1273—1278. John Peckham, 1279—1292. Robert Winchelsey, 1294—1313.	Walter de Merton, 1272. Robert Burnell, 1273—1292. John Langton, 1292. William Greenfield, 1302. William de Hamilton, 1304. Ralph de Baldock, 1307.	Ralph de Hengham, 1273—1289. Gilbert de Thornton, 1289—1295. Roger Brabazon, 1296.

EDWARD was still abroad when the news of his father's death was brought to him. His accession had been so long looked forward to as a happy termination to the difficulties of the last reign, that what might have been a dangerous crisis passed over peacefully. An assembly was summoned at Westminster, not only of the nobles, but also of the representatives of the lower estates, and there an oath of fidelity was taken to the

Edward's peaceful accession.
1272.

absent King. Three prominent nobles seem to have assumed the position of governors; the Archbishop of York, as head of the clergy, Edmund of Cornwall, the King's brother, as representative of the royalty, and Gilbert of Gloucester, as chief of the baronage. Under them the government pursued its old course. Hearing that things were going well in England, Edward did not hurry home. He returned by Sicily and Rome, where he induced the Pope to visit upon the young De Montforts the murder of Henry D'Almeine, whom they had killed at Viterbo. Thence he passed into France, joined in a great tournament at Châlons, where jest was changed to earnest, and a rough skirmish ensued, known as the little battle of Châlons. True to his legal obligations, he did homage at Paris for his French dominions, demanding what as yet had not been fulfilled, the completion of the late definitive treaty in France: and after settling,

His journey home.
1274.

not without application to the French King as feudal superior, his quarrels with Gaston de Bearn in Gascony, and establishing friendly relations with Flanders, he returned in 1274 to England, and there, on the 18th of August, was crowned and received the homage of his Barons, and that, among others, of Alexander III. of Scotland. Shortly after, he appointed as his chancellor Robert Burnell, who served him throughout his life as chief minister, while Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, was his chief agent in all diplomatic matters.

From the reign of Edward began what may be properly spoken of as the *English* monarchy. The last reign had brought prominently forward the two great points which constituted the nationality of the country. Primarily the object of the baronial party had been to separate England from the overwhelming importance of its foreign connections, and to prevent it from becoming a mere source of wealth to foreign adventurers. In this the baronial party had succeeded. While declaring themselves national, they had been obliged to have recourse for support to other elements of the nation than those from which the ruling class had hitherto been formed. The advance of these new classes had, as has been seen, been gradual. Already, in earlier reigns, the principle both of election and representation had been, on more than one occasion, accepted. But it was the formal admission both of knights of the shire and of burghers to parliamentary privileges, even though the practice had not been continued, which rendered it impossible long to ignore the growing feeling that all classes should in some way be consulted about what interested all.

Edward was well fitted, both by position and character, to play the part of the first English king. He had given distinct proofs in the earlier part of the late baronial quarrels that a good and national government was what he desired. But it would be wrong to suppose that he was at all inclined to what we should now call liberal policy. In the latter part of his father's reign he had made it clear that to his mind a strong monarchy was a necessary condition of good government. It was only gradually, and in accordance with a love of symmetrical government which strongly characterized him, that he recognized the advantage of the complete admission of the hitherto unprivileged classes to the rights of representation. He set before him as his object the establishment of a good and orderly government in the national interests, but carried out by a strong, nay despotic monarch, subjected only to the restrictions of the law. This is indeed another prominent characteristic of the King, in which he went along with the tendencies of the age. His mind was essentially legal, and just at this time the Roman and civil law were forcing their way into prominence throughout Europe. In Edward and his great rival Philip IV. of France, we have, allowing for their differences in personal character, instances of the same course of action. They both intended to make use of feudal law, interpreted more or less by the Roman law, and pressed to its legal and logical conclusions, to strengthen the monarchy. It is thus that we find Edward constantly enacting statutes and constitutions, making use of feudal claims to compel the submission of his neighbours, and exerting to the full, sometimes even beyond the limits of honesty, the rights the constitution gave him, but never wilfully transgressing what he regarded as the law. He was successful in carrying out the two first branches of his threefold policy; in the third he failed. Good government he established by a series of admirable administrative enactments, and by that power of definition which a living historian¹ has attributed to him, in spite of the difficulties presented by the independent position of the Church, and by the disorders still remaining from the late troubled times. Nationality he was able to foster both by foreign wars and by his great plan of connecting all the kingdoms of Great Britain. But in his efforts to establish an absolute monarchy, he was met by the financial difficulties into which the late reign had plunged the Crown, and by that entanglement in foreign politics which the English

Edward the first English king.

His political views.

His legal mind.

His success

¹ Stubbs.

possessions in France, of which he was not yet quite free, continually caused. Urged by his wide schemes to have recourse to arbitrary means for replenishing his treasury, he excited again an opposition similar to that of his father's reign, and found himself obliged to make concessions which effectually prevented any of his successors from attempting to render the Crown independent.

The first years of the King's reign were employed in restoring order to the government and the finances. His first Parliament met at Westminster in 1275, where was passed a great restorative measure known by the name of the First Statute of Westminster. It was so wide and far-reaching that it might be called a code rather than an Act. Its object is said by a contemporary writer to have been to "awake those languid laws which had long been lulled asleep" by the abuses of the time. It secured the rights of the Church, improved the tardy processes of law, and re-established the charters, further limiting the sums which could be demanded for the three legal aids. At the same time Parliament, an export duty on wool and leather, the origin of the customs, was granted to the King, the more readily, perhaps, as his firmness had lately re-established the wool-trade with Flanders. During the next three or four years other less popular measures were taken with a view to replenish the King's treasury. Commissions were issued to inquire into the exact limits of the grants of the late King to the clergy, and to inquire into the tenure of property throughout England, with the twofold view of establishing the rights of property disturbed by the late war, and of clearly defining the revenue due to the Crown.

It was not till the year 1278 that the effect of this commission was seen. Orders were then issued to the itinerant justices to make use of the evidence which had been obtained, and to issue writs of "quo warranto," to oblige owners to make good their titles. This was the occasion of the well-known answer of Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, who presented his sword to the judge, saying, "This is my title-deed, with this my ancestors won my land, with this will I keep it." The temper thus shown by one of his most faithful followers prevented Edward from pushing matters to extremity. During these years was set on foot also the practice of demanding that those who were wealthy enough should receive knighthood. The practice was kept up during the reign, but the property counted sufficient for the holder of that dignity varied from £20 to £100 a year. The King's activity reached

His enforced concessions.

First Parliament Statute of Westminster. 1275.

Establishment of customs.

His restorative measures. 1278.

in all directions. Another commission was issued to inquire into the conduct of sheriffs. The coinage, much clipped and debased, was renewed; it was ordered that its shape should always be round, as the prevalent method of clipping had been to cut the pieces into four, so that the exact edge could not be known. At length, in 1279, Edward proceeded to regulate one of the great abuses of the Church. Not only had that body become exorbitantly rich, but the privileges which it claimed had begun to be detrimental to the Crown; and when, in the earlier part of the year, Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, produced and authorized, at a meeting at Reading, some canons tending to the independence of the Church, the King was determined to strike a blow in return. As corporations could not die, land which had passed into their possession was free from the fines and payments due from an incoming heir, which were thus lost to the feudal superior. Moreover, and this touched the Crown more nearly, it had become a habit to give property to the Church, and fraudulently to receive it back again as a Church fief, and thus free from feudal services. By the Statute of Mortmain, which was now passed, it was forbidden, without the King's consent, to transfer property to the Church.

Meanwhile, while Edward had been thus busied at home, affairs in Wales had begun to attract his attention. Llewellyn had always been in close alliance with the Leicester party, and had shown his dissatisfaction at the accession of Edward by refusing to come to the assembly which swore fealty to the new King. Edward, who wished honestly to heal the late differences, had summoned him to his coronation, and had again been refused. Had he not desired a peaceful solution of the difficulty, he would certainly now have proceeded to extremities. But no less than six opportunities were given to the Prince of appearing in England, to set himself right; on every occasion he had refused to do so. The suspicions which his conduct excited received a strong confirmation when it was known that he was contemplating a marriage with the daughter of De Montfort. It is probable that this marriage was to be carried out in pursuance of some scheme for continuing the disturbances of the last reign. Fortunately the lady was captured, with her brother Almeric who was escorting her, on her way to Wales. This brought matters to a crisis. In 1276, Llewellyn, who had refused all approaches to friendship, demanded, in the language of an independent prince, a treaty,

New coinage.

Statute of Mortmain. 1279.

Wales. 1275.

Llewellyn's suspicious conduct.

and the restoration of his wife. In November of that year Edward, acting in concert with his Parliament, ordered his army to meet him at Worcester, and the war began. Even the strength of his country did not enable Llewellyn to hold out against the superior power and ability of the English King. A fleet of ships from the Cinque Ports cut him off from Anglesea, and mastered that island, while the English army forced him back towards the mountains of Snowdon. He was induced to treat. The terms given him were stringent. The Cantreds or Hundreds between Chester and Conway were given up to the English. Anglesea alone he was allowed to keep in full, on the payment of 1000 marks, while a few baronies around Snowdon were left in his hands, to prevent his title of Prince of Wales being a mere empty honour. Besides this, he had to pay 50,000 marks for the expenses of the war, and a tribute of 1000 marks. Once conquered, however, and brought to complete submission, his treatment was generous. The money payments were at once remitted. His brother David, his enemy, and a probable source of discomfort to him, was kept in England and pensioned; and finally, he came to England, and received his wife, their marriage being nobly celebrated by the King.

In less than three years the whole arrangement was again destroyed. David, though he had fought for Edward and been well rewarded, suddenly deserted to his fellow countrymen. He attacked the Castle of Hawardyn, and, in company with his brother Llewellyn, besieged Rhuddlan and Flint. Edward at once advanced against them. Hard pressed, the brothers divided their forces. David continued to fight in the North, while his brother betook himself to South Wales. He was there surprised, defeated, and killed, on the River Wye, and his head sent to Edward, and displayed in London, in scorn adorned with an ivy crown, in allusion to some prophecy that he should be crowned in London. David was shortly afterwards compelled to surrender. A Parliament had been summoned to grant supplies; some difficulty had arisen, and before an answer could be given, a fresh one was called at Shrewsbury, (moved afterwards to Acton Burnell, the seat of the Chancellor,) by which the unfortunate Prince was tried, and condemned to death. This Parliament afterwards proceeded to the settlement of the conquered country, by what is known as the Statute of Wales. By this a considerable part of English law and English institutions, with

War breaks out
1277.

Llewellyn
submits.

His merciful
treatment.

Second rising
in Wales.
1282.

Death of
Llewellyn.

Execution of
David.
1283.

some modifications to suit the prejudices of the Welsh, were introduced. The conquest was completed by the famous presentation to the people of the King's new-born heir, under the title of the Prince of Wales. There was henceforth no longer any pretence of feudal supremacy; Wales was annexed to the English Crown. The following year the Parliament at Winchester produced the Statute known by the name of that city, which arranged the defence of the country upon a national basis. Of that piece of legislation, as well as of others before and after it, more will be said by and by. In the year after this, Edward left England, placing the government in the hands of his brother Edmund.

It will be necessary to turn for a moment to Edward's foreign relations to explain the necessity of his journey abroad. He had the misfortune, like his predecessors, to be master of Aquitaine, and as Duke of that province a vassal and peer of France. He was, moreover, cousin of the King of France, and brother-in-law of the King of Castile. Although a definitive treaty had been made between Henry III. and the French King, it had never been properly carried out; Edward had, as in duty bound, done homage for his French possessions, and had from time to time renewed his claims. He had even been allowed in 1279, in right of his wife, to take possession of Ponthieu. There was, nevertheless a constant feeling of distrust between the French King and his too powerful vassal. Edward had therefore done his best to cement his friendship on the side of Spain. But, in 1282, an event happened which enabled him to secure a settlement of his French claims, and to assume the important position of mediator in a great foreign quarrel. A war seemed imminent between Castile and France, when Peter III. of Aragon, for whose favour both parties had been intriguing, suddenly raised a large army, the destination of which was said to be Africa, but which shortly after proved to be intended for the conquest of Sicily from the French. This put an end to the quarrel with Castile, and brought Aragon forward as the Spanish power against which the French energies were directed. Charles of Anjou had received from the Pope the grant of the Two Sicilies when the Barons of England had obliged Edmund to renounce it. He had made good his position with extreme cruelty; and now the Sicilian people entered into that famous conspiracy known by the name of Sicilian Vespers, and massacred the French throughout the island. They then proceeded to give themselves to Peter III. of Ara-

Statute of
Wales.
Annexation of
Wales.
1284.

Statute of
Winchester.
1285.

Foreign affairs
call Edward
abroad.

Sicilian Vespers.

gon, in concert with whom they had certainly been acting. He was successful in his enterprise. His admiral, Loria, had everywhere defeated the fleets of Anjou, and in 1284 had taken prisoner Charles, Prince of Salerno, the Duke of Anjou's heir. For a short time there seemed some possibility of the quarrel being ended by a single combat between Peter and Charles; formal preparations were made, and Edward was entreated to preside as umpire. But chivalrous though he was, he was too much of a statesman to give his consent to so trivial a form of settlement; and, in 1285, Charles died.

His quarrel was taken up by the French King, and matters had reached this point when Edward thought it necessary to go abroad (especially as a new King, Philip IV., had just come to the throne), to arrange if possible a question which, involving not only his own interests, but also the authority of the Pope, was one of European interest. He succeeded in inducing Philip IV. to allow the justice of his claims with regard to the provinces to be united to Gascony, and proceeded the following year to act the part of mediator between the Courts of France and Aragon. He was trusted absolutely in this negotiation, and after some difficulty hoped that he had arrived at some conclusion, when he had succeeded in obtaining the freedom of Prince Charles of Salerno, although the terms of liberation were very hard. Large sums of money were to be paid, and Sicily was to be given up to the Spanish Prince, James. But no sooner was Charles at liberty than he repudiated these conditions; and Edward, disgusted with his want of faith, and thinking probably that it was wiser not to plunge too deep into European politics, determined to return home, neglecting the offered opportunity of forming an alliance with Aragon, which might have formed some counterpoise in Southern Europe to the power of France and of Rome.

His presence at home indeed was much wanted. The moment the back of the great ruler was turned, and the weight of his hand removed, it became evident that much time would be necessary before his arrangements could restore more than external order to the deeply disturbed society of England. Fresh disturbances had arisen in Wales, where Rhys ap Meredith had been roused to rebellion by the strictness with which the English law was carried out. Nor had the Regent's army, under Gilbert de Clare, succeeded in capturing him. It seems indeed that several of the greater nobles had begun to show discontent, and in 1288, Surrey, Warwick, Gloucester, and Norfolk had all appeared in

Edward mediator between France and Aragon. 1286.

His award is repudiated.

Disturbances in England during his absence. 1289.

a disorderly fashion in arms. There were other disturbances too in the lower strata of society. The Statute of Winchester was not yet fairly in operation, bands of outlaws appeared in the forest districts, and among others, one Chamberlain had fallen upon a fair held at Boston in Lincolnshire, and had burnt the town. The presence of the King restored order, but the fundamental cause of the misgovernment was laid open to him by his faithful Chancellor, Burnell. Like Henry II., he had employed as his judges professional lawyers, and they had not been proof against the great temptations of their office. The judges were corrupt, and justice was bought and sold. Very serious charges were brought against them in October; all except two, who deserve to be mentioned, John of Methingham and Elias de Bockingham, were convicted. The chief baron, Stratton, was fined 34,000 marks, the chief justice of the King's Bench, 7000, the master of the rolls, 1000; while Weyland, chief justice of the common pleas, fled to sanctuary, was there blockaded, and after his forty days of safety had to abjure the realm. His property, which was confiscated, is said to have amounted to 100,000 marks.

At the same time the King banished all the Jews from the kingdom. Upwards of 16,000 are said to have left England, nor did they reappear till Cromwell connived at their return in 1654. It is not quite clear why the King determined on this act of severity, especially as the Jews were royal property, and a very convenient source of income. It is probable, however, that their way of doing business was very repugnant to his ideas of justice, while they were certainly great falsifiers of the coinage, which he was very anxious to keep pure and true. Earlier in the reign he had hanged between 200 and 300 of them for that crime, and they are said to have demanded 60 per cent. for their loans, taking advantage of the monopoly as money-lenders which the ecclesiastical prohibition of usury had given them. Moreover, about this time, the great banking-houses of Italy were becoming prominent. With them Edward had already had much business, and their system of advances upon fairer terms was much more pleasing to him. From this time onwards the money business of England was in their hands.¹

We have now reached what may be considered as the close of the first period of Edward's reign, which had been occupied by legislation and by the conquest of Wales. From this time onwards, it is the conquest of Scotland, and

¹ It is thus that the bankers' street in London is called Lombard Street.

Edward returns.

Punishes corrupt judges.

Banishes the Jews. 1290.

End of First Period of the reign.

the great constitutional effort of the reign, intermingled with foreign affairs, which we shall have to observe.

It is uncertain when Edward's thoughts were first directed to the Northern kingdom, but events had been rapidly occurring, which threw Scotland almost entirely into his hands. Quite early in the reign he seems to have wished, as was natural for one of his legal mind, to have the disputed question of homage cleared up. Again and again homage had been paid to his predecessors; but, except in the case of William the Lion's homage to Henry II., it had been always open to the Scotch King to assert that it was for fiefs in England, and not for Scotland, that his homage was rendered. Even that clear instance had been annihilated by the subsequent sale of the submission then made by Richard I. It would seem in fact that the claim to overlordship was really based upon much earlier transactions. Scotland consisted of three incorporated kingdoms—the Highlands, or kingdoms of the Scots, Galloway, which was part of the British kingdom of Strathclyde, and the Lothians, which had undoubtedly been a part of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria. In the time of the English Empire the King of Scots and all the people had chosen Eadward the Elder as father and lord; that is to say, they had what is technically called commended themselves to the English King. Strathclyde had been conquered by Eadmund, and by him had been granted to Malcolm as a fief, on condition of military tenure; while afterwards the Lothians had been granted by Eadgar to the Scotch kings as an English earldom. Thus, on various grounds, all parts of the Kingdom of Scotland acknowledged the English King as their overlord. When England fell into the hands of the Normans, William, professedly assuming the position which his predecessor had held, would naturally expect the same homage to be paid to him. It is equally certain that the Scotch kings would object to pay it. It had therefore been a constantly open and disputed question till the time of Edward. Meanwhile the feudal law, which had not existed at the time of the original commendation, had grown up and been formulated. Edward, as we have seen, intended to use it to the full. He therefore desired the uncertain acknowledgment of the old supremacy to be brought, as it had never hitherto been, within the precise and clearly-defined limits of feudal overlordship. The character of Alexander III. was such as to strengthen such ideas. In 1275, his wife, Edward's sister Margaret, had died. The tie of relationship thus broken, Edward had demanded and received, in 1278, a homage, which he declared to his chancellor

Relations with
Scotland.

was complete and without reservation;¹ and since that time, more than once, Alexander had seemed to acknowledge the supremacy.

But it was the rapid extinction of that monarch's family which brought matters to a crisis. Margaret had had two sons and one daughter, Margaret. Both the sons had died young, and the daughter had married Eric, King of Norway, with the promise that she was to retain her rights to the Scotch succession. In accordance with this, when she died in her first confinement, her little child of the same name, spoken of as the Maid of Norway, was, in 1284, declared heiress of the throne. In 1286 King Alexander died. He had married again, but had no children; the crown would therefore have naturally come to the Maid of Norway. During her absence, a regency, consisting of the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Lords Fife, Buchan, and Comyn, and others, was appointed. But already other claimants had come forward, and their respective parties had begun a civil war. To Edward it seemed the opportunity had arrived of establishing his rights without violence. A marriage between his son and the Maid of Norway at once occurred to him. For this he had secretly cleared the way by obtaining from the Pope a dispensation to enable these cousins to marry. Armed with this, but acting ostensibly in the Norwegian interest, he contrived to bring about a meeting at Salisbury between commissioners on the part of Eric, of the Scotch government, and of himself, at which it was agreed that the young Queen should be received in Scotland free of matrimonial engagements, but pledged not to marry except by the advice of Edward and with the consent of her father. Almost immediately after this, the plan of the marriage was made public, and was at once willingly accepted by the Scotch, who were anxious to be saved from a civil war, but who, while accepting it, took care, at a parliament held at Brigham in 1290, to guard with scrupulous care the independence of the kingdom.

Extinction of
the Scotch royal
family.

Proposed
marriage of the
Maid and Prince
Edward.

Accepted with
restrictions
1290.

It was not exactly thus that Edward understood the treaty. He at once despatched Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, to act in unison with the guardians of Scotland, as Lieutenant of Queen Margaret and her husband, at the same time demanding possession of the royal castles, ostensibly for the purpose of preserving the peace of the kingdom. The governors of the castles declined to give them up, but

¹ "Homagium suum nobis debitum nobis absque conditione aliqua obtulit et tendit."—RYMER.

seven great Earls wrote to Edward, as though to a superior, begging him to curb the power of the regency, while, on the other hand, a member of the regency, the Bishop of St. Andrews, also wrote, begging Edward to approach the border to assist in keeping order, and to appoint a king if the rumour which had been spread of the death of the Maid of Norway should prove true. The report was true, Margaret had died on her journey from Norway in the Orkney islands; and acting on these two letters, which he construed as an invitation, Edward summoned a meeting at Norham, to be held after Easter 1291. The delay was probably occasioned by a heavy blow which had fallen on Edward. In November he had lost his much loved wife Eleanor. It is one of his titles to our respect, that in a licentious age he was remarkably pure, and that no word was ever breathed against his perfect fidelity as a husband. After a period of bitter sorrow, and a pompous funeral, each stage of the journey being subsequently marked by a beautiful cross, he returned again in the following year to his Scotch plans. At that meeting he put forward his claim as superior and overlord of the kingdom, saying that it lay with him in that capacity to put an end to discord. He ended by asking that his title should be acknowledged, in order that he might act freely. A delay of three weeks was demanded, at which time the assembly met again on Scotch ground opposite the Castle of Norham. An answer seems to have been meanwhile sent, but the King had regarded it as not to the point; and at the assembly itself no objections were raised to his claim. All the competitors acknowledged his authority in set words, and the case was put into Edward's hands.

There were a great number of claimants; but three only established a case worth consideration. These were Bruce, Balliol, and Hastings. The claims of all these went back to David I. This king had three grandsons; Malcolm IV., who was childless, William the Lion, whose direct descendants had just come to an end, and David, Earl of Huntingdon, from whom all three claimants were descended. He had had three daughters; Margaret, the eldest, whose grandson was Balliol, Isabella, the second, whose son was Bruce, Ada, the third, whose grandson was Hastings. Besides these three, Comyn was also a grandson of Margaret, but being a son of a second daughter, his claims were obviously inferior to

Invitation to Edward to settle the succession.

Death of the Maid.

Death of the Queen.

Meeting at Norham.
1291.

Edward's supremacy allowed.

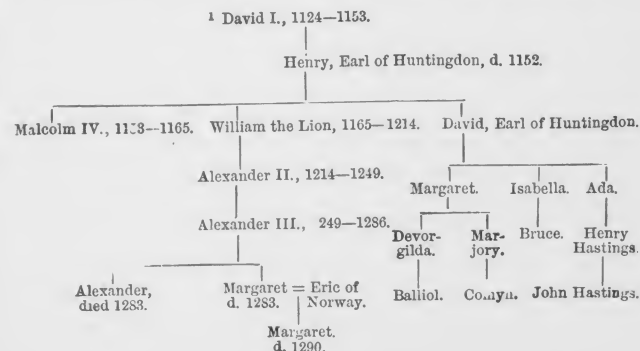
The claimants.

those of Balliol.¹ To decide these claims, Edward, as lord superior, established a great court; forty of Bruce's friends, forty of Balliol's, and twenty-four members on the part of Edward, were to constitute it. Edward seems to have proceeded with the full intention of giving a just and legal judgment, and after several meetings, in November 1292, a decision was arrived at in favour of John Balliol. Meanwhile, during the settlement of the question, Edward had taken possession of the Scotch castles, had appointed the great officers of the kingdom, and had caused the regents to exact an oath of fealty to him as superior lord. The new King accepted the throne distinctly as a vassal of England, and finally, to make his dependence perfectly clear, did homage after his coronation. He did not find his new position free from difficulty. He found that the letter of the feudal law to which he owed his elevation could be turned against himself. It was indeed unnatural to expect the Scotch to submit to the inconveniences without claiming the advantages of that law. Balliol had not been long on the throne before they asserted that, if he was a vassal, appeals would lie from his judgments to the English courts. In the following year two or three such appeals were made, one from a goldsmith, and one from Macduff, Earl of Fife. When summoned to appear before the English courts, Balliol refused to come. He made his appearance however at the Parliament held in the autumn of 1293, and there declared that, as King of Scotland, he could not act without the advice of his people. A delay was given

Edward gives a just verdict.
1292.

Balliol accepts the throne as a vassal.

Scotland appeals to the English Courts.
1293.



him for the purpose of consulting his parliament; he did not take advantage of it. The case of Macduff was therefore given against him by the English baronage in his presence. He was fined to Macduff 700 marks, to Edward 10,000. On the protest of Balliol, a fresh

The appeals not pressed to extremities.

delay was allowed, nor does Edward seem to have been in any way disposed to do more than make good his legal position. It is plain, however that the position of vassal king, with its awkward and probably unexpected incidents, disgusted Balliol; and political events soon enabled him to make his displeasure felt.

Philip IV., the new King of France, was as legal in his mind as Edward, but more dishonest. It was as plain to him that it was desirable to unite France by annexing Guienne, as it was to Edward that it was advantageous to England to annex Scotland. They set about their designs in somewhat the same way. The sea was at this time regarded as a sort of no man's land, where incessant fighting little short of piracy was allowable. There were plenty of instances of battles between English and French merchant-ships. The Normans are said to have infested the whole coast of France from Holland to Spain. The Cinque Ports mariners were probably not much behind them. At last a formal meeting was arranged in 1293, where the matter was to be fought out. An empty ship marked the point of contest, and there the fleets of France and England fought a great battle, which terminated in the defeat of the French. Edward, who knew Philip's character and the resources of the feudal law, was anxious to do what he could to clear himself of complicity in the quarrel; but no representations of his were attended to by the French King, and Philip summoned him to appear before the French Parliament. As the English offenders were not given up, and as Edward declined to appear, the Constable of France took possession in the King's name of Edward's French provinces. With much more important matters in hand, and with the knowledge probably of what Balliol's conduct was going to be, Edward tried all he could to settle the matter peacefully. He sent over to France his brother Edmund, whose wife¹ was the mother of the French Queen. Through the instrumentality of these Queens a treaty was arranged,

Edward unwittingly. Gascony occupied. 1294.

by which the summons to Paris was annulled, and a personal meeting at Amiens arranged, pending which the strongholds of Gascony were to be put in Philip's hands. Edmund withdrew the English army, and dismissed the

¹ She was the widow of the King of Navarre.

commander, St. John, and at the same time demanded a safe conduct for his brother at the proposed meeting. But Philip refused the safe conduct, declared himself dissatisfied with the surrender of the towns, and refused to leave the country which he had occupied. Fresh insulting messages were sent to Edward, and, in 1294, Edmund returned to England, and war became necessary. Great preparations were made; alliances were formed on the north-east of France; money was granted by Parliament. This proving insufficient, no less than half their property was demanded from the clergy. An insurrection in Wales, and the news that an alliance had been formed between Philip and the Scotch, rendered the preparations useless.

It was plain to Edward that it was worth risking his foreign dominions to consolidate his power as King of Great Britain. For the present, therefore, he left Gascony alone, and turned his arms against Scotland. Engaged at once in a war with France, with Scotland, and with Wales, he found it necessary to raise supplies from all branches of his subjects. A genuine Parliament was therefore called in October, in which all estates were represented, and which has been considered the true origin of our Parliament as it now exists. The three Estates granted the supply as different orders; and it was not without difficulty that the clergy, suffering from the late enormous exaction, were induced to grant him a tenth. The other estates seem to have come readily to his assistance at this great crisis.

In March a large army was assembled at Newcastle, and while the Scotch crossed the borders and ravaged Cumberland with savage ferocity,¹ Edward pushed forward into Scotland. In three days Berwick was captured. While still before that place, he received from Balliol, who seems to have been under some constraint, renunciation of his allegiance; and before the end of April brought his army, under the Earl of Surrey and Warrenne, to Dunbar. The Scotch advanced to meet him, occupying the higher ground; but foolishly mistaking the movements of the English army in the valley for a flight, they left their strong position, and were hopelessly routed, with a loss of 10,000 men. This battle decided the fate of Scotland. Several of the great Earls and many knights were taken prisoners. The King met no further opposition in his march through Edinburgh to Perth. On the 10th of July, Balliol made his submis-

Edward marches into Scotland. 1296.

Defeat of Scotch at Dunbar.

¹ They are said even to have thrown little children into the air and caught them on their lances.

sion, was allowed to live under supervision in the Tower of London, whence he afterwards proceeded to Normandy; and Edward henceforth acted no longer as feudal superior, but as King. At a Parliament held at Berwick, he received the fealty of the clergy, gentry, and barons of Scotland, whose names, filling thirty-five skins of parchment, are still preserved among the English archives. Scotland was left as much as possible in its old condition, but the Earl of Warenne and Surrey was made Guardian; Hugh de Cressingham, Treasurer; William of Ormsby, Justiciary; and an Exchequer was established in the English fashion. At the same time the coronation stone of Scone was removed to Westminster, where it still is. Edward had thus completed his first conquest of Scotland. Both legally and politically, his conduct is justifiable. The consolidation of Great Britain was a most desirable object. The French alliance, the invasion of England, and the renunciation of vassalage, constituted by feudal law a sufficient cause for confiscating the possessions of a vassal prince. But this leaves untouched the question, how far it is right to annex a free people against their will? It must be remembered that the submission of Scotland had been made by the nobility only, who were in fact Normans, and many of them English Barons.

Freed from danger on the side of Scotland, Edward was now at liberty to turn his attention towards France. But his late exertions had caused great expenditure, to which had been added the subsidies by which he had been compelled to purchase the alliance of the Princes on the north-east of France. To meet this necessity, a Parliament was summoned at Bury St. Edmunds, at which the Barons and Commons gave fresh grants. But the clergy, driven to extremity by the King's late demands upon them, found themselves in a position to refuse. Benedict of Gaita had lately been elected Pope, under the title of Boniface VIII., and had at once entered upon a policy resembling that of the great Popes of the twelfth century. He had issued a Bull known by the name of "Clericis Laicos," in which he had forbidden the clergy to pay taxes to their temporal sovereign. Backed by this authority, Archbishop Winchelsea refused in the name of the clergy to make any grant to Edward. The clergy, it was said, owed allegiance to two sovereigns—the one temporal, the other spiritual. Their obedience was due first to their spiritual chief. An exemption from taxation of the Church, which had rapidly been growing enormously wealthy, would have crippled Edward's resources. He had already accepted

Submission of
Balliol and
Scotland.

Refusal of the
clergy to grant
subsidies.

Nov. 3. 1296.

the principle, that all should be consulted and all pay in matters touching the advantage of all. He proceeded at once, therefore, to meet the claim in his usual legal fashion. If the clergy would not help him, he would not protect the clergy. The Chief Justice was ordered to announce publicly from the bench in Westminster Hall, that no justice would be done the clergy in the King's Court, but would nevertheless be done to all manner of persons who had any complaint against them. Nor was this sentence of outlawry a vain one; the tenants began at once to refuse to pay their rents, the Church property was seized, and the owners could get no redress. This severe treatment induced many of the clergy to make their submission, but the Archbishop still held out.

Matters thus remained till another Parliament met at Salisbury in February 1297, when, the Barons only being summoned, the King explained his plan for the war with France. He was under pledge to pay subsidies, and to bring an army to his allies in Flanders. This army he would personally command. He wished his Constable and Marshall, the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, to take charge of a second army destined for Guienne. These two noblemen positively refused. They had learnt law from their King, and alleged as their excuse, which was evidently only a technical one, that they were only bound to follow the King in person. They then withdrew from the Assembly, which broke up, with nothing done. The King, in want of money, gave free vent to his arbitrary temper, seized the wool of his merchants, and ordered large requisitions of provisions to be made in the counties, for which, however, he promised future payment. In the following March, Winchelsea had a personal interview with the King, in which he appears to have arranged some sort of temporary compromise; for immediately afterwards a meeting of the clergy was held, in which he recommended them to act each for himself as best he could. Determined to proceed in spite of all opposition, the King summoned the whole military force of the kingdom to meet him at London on the 7th of July. There the Earls still refused to do their duty, and fresh officers were appointed in their place. The King reconciled himself with the clergy, and appointed the Archbishop one of the counsellors who were to act as advisers to his young son Edward, in whose hands he left the government. He also induced those nobles and Commons who were with him, though in no sense a Parliament, to make him a money grant. They gave him an eighth of the moveables of the barons and knights, a fifth of the

Clergy out-
lawed.

Barons too
refuse to help
Edward.

Compromise
with the clergy.

Edward secure
an illegal grant.

cities and boroughs. This grant was given expressly for a promised confirmation of the charters. This seems to show what the real point at issue was. The King's excessive arbitrary taxation had aroused the old feeling which had produced the baronial wars of the preceding reign. The clergy were also asked for a grant in a convocation held upon the 10th of August. It was there decided that there was good hope that leave would be given them to make a grant. On this the King acted, and ordered a levy of what amounted to a fifth on all their revenue, both temporal and spiritual.

Shortly after this, he received the demands of the refractory Earls, complaining of the non-observance of the charters, of the tallages, aids and requisitions, and of the tax on wool. Declining to give an answer at present, on the 22nd of August he set sail for Flanders. On the very next day the Earls appeared in the Exchequer Chamber, and peremptorily forbade the collection of the irregularly granted eighth, until the charters had been signed which had been the express condition of the grant. The necessity for concession had become obvious, and in a Parliament summoned on the 6th of October, the promised confirmation was given by the Prince. The Earls, who appeared in arms, with troops, insisted upon the addition of some supplementary clauses, which have since been known as the statute "De tallagio non concedendo." They further demanded that the late grant should be considered illegal; it was therefore cancelled, and a new constitutional grant of

The Earls demand the confirmation of the charters.

It is granted with reservations.

a ninth was made in its place. Prince Edward's confirmation was renewed by the King in person at Ghent. It was again renewed, in 1299, with an unsatisfactory clause "saving the rights of the Crown," which the King was obliged subsequently to remove, and finally, in 1301, at the Parliament of Lincoln. The charters thus confirmed were the amended charter of Henry III., the additions to it were contained in the supplementary articles of the two Earls, which forbid what had hitherto been undoubtedly constitutional, the arbitrary tallaging of towns and taxing of wool. They contained however a clause "saving the old rights of the King," and Edward took advantage of this afterwards, in 1304, to continue the old wool-tax and to tallage the towns in his own domain.¹

¹ There was probably no separate statute "De tallagio non concedendo," though quoted as a statute in Charles I.'s reign. The articles given by Walter of Hemingburgh, which were regarded as that statute, omit the saving clause, but are now not considered authoritative.

It was the dangerous condition of his affairs which induced the King to yield to the pressure of the Barons; for in the spring of 1297, Wallace had made his appearance in Scotland. The younger son of a small proprietor in Elderslie, and without means of his own, he had established his fame as a guerilla leader. In the woods and mountains he collected a band of outlaws, with whom he attacked isolated parties of English, all of whom were at once put to death. His cruelties especially against the nuns and priests are described as most revolting. ^{Appearance of Wallace.} Cressingham, Treasurer of Scotland, foolishly despised him, and thus allowed the insurrection to gain head. He was joined by Sir William Douglas; but on the whole was both disliked and despised by the Scotch nobility. At length, as his followers had increased to an army, and threatened the fortress of Stirling, it became necessary to take measures against him. Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, and Cressingham, raised an army, and advanced to the Forth. The armies met early in September at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling. The river is there spanned by a narrow bridge, at the north end of which the Scotch were strongly posted. With overweening folly, Cressingham insisted on an immediate advance across the bridge. The natural consequence followed; when a small portion of the English had crossed, and were thus cut off from support, the Scotch fell on them and completely routed them. Warrenne, an old and feeble man, took to hasty flight, and the army was in fact destroyed. This victory was followed up by a fierce invasion of the north of England. Wallace seems to have collected troops by violent means; he then led them across the English border, and sweeping it lengthwise from Newcastle to Carlisle, "he left nothing behind him but blood and ashes."¹ His cruelties were indeed beyond description, and could not but have filled the English with horror, something akin to that which the English in India must have felt at the outbreak of the mutiny.

Edward's expedition to Flanders had been a failure. The people in the cities, angry with his interference in the wool trade, were opposed to him; his allies had been tampered with by Philip, who had also won a victory over them at Furnes; the Pope was urging peace; and Edward, who always regarded his French affairs as secondary, made a truce before the end of the year 1297, which two years afterwards ripened under the arbitration of Boniface to the Treaty of Chartres. By that treaty, Guienne was restored to the English King, who withdrew his support

Treaty with France. 1299.

¹ Sir Walter Scott.

from his Flemish allies; while Philip in return gave up the cause of the Scotch. The treaty was cemented by a double marriage. Edward himself married Margaret, the French King's sister; while his son Edward was betrothed to Isabella, Philip's daughter.

Shortly after his return, Edward advanced to revenge the insults of Wallace, who had meantime unwisely taken the title of the

Edward returns
and invades
Scotland.

Guardian of the Kingdom, thus still further exciting the jealousy of the nobles. He retired before the English army, laying waste the country behind him, and Edward had almost been starved into a retreat, when two Scotch Earls told him that Wallace was in the woods in his immediate neighbourhood. Edward at once advanced to meet him. Wallace, with his infantry formed into solid squares, awaited his attack. Such horse as he had fled without striking a blow. The arrows of the English archers broke the squares, and the 7000 heavy armed English cavalry had no

Defeats Wallace
at Falkirk.

difficulty in completing the victory. Wallace fled, and resumed his outlaw's life, nor does he again play a prominent part in history. In 1305, he was betrayed by one of his own followers named Jack Short to Sir John Monteith, by whom he was given up to the English King, and suffered death, with all the extreme penalties of the law.¹ The bitter feeling his outrages had caused in England made any other fate impossible. But though

Comyn's
regency.

Wallace sinks into obscurity, his work had not been without effect. The southern counties were so ravaged that the King could not maintain an army there, and had to retire from the country, which passed into the hands of a temporary regency, at the head of which was Comyn.

For several years the steps taken for the reduction of Scotland were marked by great weakness. Edward's energy was paralyzed, partly by the affairs in France, partly by questions arising with regard to the charters in England. Frequent complaints had been raised with regard to infringements of the Charter of Forests. It was to settle these complaints, and to discuss an extraordinary claim raised by Pope Boniface, that a Parliament was assembled at Lincoln in 1301. With regard to the charter the King yielded, and a considerable disafforesting of districts illegally

¹ His sentence was: "That for the robberies and felony of which he had been guilty, he should be hanged by the neck; that as an outlaw, and not having come to the King's peace, he should be cut down and beheaded as a traitor; that for sacrileges committed by him, he should be disembowelled, and his entrails burnt as a warning to others; that his head should be fixed to London Bridge, and his quarters to the towns of Berwick, Newcastle, Stirling, and Perth."

included within the limits of the forests took place. Pleased with the King's constitutional conduct, the baronage joined heartily in the rejection of the Papal claim. Boniface had issued a mandate desiring the King to abstain from all further attacks on Scotland, "which did and doth still belong in full right to the Church of Rome." This mandate was delivered while Edward was in Scotland, and Boniface's position as arbiter between Edward and the King of France prevented him from at once rejecting it. It is probable that Boniface was only asserting his position as guardian of international law, but the English treated the claim as serious. When it was brought before Parliament, the baronage replied that the kingdom of Scotland never had belonged to the See of Rome, and that they, the Barons of England, would not allow Edward, even if he wished it, to surrender the rights of the Crown. It was not till 1303 that Edward was able to resume his conquest of that kingdom. Early in that year he ordered his Barons to assist John Segrave, Governor of Scotland, in marching from Berwick to Edinburgh. But that General mismanaged his march, and as he approached Roslin on the way to Edinburgh, in three divisions, he was fallen upon by Comyn, and his army defeated in detail.

The King had thus much to revenge when, in June, he began his march. On this occasion he was accompanied by a fleet which the desolate state of the country had hitherto presented. He pushed onward into the far North. On returning he took up his abode for a time in Dunfermline. Most of the Scotch Barons there sought and obtained pardon, and at length Comyn, who had been the leader of the rebellion, made a treaty in Fife, by which the Lords agreed to suffer any pecuniary fine Edward thought fit, and the castles and government were to be in Edward's hands. One stronghold only refused to obey this treaty. Sir William Oliphant held the fortress of Stirling, and it required three months to reduce its gallant defenders to submission. This was the last opposition Edward had to fear; he at once admitted the Scotch to pardon, and settled the country, placing his chief confidence apparently in Wishart, Bishop of St. Andrews, John de Mowbray and Robert Bruce. It was soon seen how little reliance could be put on the first and last of these Commissioners.

Fresh invasion
of Scotland.

Second conquest
of Scotland.

Robert Bruce was the grandson of the claimant of the Scotch throne; his grandfather had been an English judge, his father a constant friend of Edward. It was only by marriage that the family had acquired the estates of Carrick and Annandale. He was there-

fore to all intents and purposes an Englishman, or rather a Norman Baron, possessed of that peculiar characteristic of the race which rendered it in fact a race of adventurers, with the constant hope of winning great things before their minds. The instances of Norman Barons who had won earldoms, kingdoms and empires, were too numerous not to have had effect upon aspiring members of the race. Bruce had up to this time played a somewhat vacillating game, but on the whole, perhaps because of his feud with Balliol, he had remained faithful to Edward. He seems now to have thought his opportunity had arrived. It may perhaps have been the King's growing infirmities that encouraged him. At all events,

Bruce murders Comyn, and rebels.

early in February 1306, he murdered in the church of Dumfries Comyn, who, in accordance with the interpretation of the law which Edward had recognized, stood next to the Balliols in succession to the Scotch throne, and who, since he had last submitted to Edward, had been true to him. Bruce then, joined by a few nobles, raised the standard of revolt. He proceeded at once to Scone, and there, in March, was crowned by Wishart and other of Edward's Commissioners. This unexpected insurrection from those whom he had trusted roused Edward to extreme anger. With great pomp, at a meeting at Westminster, he knighted his son, and took a solemn oath to avenge John Comyn's death. Carlisle was the point of rendezvous, but already Bruce had been defeated at Methven near Perth by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and was wandering barefoot and in misery among the hills and woods of the country. He was reduced to demand the pity of the King, but was refused; and a severe ordinance was issued that all abettors of the murder of Comyn should be hanged, and that all those who assisted Bruce should be imprisoned. The ordinance was carried out with severity. Nigel Bruce, two Seaton's, the Earl of Athole and Simon Fraser, were all executed, and the Countess of Buchan, who had crowned Bruce, was imprisoned, with ironical cruelty, in a crown-shaped cage. But Bruce himself was not taken, and issuing from his fastnesses, he inflicted many losses by surprise upon the English. He even in his turn defeated the Earl of Pembroke, and shortly after the Earl of Gloucester; and

Edward's death near Carlisle.

Edward was rousing himself to attack him, though scarcely able to mount his horse, when he died upon the march.

The mere narration of the political facts of the reign, although it brings out prominently much of Edward's greatness, gives no idea of the real constitutional importance of his work. Not only was

he the first truly English King, both by his circumstances and political views, but he became, in virtue of his love of order and legal arrangement, the completer of the English Constitution. In the first place, it is to him that we owe the perfection of the Parliamentary system, of the complete representation in Parliament of the three Estates of the realm, the Lords, Commons, and Clergy. For it is plain that it was his intention to combine the three, although the clergy refused to accede to his wish, and preferred to tax themselves separately in Convocation; a body which however, as will be afterwards seen, also owes its representative arrangements to him. The gradual introduction of the representative system of the counties has been mentioned. Again and again, on special occasions, knights, to represent the shire and to give information with regard to their counties, had been summoned. Simon de Montfort had even introduced representation of the boroughs; but this was regarded as wholly exceptional. Nevertheless, Edward was not long in seeing both the justice and advantage of the system. In the first Parliament of his reign, when enacting the first great Statute of Westminster, a healing and restorative measure applicable to the whole country, he said that he made it with the consent of the *commonalty*; there were possibly representatives of the counties present; more probably their consent was arrived at in some other way. At the same time, the high view which he took of his own constitutional position is marked by a change in the ordinary form of enactment. Statutes had hitherto been enacted "by the counsel and consent of Parliament." The alteration of a few letters changed the meaning of this phrase. The present statute was said to be enacted "by the King by the advice of his Council and the assent of Parliament." The legislative power was thus made to reside in the King and his Council. It is the power thus claimed which gave rise to the legislative, or rather the ordaining power claimed by the King in Council, which was afterwards frequently complained of by the Parliament. But Edward, in spite of these pretensions, accepted the view that all should be consulted where the interests of all were at stake. This was of course chiefly in the matter of taxation, and the convenience as well as the justice of the method which Simon de Montfort had set on foot soon became evident to his mind. From the beginning of this reign, the method of taxation had been changed. Instead of an aid, raised from the land, it had become a subsidy raised by an assessment on the moveables of the people. Most frequently the proportion granted was a tenth or fifteenth, but in these early times every variety of proportion was granted. As yet,

Constitutional importance of the reign.

however, these taxes had been collected locally in accordance with arrangements made by Exchequer officers, sheriffs, or the county court. In 1282, the King, being in want of money for his Welsh wars, proceeded by his ordinary method. The sums raised locally were insufficient; while his Barons were with him at the wars it was inconvenient to hold a Parliament; writs were issued therefore to the sheriffs and archbishops to collect their two Estates, the Commons and the clergy, at two centres, York and Northampton. At these meetings were present four representative knights from each county, and all freeholders of more than one knight's fee. The Commons made their grant of a thirtieth. The assemblies of the clergy declined, until the parochial clergy were represented. For this purpose the election of Proctors was then ordered, and they have since formed a regular part of the Convocation. These negotiations were not completed when what is called the Parliament of Acton Burnell was summoned to settle the affairs of Wales. At that meeting there were present no clergy, and representatives of twenty towns only, summoned separately. In 1290, a further proof is given that for taxation by subsidy the representation of the Commons was beginning to be considered necessary. In that year an old-fashioned feudal aid was granted for the marriage of the King's daughter. It was granted by the baronage for the whole commonalty, and was in the old form of land-tax, but the Commons being subsequently present, it was changed at their request to a fifteenth. It was possible for the baronage to grant the aid upon military tenants, but the rest of the people could not be reached. Two principles had by this time been established,—that the clergy should be fully represented, and that for subsidies upon the whole kingdom it was both convenient and just that the Commons should in some way be represented; but it was not yet held necessary for feudal matters, or for questions touching the baronage only, that the Commons should be present. Indeed, at this very Parliament, the statute "*Quia Emptores*" was passed by the Barons before the Commons assembled. All these preparatory steps found their completion in the Parliament of 1295, when writs were issued to the Archbishops to appear themselves, and to send Proctors to Westminster; to the Prelates and Barons, as Peers, and to the sheriffs, summoning the knights of the counties, and two burghers from each town.¹ There was thus a Parliament complete in all its parts, such as it has since remained. We must not suppose, however, that the Estates acted in common, or

¹ There were present at this Parliament seven Earls and forty-one Barons.

that the Commons had much voice in the deliberation. At this very Parliament of 1295, the grant of each order was different, nor was it till 1318, in Edward II.'s reign, that the Commons can be considered as perfectly incorporated in the Legislative Assembly. The constitutional view at present was, that the King, with the assent of his Barons, granted the petitions of the Commons and the Clergy.

The great statutes which were passed in these various Parliaments must now be mentioned. Those which were of most general national interest were the First Statute of Westminster, which, as has been before said, revived and re-established the old constitutions of the country, and limited the employment of feudal aids; and the Statute of Winchester, passed in 1285, which was a re-enactment and completion of the Assize of Arms established by Henry II., and aimed at once at the defence and police of the country. It laid upon the counties, under heavy penalties, the duty of indicting felons and robbers, ordered the police arrangements of walled towns, the enlargement and clearing of the edges of public roads, and further defined the arms which each class of the population was bound to procure for the preservation of the land. Constables and justices were to be appointed to see to the proper observance of this statute, from whom subsequently grew the justices of the peace. Some such statute was indeed very necessary, and even its stringent provisions were not sufficient to establish order. In 1305, England was full of riotous outlaws, who were willing to hire themselves out for purposes of private outrage when they were not plying their own trade of robbery; these were known by the name of "*trail-bâtons*." To suppress them it was found necessary to issue commissions to travelling justices, empowering them to act summarily towards such breakers of the peace. Their strictness is mentioned in the political songs of the day. It was impossible, it was said, any longer to beat your children, you were at once punished as a trail-bâton.¹ Even the stringency of these measures of suppression mark Edward's love of order. Lastly, must be mentioned the great Acts for the confirmation of the charters, which are sometimes regarded as the statute "*De tallagio non concedendo*." From this time forward arbitrary tallages, though occasionally used, began to be regarded as illegal.

¹ "Sire, si je voderai mon garsoun chastier
De une buffe ou de deus, pur ly amender,
Sur moi betera bille, e me frad atachier,
E avant que isse de prisone raunsoun grant doner."

The Outlaw's song of Traille-bâton. Political Songs, p. 231.

There were also two great statutes bearing almost entirely upon the feudal relations of landed proprietors. The first was the statute of "Quia Emptores" (1290), which forbade subinfeudation and the formation of new manors. Its original object was to prevent feudal lords from being defrauded of their dues. Henceforward, property alienated ceased to belong in any sense to the subordinate grantor, and returned to the property of the lord superior of the whole estate. The effect, unforeseen by the enactors, was to increase the number of independent gentry holding immediately from the crown or from the great lords. The second statute is known by the name of the Second Statute of Westminster, or "De donis conditionalibus." When an estate had been given to a man and to his children, it had hitherto been held sufficient that the child should be born. The estate had then become the absolute property of the man to whom it had been granted, and he could alienate it at his will. It was now enacted that he had but a life interest in it, that if his children were not living at his death, it reverted to the original grantor. Thus was established the power of entail. There remains one great statute to be mentioned, the Statute of Mortmain. This was aimed against the increasing power and wealth of the Church, and against a legal trick by which laymen had freed themselves from feudal liabilities. It had become a custom to give property to the Church and to receive it back as tenant of the Church, thus freed from obligation to lay superiors. At the same time, even though this device was not used, the accumulation of property in the hands of the Church withdrew it from many feudal duties. It passed, it was said, "in mortuam manum"—into a dead hand. All transactions by which lands or tenements could in any way pass into mortmain were now forbidden. The same spirit which produced these laws had been felt in the administration of justice, where the three courts of Exchequer, King's Bench and Common Pleas were finally separated, and each provided with a full staff of officials. Even from this short sketch of the work of Edward I. may be gathered the great constitutional importance of the reign.

EDWARD II.

1307—1327.

Born 1284 = Isabella of France

Edward III. John, Earl of Cornwall. Joan=David II. Eleanor=Duke of Gueldres.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Robert I., 1306.	Philip IV., 1285. Louis X., 1314. Philip V., 1316. Charles IV., 1322.	Albert, 1298. Henry VII., 1308. Louis IV., 1313.	Ferdinand IV., 1295. Alphonso XI., 1312.

POPES.—Clement V., 1305. Vacancy for two years. John XXII., 1316.

Archbishops.

Robert of Winchelsea, 1308—
1313.
Walter Reynolds, 1313—1327.

Chancellors.

John Langton, 1307.
Walter Reynolds, 1310.
John de Sandale, 1314.
John de Hotham, 1318.
John de Salmon, 1320.
Robert de Baldock, 1323.
Adam de Orleton, 1327.

THE reign of Edward II. affords the best apology for any excessive exertions of power which can be laid to the charge of Edward I. It is plain that there existed a readiness on the part of the nobles to take advantage of any weakness in the government of their ruler; on the part of the clergy to reclaim the liberties of their order; and of the lower classes to find a popular hero in every opponent of the government. It would seem indeed that there was no alternative between a strong and practically despotic government and anarchy. It was not till the feudal barons of England had had their fill of anarchy in the Wars of the Roses, and had destroyed themselves, that constitutional government, in our sense of the word, had a chance of existence, and our sympathies are constantly divided between the Church and barons, whose efforts alone promised freedom, and the power of the encroaching ruler, who alone ensured order. For the weakling who could secure neither one nor the other we can feel no sympathy. In the reign of Edward II. we feel as if we had

Note.—The names of the Justiciaries, who now became legal rather than political officers, are no longer given. Throughout, the names under the head of Spain are those of the Kings of Castile.

fallen back again to the time of his grandfather. The great question at issue throughout is the same—Shall foreigners, or indeed any other king-chosen favourites, supersede the national oligarchy of great barons? The constant prominence of this question (which in the present reign was further embittered by the personal character of one at least of the favourites) renders it very difficult to distinguish the part played by real patriotic demands for good government and for constitutional limits to the royal power. It is pretty clear that the favourites were the chief cause of the disturbances of the reign; but, on the other hand, the evident advantages offered by some of the baronial claims, and the love of the populace, who ranked even Lancaster with its saints, compel us to believe that these turbulent disturbers of the peace were worthy of some sympathy.

When the late King died in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, he believed that the war with Scotland would have been carried on by his son, of whom he was very fond; while he thought he had secured him from that danger which he had already foreseen would beset his reign, by insisting on the dismissal of his favourite, Piers Gaveston.

Edward's
friendship for
Gaveston. Gaveston was a young man of Gascon or Basque origin, of greater refinement apparently than the rough barons of England, their equal, if not their superior, in martial exercises, and possessing those courtly tastes for music and the arts which marked the young King. But Edward disappointed his father's hopes. He had already (before his father had insisted on the dismissal of Gaveston) gone so far as to beg for him, though in vain, the royal county of Ponthieu. On his father's death he immediately recalled him. A hasty and ineffectual march into Scotland, where Aymer de Valence was left as lieutenant, was all that came of the great preparations at Carlisle, and the King's mind seemed to be occupied in lavishing favours on his friend. He gave him the Earldom of Cornwall, hitherto an appanage of some royal prince. He seized the property of Walter, Bishop of Lichfield, who in the late reign had opposed him in his office as treasurer, and bestowed it on Gaveston; and after that young man had, by his ostentation, by his success in the lists, and by a reckless use of his happy gift of applying nicknames, excited the anger of the great nobles, Edward was foolish enough, on leaving England to do homage for his French dominions, to leave him as Governor of the country. Consequently, no sooner

Barons de-
mand his dis-
missal,
March 3, 1306. was he crowned than the Barons demanded in Parliament the dismissal of the favourite. The demand could not be refused, and Edward promised to accede to it, but

proved at the same time how determined he was to evade his promise, by not only bestowing fresh grants on Gaveston, but by appointing him Lord Deputy of Ireland. There for a year he reigned with almost royal power.

The quarrel thus begun became the chief question of the reign. All other matters, even the conquest of Scotland, were subordinated to it; and while it was continuing, Bruce was quietly subduing fortress after fortress, and subjugating the whole south of Scotland. In the following year, the King still further showed his untrustworthiness by receiving Gaveston back in England. He met him with great marks of affection at Chester, hav- ^{Gaveston's return.} ing probably had recourse already to that dangerous expedient, a Papal dispensation from his promises. In fact, again like his grandfather, Edward found it expedient throughout his reign to keep on very friendly terms with the Pope, and to back his authority by the undefined power which the Head of the Church still wielded. It has been seen how even his great father was unable to resist this temptation. Clement V., an obsequious servant of the French King, and reigning at Avignon, was very different from the formidable Boniface VIII. There was no difficulty in persuading him to renew the old alliance with the sovereign which placed the Church at his mercy. Moreover, at this time he was anxious, in the interests of his master, to procure Edward's co-operation in the unprincipled destruction of the order of the Temple. Philip IV. of France, urged by an avaricious desire to confiscate the vast property of this order, had set on foot the most extraordinary reports of their licentiousness and blasphemy. In October 1307, all their establishments were laid hands on, the inmates imprisoned, their wealth confiscated. He then, in union with the Pope, begged all his neighbours to adopt a similar course. Edward II. consented, and in January 1308, all the Templars in England were imprisoned. They were tried by the Church on the accusation of the Pope. In France, torture, and the skill of Philip's lawyers, had produced certain confessions, on which the King acted, and the Order was there destroyed, its Grand Master, James de Molé, being burnt as a heretic. In England, not even torture, which was now first used,¹ could produce any important revelations. The inquiries lasted till 1311. Eventually, certain supposed proofs of heterodoxy having been produced, some of the Knights were confined in monasteries, the Order suppressed, and their property given to the Hospitallers.

¹ A curious question was raised, whether a torturer could be fetched from the Continent, there being none in England.—Hemingburgh, 2287.

The effect of Gaveston's return, and the renewal of Papal influence, was of course to increase the discontent, till, on the 27th of July, at a Parliament held at Stamford, the King was compelled to give his consent to a statute of reform.

By this the first Statute of Westminster was renewed, the undue power exercised by the constables of the royal castles, and the extortions of the officers of the royal household, were checked; all old taxes upon wool and hides beyond the legal customs were removed; while, at the same time, a general letter was directed to the Pope, begging him to abstain from his exactions. The storm continued to rise. Very shortly after this, the great Earls of Lancaster, Lincoln, Warwick, and others, refused to appear at a meeting at York, if Gaveston were present. A meeting summoned in London at the beginning of the following year met with no better success. The Barons threatened to appear in arms if they appeared at all. The King, in fear, concealed Gaveston for a time; the Barons then indeed came, but came only to demand a complete reformation in the government, to which the King was compelled to give his consent. The precedent in his grandfather's reign was then followed. From

Appointment of
the Lords
Ordainers.

the present March to Michaelmas of the following year the government was placed in the hands of a commission of twenty-one members, who were to produce ordinances of general reform. Pending the production of these ordinances, some preliminary articles were at once established. For the payment of the King's debts grants were to be recalled, and his expensive housekeeping was to be limited. To satisfy the national feeling, and in the hope of lightening the taxes, the Italian house of the Frescobaldi, who had hitherto farmed them, was to be deprived of that advantage, and Englishmen alone were to be employed in their collection; and before all things, the charters of liberty were to be observed.

Hoping, probably, to gain popularity for himself and his favourite, and to be thus able to get rid of the Barons' interference, Edward

Useless assault
on Scotland.
1311.

determined on an expedition to Scotland; but the great Barons, on the plea that they were busied with their ordinances, refused to accompany him. Some of his immediate adherents, such as Gloucester, Warrene, his half-brother, Thomas, Earl of Norfolk,¹ and Gaveston, alone went with him. His hopes of gaining popularity by victory were disappointed. The Scotch retired before him. Though Gaveston crossed the Forth,

¹ He had lately received the Earldom of Norfolk, and the rank of Earl Marshall, by the death of Bigod without heirs.

he could not bring on an engagement; and when the English retreated, the Scotch hung upon their rear, and pursued their advantages into the county of Durham. In his necessity, the King was driven to illegal actions. He appropriated the property of the Earl of Lincoln and of the Bishop of Durham, and taxed the province of Canterbury. The Parliament, therefore, was in no improved temper when Edward, leaving Gaveston in the protection of Lady de Vescy, went to meet it in London in October. The Ordinances were there produced. In addition to the articles already granted, there were others which seem to explain the policy of the opposition, and to show the chief forms of misgovernment at that time prevalent. No war was to be carried on without consent of Parliament;—taken in connection with the conduct of Bohun and Bigod in the last reign, with the abstention of the Barons from the war with Scotland, and with the treaty between Bruce and Lancaster, which will be afterwards mentioned, this seems to show that the Barons desired a complete settlement of England before engaging in foreign wars. All taxes upon wool and other exports since the coronation of Edward I. were to be removed:—the Barons seem to have seen that export duties are a tax on production, and are advantageous in the long run to foreign manufactures only. The great officers of state were to be nominated with consent of Parliament; while, to complete the system, the sheriffs, whom Edward I. had made elective, were to be nominated by these great officers; in other words, the royal power was to be restricted by a baronial oligarchy. Parliament was to be held at least once a year, which, considering that his father had held at least three Parliaments a year, seems to show a tendency on the part of the King to arbitrary government. Bad companions were to be removed from the King, and his household reformed. Many of these companions are mentioned by name, and appear to have been foreigners. The King's tastes had collected around him foreigners connected with display of the arts, and on them he had lavished favours, which excited the national feeling. But the chief attack after all was upon Gaveston, his countryman De Beaumont, and his sister, Lady de Vescy. It was ordered that Gaveston should leave the kingdom by the port of Dover on the 1st of November, and never again enter any territory belonging to the English Crown.¹

In pursuance of these Ordinances, Gaveston left England, and took

¹ These are only the principal articles; there were many others, the arrangement of the law courts, the royal prerogative of justice, etc.

refuge in Flanders. But before the year was over he again appeared in England, and joined Edward as he hurried to the North, to be, as he believed, less within the reach of his enemies. At Knaresborough,

His reappearance with the King.
1312.

Edward thought himself strong enough to put forward a proclamation declaring the banishment of Gaveston contrary to the Constitution. He readmitted him to favour, and restored him his property. It was even reported that he was intriguing to secure him a retreat in Scotland. This flagrant violation of his word set all England against the King. The old Archbishop Winchelsea of Canterbury, as in the last reign, became a centre of revolution; he excommunicated Gaveston, while the

The baronial chiefs.

Barons, at the head of whom were now the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, proceeded to take active measures. This Lancaster was the eldest son of Edmund, brother of Edward I. His power in England was enormous; he was Earl of five counties. From his father he had received Lancaster and the confiscated estates of De Montfort and Ferrers, the Earldoms namely of Leicester and Derby; he had married the heiress of the De Lacys, and upon the death of the Earl of Lincoln had succeeded to the Earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. He began that opposition, which will be frequently mentioned afterwards, of the younger branch of the Plantagenets to the reigning house. Hereford, the son of the great Humphrey Bohun, was the hereditary chief of the baronial party. He had married Elizabeth, the King's sister. The leaders of the baronial party agreed to repair to those parts of England where they had most influence. Lancaster proceeded northwards so rapidly, that the King had to fly before him, and was nearly captured at Newcastle, where Gaveston's jewels and horses fell into Lancaster's hands, and thence he took ship for Scarborough. Lancaster took up his position in the middle of England, while the rest of the baronial party besieged Gaveston in that fortress, where he was soon obliged to surrender. This he did to the Earl of Pembroke, who was no enemy to the King, upon a promise that if he could not come to terms with the Barons he should be restored to Scarborough. Pembroke persuaded him to go with him to his castle at Wallingford, but on the way, during a temporary absence of Pembroke, he was surprised by Warwick, who hated him for having nicknamed him

Gaveston beheaded at Warwick.

"The Black Dog," brought to his castle of Warwick, and there beheaded on Blacklow Hill. The King was naturally full of anger, nor did he, in fact, ever forgive Lancaster, but he yielded to necessity, being perhaps in a particularly

good humour at the birth of a son and heir; and the Barons, who appeared in arms at Ware, all received pardon in exchange for some slight concessions, among others for the restoration of Gaveston's jewels. It was not, however, till the close of the following year that the pardons were completed, Edward having in the meantime been to France.

This closes the first period of the reign, but it is plain that the Barons were not yet satisfied. Their chief enemy was removed, but their policy was not accepted. Thus, when in 1314 the King collected a large army, many of them still held aloof, though they sent their forces. If Scotland was to be saved it was time for energetic action. One by one the fortresses had been taken. Stirling still held out, but the Governor promised to capitulate unless relieved before St. John's Day. By a rapid march Edward reached the place before the fatal day. But Bruce was ready to receive him. He had arranged his troops a little to the south and east of the castle, with his right resting on the

Renewal of war with Scotland.
1314.

little brook Bannockburn. His position was carefully prepared. His front was partly covered by a marsh, and where this ceased and waste land began he had dug shallow pitfalls, with a pointed stake in each, to check the advance of the heavy cavalry, of which the English army then consisted. His left was defended by the cliffs of the castle. Edward Bruce commanded the right, Thomas Randolph the left, Walter Stewart and James Douglas the centre, a small rearguard was commanded by Bruce himself. On the eve of St. John's the English attempted to secure Stirling, but were beaten back by Randolph. On the morning of the 24th of June, the Abbot of Inchaffray said mass in the Scotch army. As they knelt, Edward exclaimed, "See, they beg pardon." But Ingram of Umfraville, a Scotch nobleman, by his side, replied, "Yes, sire, but of Heaven, not of you." Immediately after this the battle began, and already the weight of the English men-at-arms and the flights of arrows were thinning the Scotch ranks, when Bruce fell upon the flank of the archers with his reserve. The fortune of the day was still doubtful, when troops were seen advancing with flying standards behind the Scotch. They were the camp followers of Bruce's army, who were eagerly pushing forward to watch the fight, but the English believed it was the arrival of reinforcements. They had already found enough to do, and did not wait the new arrivals. The flight soon became a disorderly rout. The horses stumbled and fell in the pitfalls or stuck fast in the morass, and the Scotch pursued ruthlessly.

Battle of Bannockburn.

With difficulty the King, under the guidance of the Earl of Pembroke, escaped from the field, and sought safety with a few hundred men in Dunbar, whence he took ship to Berwick. The Earl of Gloucester, with great numbers of Barons and Knights, were left dead upon the field, and during the retreat the Earl of Hereford was captured at Bothwell. He was subsequently exchanged for the Bishop of Glasgow and Bruce's wife and daughter, who had long been in honourable custody in England.

Edward thought for a moment of renewing the war, and again summoned a fresh army; but the condition of England rendered further action impossible. The discontented Earls attributed the disaster to the refusal of the King to accept the Ordinances, and to the influence of his new favourites Beaumont and Despenser. Money, too, was wanting; and the King's renewed efforts to obtain it from the clergy by means of the new Archbishop Walter were met with firm opposition. But though war was useless, he would not listen to Bruce's overtures for peace, obstinately refusing to regard that Prince in any other light than that of a rebel. The North of England was thus left open to the fierce inroads of the Scotch.

The loss of the English prestige was more disastrous than the immediate loss of the battle. The Welsh and Irish thought their opportunity had arrived for obtaining their independence. The Welsh insurrection was indeed subdued after a year of fighting; but it required three years before Ireland was again secured to the English Crown. In that country Edward I. had done but little. It was in its usual state of disorder. The feuds among the Norman adventurers, to whom the conquest had been left, were scarcely less constant or bitter than the wars among the native tribes who surrounded them. Against these tribes, however, they exercised the greatest cruelties. To be an Irishman was to be excluded from all justice, to be classed at once as a robber and murderer. The news of the Battle of Bannockburn induced the Irish to beg the assistance of Bruce, and to offer him their crown. He declined it for himself, but his brother Edward, as ambitious as the Scotch King, accepted the offer. In May 1315 he landed, supported by the great tribe of the O'Niells, and probably also by the Norman Lacys, and was victorious over the combined forces of the Butlers and De Burghs. In vain did Edward send John of Hotham, a clergyman, to attempt some combination among the English and the Irish tribes. The English dislike to the royal

Edward refuses to treat. Consequent disasters.

Wars in Wales and Ireland.

Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland.

lieutenant Butler prevented union, and in May 1316, O'Niell of Tyrone gave up his claim to the Irish throne to Edward Bruce, who was crowned King. But a series of separate attacks upon the natives was more successful. At Athenry the O'Connors were almost exterminated. The arrival of King Robert in Ulster, and a march in winter to Limerick and Dublin, produced no permanent effect, and at length, in 1317, Roger Mortimer, landing with a considerable army, succeeded in establishing some order. The Lacys were executed for treason; the tribes began quarrelling among themselves; and finally, in 1318, Edward Bruce fell in a battle, in which he was defeated by John of Birmingham, in the neighbourhood of Dundalk. The English government was re-established in all its oppression.

Meanwhile, England itself had been in a miserable plight. 1315 and 1316 were years of fearful famine. Prices rose to an unprecedented height. Wheat was sold for 40 marks a quarter; and Parliament still further aggravated the evil by fixing a maximum price, which for a time closed the markets altogether. Terrible diseases followed in the wake of the famine. Again and again the northern counties were mercilessly ravaged; whole districts and dioceses were glad to compound with the Scotch for safety. An attempt was made by a Parliament in this year to re-establish the national prosperity, by obliging the King to accept Lancaster as his chief minister. Lancaster accepted this position, upon the condition that he should be allowed to resign if the King refused to follow his advice, or if men objectionable to Parliament were admitted to the King's Council. For a moment there was peace. The Ordinances were accepted, and ordered to be published throughout the country. But it was not in the King to act honourably when the fortunes of his favourites were at stake; and Lancaster soon found himself thwarted by the ever-increasing power of the Despensers. It was in vain that Pope John XXII. was called in as a mediator. His legates were equally unsuccessful in their attempts to heal the domestic quarrels of the country and to establish a truce with Scotland. Bruce refused to treat unless he was acknowledged as King. He continued his enterprises, and captured the town of Berwick. The legates could do nothing but put him under the ban of the Church.

At last, in 1318, a crisis was reached. The necessity of union against Scotland began to be obvious. The Despensers were for a

He is crowned King. 1316.

Is killed at Dundalk.

Distress in England.

Lancaster temporary minister. 1316.

Power of the Despensers.

time removed from England, and a committee in the interest of Lancaster was appointed to watch the royal action in the intervals of Parliament. This temporary adjustment of affairs in England was followed before long by a truce with Scotland. Edward tried and failed in an attempt to regain Berwick. Another furious invasion had ravaged the North of England, in which no less than eighty-four towns and villages were burned. It was plain that the Scotch were too strong for him. At the same time Bruce was anxious to be rid of the ex-communication, and agreed to waive his claim to the obnoxious title. Under these circumstances there was no difficulty in treating.

It soon became evident that the late attempts at compromise between the two parties in England were hollow. The question had to be tried by an appeal to arms. Nothing could induce the King to get rid of his favourites, nor the opposition to act in common with them. It was a little private quarrel, and no great question, which at length blew the smouldering discontent to a flame. The marriage of young Hugh Despenser with the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, who had died at Bannockburn, had introduced a new and objectionable power into the midst of the Welsh Marches. A quarrel arose about a vacant fief, and the Marchers made common cause against the favourite. The King ordered the question to be settled before his own court, and subsequently before Parliament; but Hereford refused to appear unless the Despensers were removed.

As the King vindicated his favourites, and refused to remove them, Hereford marched northward, joined Lancaster, and made a formal agreement with him that there should be no peace till the Despensers were gone. The confederates came in arms to the Parliament held at Westminster, found themselves completely master of the King, presented him with eleven articles of reformation, and procured from him, irregularly, and in spite of the protestations of the clergy, the condemnation and banishment of the Despensers. This condemnation was afterwards formed into a statute, and a pardon given to all those who had compelled the King to grant it.

But though Edward had temporarily yielded, parties were so evenly balanced that very little turned the scale. Young Despenser was serving as admiral on the coast of Kent. He was therefore safe from such personal attacks as Gaveston had been exposed to, and the

Temporary re-
conciliation in
England

Truce with
Scotland.
1320.

The Welsh
Marches quarrel
with the
Despensers.

Edward quarrels
with the
Marchers.

Hereford and
Lancaster
combine.
1321.

Despensers
banished.

King was able to repair to the coast and concert measures with him. As the Queen was travelling from London to Canterbury to meet him, she was refused admittance to the royal castle of Leeds by the Governor, Badlesmere. Angry at this insult, the King attacked the castle and hanged the garrison. It seems to have been felt that, in insulting the Queen, the opposition party had gone much too far. The King was able to recall the Despensers, several of the nobles declared that the late sentence of banishment had been procured by overwhelming force; and as he marched towards the West against the Welsh Marches, his brothers, the Earls of Norfolk and Kent, and several others of the greater nobility, followed his standard. By occupying the valley of the Severn, he separated the Marchers from Lancaster, who was collecting troops at Doncaster. Mortimer and most of the Marchers came to terms, and surrendered. Hereford with several others, broke through the royal army, and joined Lancaster. The King's enemies were now collected into one body, and he rapidly turned against them. To secure support, and probably in pursuance of their usual policy, the rebel lords had entered into a treaty with the Scotch. Bruce was to come to their assistance, but no conquests that he should make were to be permanent. The price of his help was to be peace, and the acknowledgment of his royal title.

On the approach of the King, the rebels fell back, and were intercepted at Boroughbridge by Sir Andrew Harklay, Governor of Carlisle. On attempting to cross the bridge, Hereford was killed from below; while the fords were so strongly guarded that the passage of the river seemed impossible.

Lancaster, with some hundred barons and knights, surrendered. He was taken to Pontefract. The accusations against him, including his treasonable compact with Bruce, were stated before a committee of the King's Barons, and condemnation passed against him unheard. He was beheaded, with all circumstances of indignity. A considerable number of barons suffered either with him or immediately after. Thomas of Lancaster appears to have been an ordinary feudal party leader, with a policy which was directed chiefly to domestic reforms and to the curtailment of the royal power. At the same time, the commonalty of England must have understood that, however selfish that policy might have been, it yet led, in the existing state of society, to improvement in the condition of the lower orders. Not otherwise can we explain the fact

Insult to the
Queen rouses
Edward to
energy.

He recalls the
Despensers.
Pacifies the
Marches.

Defeats
Lancaster at
Boroughbridge.

Lancaster
worshipped as
a saint.

that miracles before long were worked at the tomb of Lancaster, and his memory so worshipped and honoured by the people, that the King found it necessary to surround the place of his execution with armed men.

The triumph of the Despensers seemed complete. The elder of them was made Earl of Winchester. Their policy too was at once adopted. The Ordinances were revised, all that could touch the King's prerogative was cut out. It was ordered especially that hereafter no baronial committee should dictate laws to the King, but he "should make all laws concerning the estate of the crown or of the realm in Parliament, with the consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and universality of the realm."

Triumph of the Despensers. The two years' truce being now out, the King marched to Scotland, but, like all others of this reign, the expedition came to nothing. No important battle was fought. Want of food compelled the English to return, followed by their indefatigable enemies. So close were they upon their heels, that at a place called Byland, in Blackmoor Forest, Edward was as nearly as possible surprised. So unexpected was the attack, that treason was at once suspected. To the astonishment of all, Sir Andrew Harklay, who had been made Earl of Carlisle for his services at Boroughbridge, was proved, for some unexplained reason, to have been in correspondence with Bruce. For this treason he was executed. Such constant failures became ridiculous, and at length, Edward, acknowledging Bruce's title as King, made a treaty with him for thirteen years.

Peace for thirteen years. It seemed for the moment that Edward's troubles were over. The baronial party was crushed, their intercourse with the Scotch had damaged their reputation; the assumption on their part of the sole power of legislation had produced some reaction. The truce with Scotland had secured Edward from danger from the North. There seemed no reason why he and his favourites should not rule almost as they wished. In fact, however, the crisis of his reign was approaching; dangers surrounded him on every side. That the baronial party was still alive and active was soon made evident by a plot to liberate all the political prisoners. The plot indeed miscarried, but Mortimer found means to make good his escape from the Tower, and, taking refuge in France, became a centre round which disaffection might gather. Want of money, too, was a constant source of danger; while the meagre grants made by Parliament showed how general was the

Dangers surrounding the King.

national feeling against the government of the favourites. Nor was the Church in much better temper than the Barons and the Commons. On more than one occasion the King had quarrelled with the national Church, which found an active, able, and somewhat unscrupulous champion in Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford. This man had been deeply implicated in the baronial movements, had been deprived of his temporalities, and thus became a determined enemy of the King. While quarrelling with the national Church, Edward had shown no vigour in opposing Rome. On two occasions he failed in procuring the election to bishoprics of his nominees, and yielded without a struggle to the authority of the Pope. But submission to Rome had now become a sure way of gaining unpopularity both among clergy and laity. On the death of Boniface VIII., the grandeur and independence of the old Papal system had come to an end, but its constant demands upon the national churches were by no means lessened; and such exactions had become more intolerable now that the ill-gotten wealth which they supplied found its way into the hands of a Pope holding his court at Avignon, a mere creature of the French King: to the old dislike of Papal supremacy there was now added the national dislike of France.

To crown Edward's difficulties, he found himself involved in a dispute with France. In 1322, Charles IV., son of Philip the Fair, had ascended the throne. It at once became evident that he intended to pursue his father's policy. He demanded personal homage from King Edward. His ambassadors could procure nothing but the threat that, unless it was paid, Guienne would be seized. In the little town of Saint Sardos, in the Agenois, a quarrel between the people and their English Seneschal brought the matter before the French King. He summoned Edward before his court. It was clear that the old machinery of feudal supremacy was again to be set in motion. War in fact actually began; the French armies captured Ponthieu and the Agenois. It was in vain that King Edward offered justice to the aggrieved inhabitants of Saint Sardos in his own courts, in vain that he sought the mediation of the Pope. He was himself entirely in the hands of the Despensers; and those noblemen, afraid probably to allow the King to get beyond the reach of their personal influence, used all their power to prevent him from going himself to France. It was at last decided that Queen Isabella, the French King's sister, should go to Paris, and try if she could come to some arrangement. She procured leave for her eldest son Edward to represent his father, and do

Difficulties with France. 1324.

The Queen and Prince in France. 1326.

homage for Guienne. But, when the young Prince reached Paris, he was in no haste to return. In fact, the Queen had fallen in love with Mortimer, and had passed entirely under his influence and that of the other baronial exiles; and under the skilful management of Orleton, Mortimer and his friends were engaged in a great conspiracy. It was in vain that the King perpetually wrote to demand her return. She pleaded personal dread of the Despensers, and complained of the King's ill-usage. For a woman living in adultery with her husband's enemy, such charges are perhaps not worth much; but it does seem probable that as a high-spirited woman she had much to bear from the King's partiality for his favourite, many of whom were men of the lower ranks of life.

The conspiracy was so widespread, and so judiciously managed, that her cause was soon regarded as a national one. Nobles, clergy, and commonalty seem alike to have been in her interest. At the instigation of the Pope, she was obliged to leave Paris, but she took the opportunity of going to Hainault, and there contracting a marriage between her son Edward and the daughter of the Count, and of engaging that Prince to assist her in her enterprise. On

She lands in
England.

the 24th of September she landed with her foreign auxiliaries at the mouth of the Orwell. She was joined by the King's brothers, by his cousin Henry of Lancaster, and by all the nobility of the East. The Archbishop of Canterbury supplied her with money. London rose in her favour. The skilful management of the Bishop of Hereford won her allies on

Her party
gathers strength.

all sides, and the King found it necessary to fly before her advance. Leaving the Earl of Winchester in Bristol, he tried with young Despenser to reach Lundy Isle in the Bristol Channel. The wind prevented him, and he was driven to land in Wales. Bristol was taken by the Queen without a siege, and the

The King is
taken.
1326.

King finally fell into the hands of his pursuers in Wales. He was put into the charge of Henry of Lancaster, brother of the late Earl, at Kenilworth. William Trussel, whom the Queen had made her judge, superintended the trial of the Despensers and their friends, and they were all put to death. In December the Parliament met at Westminster, and swore fealty to the Queen and Prince. The Bishop of Hereford put the question whether Edward or his son should henceforward rule. The assembly

Prince of Wales
made King.

declared for the Prince, who accepted the situation, binding himself to six articles, which seem to represent the complaints against the King, and which laid to his charge, the

rule of favourites, the contempt of good advice, the loss of Scotland, acts of violence against the clergy and the nobles, and the refusal of justice. Isabella pretended to be angry at this act of deposition, but her pretence could deceive nobody. Finally, a deputa-
tion waited upon the unfortunate Edward, and procured
his resignation. He was hurried from fortress to fortress, and before long met a cruel death in Berkeley Castle.

Murder of the
King.

Throughout the baronial efforts of the reign, constitutional views and personal interests had been closely interwoven. The single-minded patriotism of Simon de Montfort

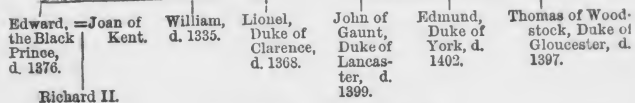
Character of
the opposition.

had been entirely absent. It was the personal ambition of a Prince of the blood, of enormous wealth and influence, which had supplied the baronial party with their first leader. The vindictive feelings of personal dislike had produced an unjustifiable murder of the royal favourite. Success had been followed by an unconstitutional appropriation of all the powers of government. To support their supremacy the Barons had not shrunk from an alliance with their national enemies. To secure a second triumph and revenge they had adopted the cause of an adulterous Queen and her worthless favourite. Yet throughout, the pretence of their action had been the maintenance of the old constitution, and the act which closed the reign was a formal declaration on the part of Parliament of a constitutional right of the nation to depose a sovereign who proved himself unfit for his high position.

EDWARD III.

1327-1377.

Born 1312 = Philippa of Hainault.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain (Castile).</i>
Robert I., 1306.	Charles IV., 1322.	Louis IV., 1314.	Alphonso X., 1312.
David II., 1329.	Phillip VI., 1328.	Charles IV., 1347.	Pedro, 1350.
Robert II., 1370.	John, 1350.		Henry II., 1368.
	Charles V., 1364.		

POPES.—John XXII., 1316. Benedict XII., 1334. Clement VI., 1342. Innocent VI., 1312. Urban V., 1362. Gregory XI., 1370.

Archbishops.

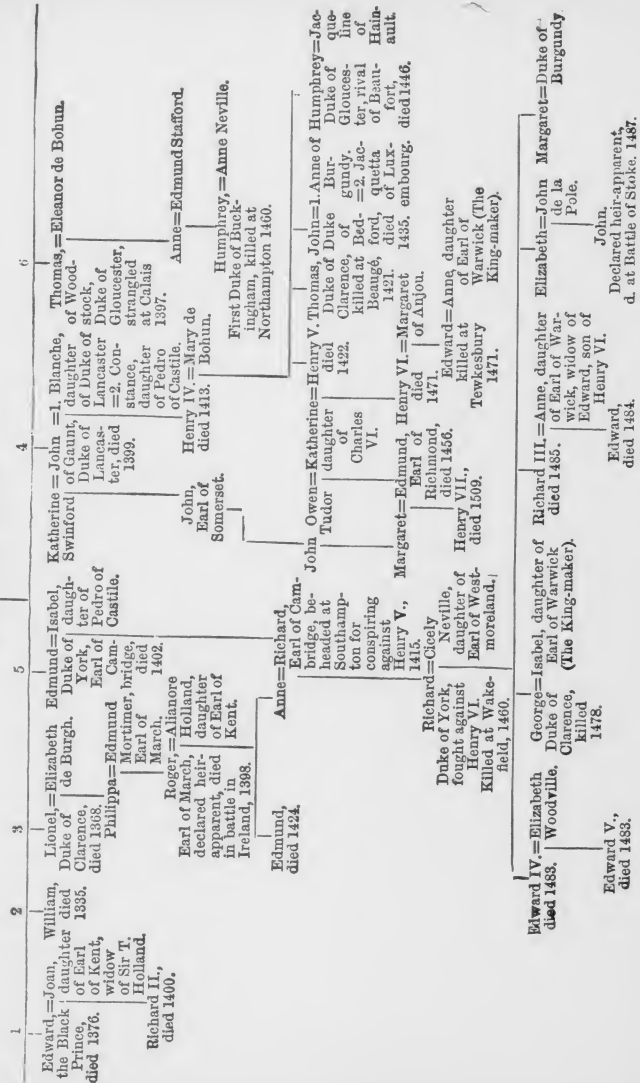
Simon Mepeham, 1328.
John of Stratford, 1333.
Thomas Bradwardine, 1349.
Simon Islip, 1349.
Simon Langham, 1366.
William Whittlesey, 1368.
Simon Sudbury, 1375.

Chancellors.

Henry of Burghersh, 1327.	Robert of Sadnynton, 1343.
John of Stratford, 1330.	John of Offord, 1345.
Richard of Bury, 1334.	John of Thoresby, 1348.
John of Stratford, 1335.	William of Edington, 1356.
Robert of Stratford, 1337.	Simon Langham, 1363.
Richard Bynetworth, 1338.	William of Wykeham, 1367.
John of Stratford, 1340.	Sir Robert Thorpe, 1371.
Robert of Stratford, 1340.	Sir John Knyvet, 1372.
Sir Robert Bourchier, 1340.	Adam Houghton, 1377.
Sir Robert Parnyng, 1341.	

AS the conquest of England by Queen Isabella and Mortimer had been ostensibly undertaken for purposes of reform in the government, and freedom from the influence of favourites, the first measures taken were such as might befit a reforming party. The charters of liberty were solemnly renewed, and the removal of the more obvious abuses promised, the judgment against Lancaster and his friends was reversed, and the government nominally placed in the hands of a

EDWARD III., died 1377.



council of regency, formed of four Bishops, four Earls, and six Barons. Nevertheless, the real power remained in the hands of Mortimer; to him and to the Queen a considerable portion of the royal revenues were diverted, and before long all trace of reform had disappeared,

Mortimer's misgovernment. and Mortimer, forgetful of the pretext which had secured him his position, and of the fate of his predecessors, became to all intents and purposes himself a favourite, giving to that word the meaning which best describes it, an irresponsible and all-powerful minister. He even surrounded himself, we are told, with a guard of 180 knights, and altogether adopted an ostentatious bearing which could not but create enemies; at the same time his connection with the Queen excited the displeasure of all respectable men.

His early government was rudely interrupted by an invasion from Scotland. The truce was not yet expired, but the opportunity was too good to be lost. To the English the renewal of war

Fruitless campaign against Scotland. was distasteful, and measures were taken to avoid it.

A meeting was arranged with the Scotch King, but the conclusion was so evidently foregone, that Robert summoned his army to assemble on the very day appointed for the meeting, and while the negotiations were still going on, the Scotch crossed the borders in force. The campaign against them was not successful. More used than the English to rapid movements, capable of living upon much less, and able to supply themselves with that little from an enemy's country, the Scotch constantly avoided a great battle. Twice was Edward deceived by a simple stratagem of the Scotch, who left the watchfires burning, while they secretly decamped, and he was finally obliged to close the campaign without a battle. It became necessary for Mortimer and Edward to treat, and the Queen offered her daughter Jane as the price of peace. In March 1328, that peace was concluded; Robert's son, David, was to marry Jane; the English were to use their best endeavours to have the ecclesiastical

Peace. censures which hung over Bruce removed, and on the payment of £20,000, promised to give up all claims upon the Scotch crown, and to acknowledge Bruce as king.

Though the English nobles had long disliked the Scotch war, and had at all events made use of their pretended dislike as a weapon of opposition to the government, they now, with true party spirit, and moved probably more by dislike to Mortimer than by any patriotic feeling, declared themselves horrified at the disgraceful treaty, and held aloof from the Parliament which ratified it. Dislike to the government was in truth growing to a head. Associations were

formed to uphold the ordinances of the last reign. At length, at a Parliament called at Salisbury, to be present at the creation of new peers—when Mortimer was made Earl of March; Prince John, Earl of Cornwall; and James Butler, Earl of Ormond—Prince Henry of Lancaster, the brother and successor of Earl Thomas, and other malcontents, refused to appear. Shortly afterwards it was heard that they were in arms at Winchester. The King's uncles, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, had hitherto supported Lancaster, but as Mortimer drew near with his army, they suddenly deserted him. This caused the failure of the insurrection, and Lancaster and his friends were obliged to submit to hard terms, purchasing their freedom with half their incomes, and the pledge that they would no longer oppose the government.

It is not to be supposed that this ineffectual insurrection put an end to the discontent. During the whole of the following year, while Edward was absent in France, rumours began to prevail that the old King was still alive, and in the Spring Parliament of 1330, the country was astonished by the sudden apprehension of Edmund, Earl of Kent, the King's uncle. He and many other nobles, among others the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London, had undoubtedly joined in a conspiracy nominally for the restoration of the late King. The examinations made it evident that this insurrection had been fomented by the agents of Mortimer, and that Kent had fallen a victim to their machinations. He confessed his complicity in the scheme, and was beheaded. Mortimer doubtless was glad of the opportunity of thus weakening the party of his enemies. Among the petitions of the Commons in the first Parliament of the reign was one against the exactions of the royal Princes; this renders it probable that they had taken upon themselves to exact purveyance, and Mortimer might rely upon the popular feeling being with him in this act of violence.

But a more important enemy now made his appearance. Edward, who had been married to Philippa of Hainault in 1328, had now a son, afterwards the Black Prince, and therefore could not but feel that he had reached man's estate. He was weary of the domination of Mortimer, and could hardly have looked with favour on the man who had killed his father and his uncle, and was now living in adultery with his mother. He determined to assume the reins of government, and, in alliance with the Barons, suddenly seized Mortimer during the sittings of the

Conspiracy and death of Kent. 1330.

Edward overthrows Mortimer.

Parliament at Nottingham, and procured his speedy trial and execution. To the Queen he acted firmly but mercifully; he allowed her £3000 a year; he subsequently even increased this income, and during her lifetime paid her a yearly visit of ceremony, but he refused to allow her any influence in the government, and she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in privacy at Risings Castle.

The young King was satisfied with the vengeance he had taken, and proceeded by acts of leniency to heal party feeling, restoring the forfeited inheritances to the sons of those who had lately suffered, and extending his kindness to the wives even of Mortimer, and Gournay his father's murderer. He made common cause with those nobles who had hitherto been discontented. Henry of Lancaster became a prominent member of his council; the great seal was placed in the hands of John of Stratford, the author of the bill of deposition in the last reign.

Edward's attention was almost immediately drawn to Scotland. Robert Bruce had died in 1329, leaving his son David still a child, so that the government fell into the hands of a succession of regents. Scotland had been so closely connected with England, that many barons held property in both kingdoms. During the war of independence, these properties had naturally been confiscated on both sides. At the peace of 1328 they should have been restored. On the part of Scotland this was not done. The party of Balliol and of Comyn was by no means extinct, and the disinherited lords gathered round Edward Balliol, the son of John, who thus became the head of a formidable body of men, whose interests were strongly opposed to the government of the Bruces. They suddenly determined on an expedition to restore if possible Balliol to the throne. Sailing from Ravenspur in Yorkshire, Balliol and his friends landed at the mouth of the Tay, defeated, with much loss, the Regent at the battle of Duplin, pushed onwards towards Perth, and, while his English ships annihilated the Scottish squadron in the river, was crowned at Scone; thus in seven weeks from the time he left England he had apparently secured the crown. His repulse was almost as rapid as his success. In three months the friends of Bruce had rallied, and Balliol, unable to make head against them, had been driven from the country.

Edward, while ostensibly discountenancing Balliol's movement in England, had, in truth, determined to make use of his success; and a treaty was arranged between them, by which Balliol promised to own the supremacy of England

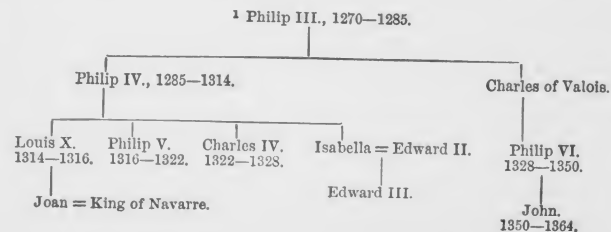
Edward's healing measures.

Balliol invades Scotland.

Edward supports him.

and to give up Berwick, while the two kings were mutually to defend each other against all enemies. He made a show of deferring the question first to Parliament, and upon failing to obtain an answer, to the judgment of the Pope and the French King. But there were seldom wanting excuses for a war with Scotland. Border disturbances speedily arose, and in 1333, acknowledging the treaties he had made, he advanced to the siege of Berwick. Archibald Douglas, the then Regent, came with an army to relieve this important fortress. To oppose him the English had taken up a strong position to the west of their lines upon Halidon Hill. A swampy ground was before them, and as the Scotch knights fell into disorder in the marsh, the English archers "made their arrows flee as thick as motes on the sunne-beme." It was in vain that the nobility bravely attempted to storm the hill. They were defeated with fearful loss, the Regent, four Earls, the prime of their nobility, and 30,000 common soldiers fell upon the field. On the following day Berwick opened its gates. Balliol proceeded to take possession of the kingdom; fortress after fortress fell; the young King David was taken to the Court of Philip VI. of France, and found refuge in Chateau Gaillard in Normandy. As the price of his assistance Edward received the oath of fealty from the Scotch, and the part of Scotland to the east of Dumfries and Linlithgow. As long as Edward was not otherwise employed, Balliol remained upon his throne; but events soon occurred abroad which called the English King away, and Balliol was again driven from his kingdom.

As early as 1329, on the death of Charles the Fair, the third and last of the sons of Philip IV., Edward, the son of the daughter of that King, laid claim to the French throne.¹ His rival was Philip of Valois, the son of Charles of Valois, Philip IV.'s brother, and, granting the existence of the Salic law, the undoubted heir; for all the three



Siege of Berwick and battle of Halidon Hill. 1333.

Submission of Scotland. 1334.

last kings had died without male issue. Edward's claims then rested upon three principles; females were excluded from the French throne, or Joan, Queen of Navarre, daughter of Louis X., would have succeeded. The male issue of such females were not excluded; but, thirdly, they must be born during the lifetime of their grandfather, or else the children of the daughters of the three last kings would have a better claim than he had. The question had been properly tried by the Peers of France, and Philip of Valois had been declared King, and in 1331 Edward had himself done homage to him for Guienne. There was however a standing quarrel with regard to certain towns of the Agenois which Charles IV.

Philip helps the Scotch. had conquered. These, Edward understood, were to be restored to him, while Philip VI. declined to surrender them. This quarrel might perhaps have been passed over, but the reception of David on his flight from Scotland, and the assistance which Philip gave to the party opposed to Balliol, by degrees rendered war inevitable; and when once this became obvious, it was clearly good policy on the part of Edward to make his claims as

Claims consequently produced. 1337.

national as possible, and instead of trusting to such secondary causes of hostility as were afforded by Philip's refusal to surrender a few unimportant towns in a distant dependency, or his intrigues for the restoration of the Bruce dynasty, he at once, with the consent of Parliament, asserted his claim to the French throne.

There was at present in England a Frenchman whose influence is said to have had much to do with determining Edward to this step. This was Robert of Artois. On the death of his grandfather a dispute had arisen as to the succession of the country. The fief did not follow the ordinary feudal custom, but fell to the nearest of blood. Matilda, the daughter of the late Count, therefore succeeded in preference to her nephew Robert. Philip V. had married her daughter, and during his lifetime and that of his two brothers, Robert had been compelled to be content, but on the accession of Philip of Valois he demanded restitution. During the trial which ensued he produced as evidence charters which were proved to be forgeries, and in 1337 took refuge in England, where Edward adopted his cause, and used him as a sort of set-off to David Bruce, whose cause the French King had taken up. The great war with France was a distinct breach in the policy of Edward I. But the present King was not the great statesman his grandfather had been. A false chivalry had gradually been taking the place of the old feudal sentiment, and Edward was

open to be moved both by the impulses of a spurious knight-errantry and by personal motives of ambition and passion. When once engaged in the war, however, he acted both energetically and prudently. His marriage with Philippa of Hainault, and the close commercial interdependence of England and the countries on the North-east of France, gave him an opening which he eagerly employed. He entered into alliances with the Princes of that neighbourhood, with Brabant, Gueldres, Juliers and Cologne. In Flanders, where the great mercantile cities were at enmity with their count, who was on his side supported by the French influence, he allied himself heartily with James Van Artevelt, the Brewer of Ghent, the acknowledged chief of the burgher party. He took advantage also of the fierce dispute at that time raging between the Emperor Louis of Bavaria and the Pope, who was a mere creature of the French crown, to secure not only the Emperor's friendship but the title of Imperial Vicar. This title gave something of a national character to that alliance of German Princes which he had arranged. But all these alliances, though they promised so fair, were both expensive and hollow. In every case they assumed the form of subsidies, the foreigners promising to supply troops in exchange for English money. On the other hand, Philip, although unable to take actual possession, took seisin of Guienne, that is, he sent an officer to each of the great towns, and declared that he had taken possession of it. He had also, as was natural in the disturbed state of Germany, found some friends in that country.

Edward had set himself right in the eyes of his people by a public declaration of the state of affairs; and relying on the good feeling thus established, and on the favour of the mercantile classes, whose interests he had forwarded by his efforts, though often mistaken ones, to improve the growth and manufacture of wool, he proceeded to raise taxes with an unsparing hand. Not content with the subsidies granted him, he laid tallages on the towns, collected forced loans, induced Parliament to grant him half of the last wool crop, even seized large quantities of wool for which he promised to pay in the course of two years, and laid an extra tax of 40s. the sack on the cost of exportation. He thus obtained abundant money for his present need, although he found he had gone rather too far, when, in the following year, Parliament petitioned for the removal of the "Maletolte," or additional wool tax.

In 1338 he landed with a large army in Flanders, where the people who had lately driven away their count, and were anxious to secure

Edward's claims on France.

Edward's alliances on the North-east. 1338.

Is made Imperial Vicar.

Great taxation.

for their cities the monopoly of the English wool trade, received him gladly. But all his efforts came to nothing. He could not bring the French King to an engagement, and shortly became aware of the instability of his foreign allies; in spite of his title as Imperial Vicar they were little inclined to follow him, and speedily found pretexts to desert him. He had to retire to Flanders, but by no means lowered his tone.

He lands in Flanders.
1338.
Deserted by his allies. Returns to England.
1340.

On the contrary, at the instigation of the people there, he now first took on himself the title of King of France. But he had now to return to England to collect fresh supplies. These were granted him freely, the Parliament giving him the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, and the ninth sheaf. His back was no sooner turned than Philip began to attack Flanders, and with the aid of the Genoese collected a considerable fleet to prevent his return. On the 24th of

Returns and wins battle of Sluys.

June, the English fleet, with Edward on board, found the French at Sluys, where a great sea-fight took place, ending in the complete destruction of the French. They had fought in three lines, connected by chains, imitating as far as possible a land army. The English, after a little manœuvring, had fallen upon them thus huddled together, had thrown them into inextricable confusion, and driven many of the crews in their terror to seek refuge by leaping overboard. So great was the disaster, that none but the jester durst inform Philip of it. "What cowards those English are," said he, "they had not the courage all to jump overboard as the French did." In spite of this glorious beginning of the

Fruitless expedition to Tournay.

campaign, the year was as unfruitful as the last; simultaneous advances on St. Omer and Tournay both proved failures. Philip, who had been intriguing with the English allies, knew better than to come to a fight, and Edward was not sorry to conclude a truce at the instigation of Jane of Hainault, the sister of Philip. This truce, signed at Esplechin in September, was to last till the following midsummer, and comprehended the allies of both parties.

Edward's position was most irritating; his allies were deserting him; in spite of his stringent exactions, his finances were exhausted; he was so deeply in debt that the Flemings, who regarded his presence as a security against France, kept him as it were in pledge. He could not bring himself to believe in such complete failure of his hopes. He was easily led to listen to evil counsellors, who whispered to him that his ministers at home were defrauding him in the matter of the taxes. Suddenly, he set sail with a few of his most trusted

friends, leaving behind him some nobles in pledge to his creditors, and arrived in London in the dead of the night of the 30th of November. He immediately displaced his ministry, his Chancellor, his Treasurer, the Master of the Rolls, and imprisoned several of the judges and officers of the Exchequer. On the bishops he could not lay hands; they claimed the privileges of their order. However, commissions of inquiry were issued to find charges against the late government, new sheriffs were appointed, and, apparently in mistrust of clerical influence, Robert de Bouchier was appointed chancellor.

Sudden visit to England and displacement of ministry.

As had happened so frequently before in English history, the champion of liberty was found in the ranks of the Church. The President of the Council, John of Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, retired to his See, and thence wrote to Edward at length, refusing to answer to the charges brought against him, except before his peers in Parliament. At the same time he warned the King to remember his father's fate, and begged him not to act as he was now doing against the Charter. He wrote also to the new officials, declaring that the late grants had been given under conditions which must not be broken, that they were to be collected only from those represented in Parliament, and not from the clergy who were not represented there, at the same time threatening with excommunication all who should disturb the peace of Church and State. In vain the King threatened; his want of money compelled him to summon a Parliament (April 23). An attempt was still made to exclude the Bishops. Whenever they appeared they were refused admittance to the Parliament, and directed to the Exchequer Chamber. At length the baronage grew thoroughly angry, and the King was compelled to admit the Archbishop, but at the same time left the House in anger, and betook himself to the Commons. The Peers were firm in their demand that no Peer should be tried except by his peers in Parliament. At last the King yielded. All the Estates joined in begging him to admit Stratford to his favour, and promising him

Dispute with Stratford.
1341.

Edward yields.

in exchange for this submission assistance in his necessities. Large help was granted, and the rights claimed thrown into the form of a statute, securing the privilege of the peerage, the immunity of the clergy from the exactions of temporal officials, and ordering that at the beginning of each Parliament the great officers should temporarily resign their offices, to give time for an examination of their conduct. In October, the King having secured his grants, thought

fit to revoke the statute, and was not ashamed to avow that he had "wilfully dissembled as he ought" to avoid the dangers which threatened him. The statute was cancelled in 1343, but the privileges then granted were not questioned.

As arranged, the truce with France continued till midsummer 1342. During that time Edward found that his German allies had completely left him, and that even Louis of Bavaria had been won over to Philip. This change in the Emperor's policy was caused by a wish to obtain Philip's mediation with his enemy the Pope. He excused it by urging that the treaty of Esplechin had been made without his consent. Thus left without allies, and impoverished by his late subsidies, which indeed, in the absence of money, he had in some instances been obliged to pay in raw wool, Edward might have been content to leave France alone, had he not obtained a new footing in Brittany. The war there was again a war of succession. John III. of Brittany had three brothers, Guy, Peter, and John Earl of Montfort. Guy and Peter died before their brother the Duke. Guy had a daughter, Jane, who as heir of the duchy had married Charles of Blois, the French King's nephew. But upon the death of John, his sole surviving brother, John Earl of Montfort claimed the duchy, and did homage to Edward as King of France. The Peers of France adjudged the duchy to Charles of Blois, and the two kings armed in favour of their respective allies. Charles was at first successful, and took John of Montfort prisoner. The war was, however, carried on with enthusiasm by his wife, Jane of Flanders. She had the good wishes of the people, and held out during the winter in the fortress of Hennebone. She was almost reduced by famine, when the arrival of Sir Walter Manny, who was followed later in the year by Edward himself, raised the siege. But the country now became the battleground between England and France. Edward on the one hand, and the French King's eldest son on the other, entered the duchy, but so little was effected, that at the end of the year a truce for three years and eight months was entered into, the matters at issue being referred to the Pope.

It is somewhat surprising to see how constantly the judgment of the Papal See is appealed to, even more frequently than in earlier times, when its authority was of greater weight. No doubt the spiritual position of the Popes had constantly been used as a means of interference in secular questions, and by mere force of encroachment the Pontiff had come to be regarded

Loss of all
his allies.
1342.

New opening
in Brittany.

The Pope's position
as Arbiter
of Europe.

as the natural arbiter of Europe. But behind this there lay a more real ground for the exercise of the Papal authority. The Papal Curia had in fact inherited a certain portion of the powers and duties of the Roman Empire. During the vigour of Imperial institutions difficulties arising between various states included within the limits of the Empire were settled by the Emperor, who thus became the guardian of international law. When the Empire lost its universal character, and the German Kaiser (whatever vague notions of universal power may have hung about his title) became practically the sovereign only of a part of Europe, he lost the power of enforcing his decisions in the case of quarrels between Princes, who were in fact his equals. National quarrels must therefore have been settled by the sword alone, had not the Court of Rome, still claiming universality, still supplying trained lawyers and adequate courts, afforded an opportunity for continuing in some degree the system of international arbitration. The natural inclination of a spiritual power towards peace rendered still more easy this transfer to the Papacy of the guardianship of the international relations of Europe. The thirteenth century had been remarkable for its systematizing character. Powers, acknowledged by common practice and consent but not reduced to system, began to be defined; and as Edward I. in England and Philip IV. in France had brought into fixed and legal shape the lax constitutions of their several kingdoms, so Boniface VIII. had attempted to render Rome a formal court of appeal in all questions of international law. It was thus that we find Wallace and the guardians of Scotland appealing to Rome in their quarrel, and the Pope asserting his supremacy over the Scotch kingdom at the close of the reign of Edward I., and thus that we constantly find the Kings of Europe appealing to the decision of the Papal Curia.

But although the Papal See thus comes constantly forward as mediator in the quarrels of princes, and though cardinals were repeatedly charged with missions of peace in all directions, since the French had caused the overthrow of Boniface VIII. it had no longer its old influence or its old character. Seated at Avignon, the Pope was completely in the hands of the French King; while the rising spirit of freedom, the abuse of crusades which had been frequently employed against Christian princes, and the infinite exactions invented by the papal lawyers, had roused the temper of the people against him. The English Parliament, therefore, was doing a less difficult thing than the Parliament of Lincoln in Edward I.'s reign,

Mediation of the
Pope offered.
1343.

Decay of Papal
influence.

when it insisted that the mediation specified in the treaty should be regarded only as that of a private man, without special authority or sanctity, and coupled even that modified acceptance of the offer with a strong protest against provisors. Having thus protested against the Pope, not without covert allusion to the King's own connection with him, the people made grants, which were terribly wanted to save the King from his impoverished condition. The great Italian house of the Bardi was ruined by the great advances it made to him; the German merchants of the Steelyard, the only corporation of German merchants in London, had got a grant of much of the taxes; the subsidies, as we have seen, had been paid in raw wool, seized at the rate of £6 the sack, and sold at £20; the main point of Bishop Stratford's defence had been that the enormous interest on the royal loans swallowed up at once all the money that was collected. But for the timely and liberal grants of the people the government must apparently have stopped. Meanwhile, the Pope was preparing his decision; but it was impossible to expect an honest verdict from him, and though, by the treaty, Philip should have restored his prisoners, he still kept De Montfort and others in prison.

Mediation fails.

It was plain that the war would soon be renewed. The Parliament in the year 1344 made their grants on the express understanding that this was the case, and that Scotland was waiting to join in the quarrel. In 1345 the expected event took place. The close connection between England and Artevelt has been mentioned. It was of the last importance to the Flemings that England should help them against their Count, and supply their looms with wool. Artevelt now offered to make the Prince of Wales Count of Flanders; and in all probability the attack upon France would have been in the old direction, had not a quarrel between the weavers and the fullers in the Flemish towns produced the murder of their great leader. It was in Gascony that the war actually broke out. Thither the Earl of Derby,¹ the son of Henry of Lancaster, had been sent, and he had there won a great victory over the French at Auberoche. He was soon, however, hard pressed by Philip's eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, and driven to stand a siege in the fortress of Aiguillon, on the Garonne. Meanwhile, a great fleet and army had been collected, apparently for the purpose of relieving them. But while sailing down the Channel Edward sud-

Mediation accepted conditionally.

The King's commercial difficulties.

War breaks out again.
1346.

Derby hard pressed in Guienne.

¹ Made Duke of Lancaster in 1350.

denly changed his course, it is believed on the advice of Geoffrey of Harcourt, a French refugee, and landed at La Hogue in Normandy. His object was to draw the Duke of Normandy northward, and thus to relieve Derby, while he himself marched through France into Flanders, and joined his Flemish allies, who had already crossed the French frontiers. But in executing this manœuvre, Edward found all the bridges over the Seine broken, and the French King in force upon the other side, evidently desirous of hemming him in between his own army and that of his son advancing from the south. It was in vain that Edward pushed even to the suburbs of Paris, Philip would not be provoked to break his plan of the campaign. It became absolutely necessary for Edward to cross the river. A rapid feint upon Paris left the broken bridge of Poissy open. Edward hurried back, mended the bridge, and the river was passed.

Edward to relieve him lands in Normandy.

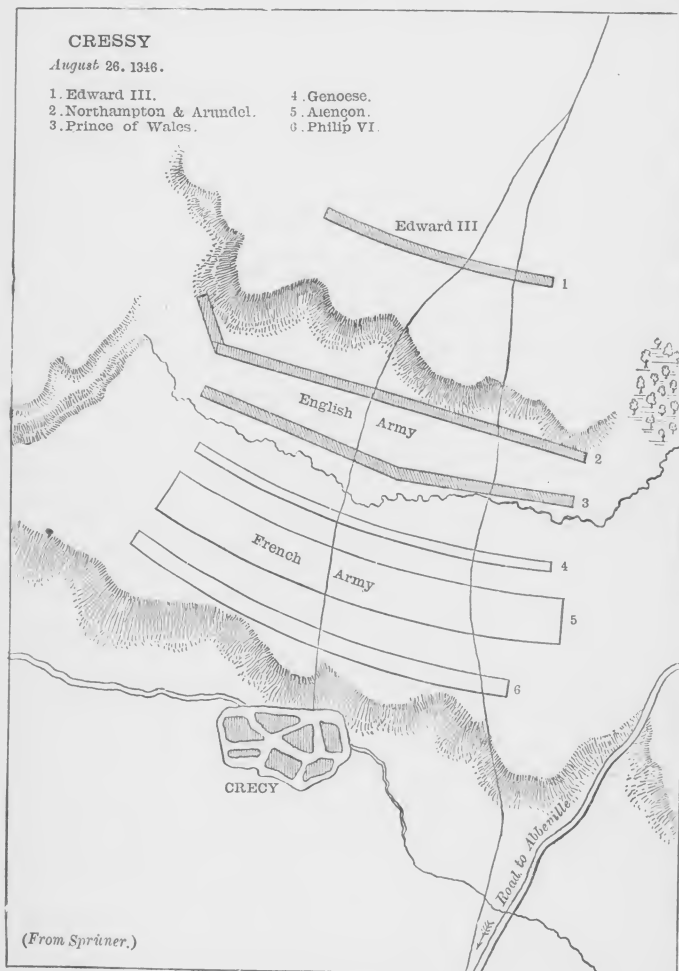
Marches towards Calais.

The tables were now turned. It was the French King who wanted, Edward who avoided, battle. He pushed on, destroying the country as he went, till a fresh obstacle met him at the Somme. With Philip and his vastly superior army immediately in his rear, his position became critical. A peasant was induced to show him the ford of Blanchetaque, near Abbeville, where the river could be crossed. Even that ford was strongly defended, and only won after a sharp skirmish in the midst of the water. The returning tide checked the pursuit of the French, and enabled Edward, who had at length determined to bring matters to a decisive issue, to choose his ground in the neighbourhood of Cressy.¹ There was fought the first of that great series of battles, in which the small armies of the English showed themselves superior to overwhelming numbers of French.

The cause of this superiority lay partly in the skill of the English archers, but still more in the practised discipline of regular volunteer soldiers, when opposed to an army still formed upon the feudal model. The wars with the Scotch had taught the English a lesson they had not been slow to learn. Edward I. had been a soldier of the old school; the strength of his armies had always consisted in the heavy armed cavalry, in which man and horse had been laden with defensive armour to the utmost limits of their capacity; the infantry had been entirely a secondary consideration. But Wallace had proved at Cambuskenneth, and (even though defeated) at Falkirk, the power of

Change in the character of the army.

¹ He alleged as his reason that he was now on his own lawful ground, in right of his mother.



resistance which relies in firmly arranged bodies of infantry. Bruce at Bannockburn had shown still more plainly the weakness of heavy cavalry upon ground not exactly suited for their particular form of fighting. Edward III's chief claim to greatness as a soldier rests on the readiness and skill with which he adopted the idea supplied him by Bruce and Wallace. The difficulties of keeping together a feudal array during a lengthened foreign campaign, the comparative cheapness of an equipment of foot-soldiers, the increasing number of free-men not employed upon the soil, were all likewise inducements to change the character of the army. The cavalry employed in the French wars was insignificant in comparison to the infantry. The midland counties supplied the army with archers, Wales with ordinary infantry. This change in the army, itself in part the fruit of social growth, reacted on society. Regular hired troops required trained commanders; and there thus grew up a class of professional soldiers, whose existence dealt a heavy blow to the hitherto unquestioned superiority of the feudal leaders.

The hired army of the English, and the professional soldiers who commanded them, formed a far more efficient body of troops than was supplied by the feudal levies and noble leaders of the French. The English were arranged in three divisions, the foremost of which was nominally commanded by the Prince of Wales. From the summit of the hill, Edward had a general survey of the field. As usual, the archers began the battle; their flights of arrows threw the Genoese crossbow-men, to whom they were opposed, into confusion. The confusion once begun, the very numbers of the French did but add to it. The Duke of Alençon, and the Count of Flanders, with their followers, cut their way through their own troops before they could reach the English men-at-arms. While these successfully held their ground, the remaining masses of the French were decimated by the English arrows, nor could any sufficient support be given to Alençon. At length, as night closed in, Philip left the field, and the further disconnected efforts of individual French commanders were useless. The English could hardly believe their good fortune, and Edward, fearing a return of their enemies, kept them under arms during the night. The loss of the French was enormous; the heralds appointed to examine the field reported the death of eleven princes, 1200 knights, and 30,000 of inferior rank. The English had killed considerably more than their own numbers; but their little army was quite insufficient to advance into France, and Edward, following his original plan, marched on to the siege of Calais.

The battle was on the 26th of August. Already some days before, Lionel of Clarence, who had been left in command of England, had summoned troops for the defence of the Scotch border; and Philip now wrote strongly to David, begging him to make a diversion. David was not sorry to answer to the call. Cumberland was overrun, and the Bishopric of Durham; but the English levies, inspired by the courageous language of the Queen, and under the joint command of the Percies and Nevilles, defeated him completely at Neville's Cross, David himself being taken prisoner. The battle of Cressy had relieved the Earl of Derby, who was again overrunning the south-west of France. The year closed in triumph for the English arms in all directions.

Battle of
Neville's Cross.
Oct. 17.

This year of success was shortly crowned by the fall of Calais. Edward had attacked that city by way of blockade, shutting his army round it, and guarding the approaches by the sea with his ships. All the efforts of the French King to relieve it had been useless, and the slow process of famine at length obliged its defenders to surrender. The inhabitants had not been free from the usual crime of seafaring life at that time—they were the rivals in piracy of the Cinque Ports and St. Malo. They had but little mercy to expect from the King. Eustace de St. Pierre, an important citizen, offered to give himself up, with a certain number of friends, to bear the first brunt of the King's anger, hoping thereby to save his fellow-citizens. Barefooted and bareheaded, with ropes round their necks, Eustace, with his devoted friends, appeared before the King. Irritated with the long defence of the town, and their former misdeeds, Edward would hear of no mercy; it was only at the urgent prayer of Queen Philippa that the lives of the deputation were spared. The advantages of the possession of Calais were obvious. It afforded an excellent entrance into France in the immediate neighbourhood of the King's Flemish allies, and supplied him also with a good central mart for the national commerce, which in the existing state of trade was a thing much desired. The inhabitants were therefore given their choice of being French or English; those who refused to become English were expelled, and their places occupied by English colonists, and the whole "staple" trade of England was for a certain number of years confined to this town, which accordingly became prosperous.

It is somewhat strange to observe the smallness of the effect of the late great victories. Edward seemed no nearer his objects than

¹ See page 257.

before he had won them. The exhaustion of his own kingdom was almost equal to that of France, and shortly after the fall of Calais, a truce was made for a few months, and afterwards from time to time extended. One cause, no doubt, of the general quietness which prevailed at this time in Europe was the presence of the Black Death, a terrible scourge, which, after passing over Europe, reached England in 1349. Its ravages were fearful. It is calculated that at least a third, if not a half, of the whole population of England was swept away. Such calculations are based partly upon the mortality among the clergy: more than one half of the priests in Yorkshire died, more than two-thirds of the beneficed clergy of Norfolk. In Norwich alone 60,000 people are said to have perished. So fearful a plague unavoidably changed the whole relation between employer and employed, and while famine was threatening the country, while farms could no longer be worked or harvests gathered for want of hands, there was a natural disinclination to continue the war.

Truce.

The Black Death,
1349.

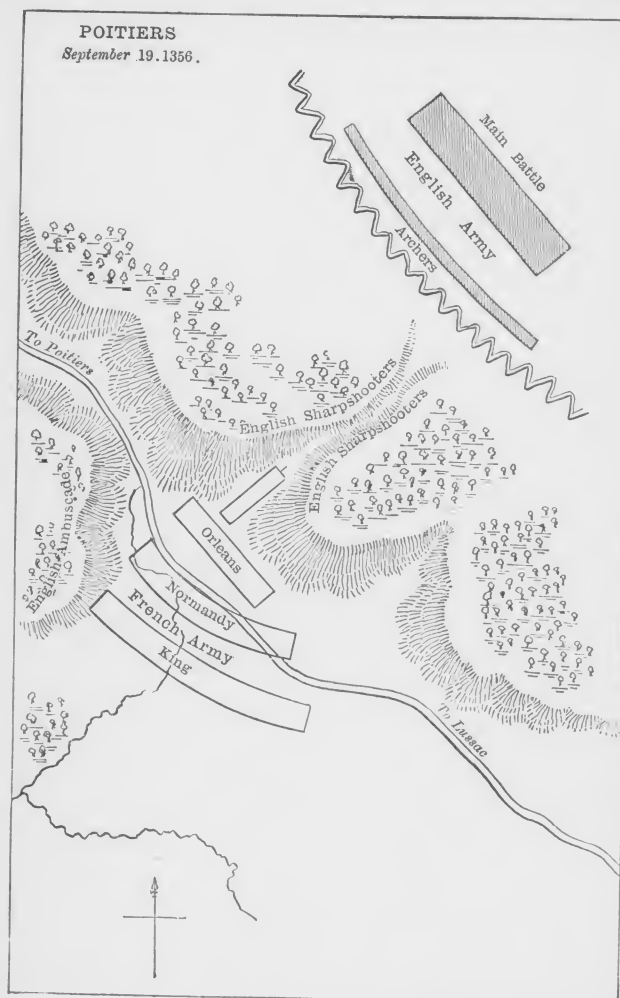
It was not, therefore, till the year 1355 that the war was renewed. Meanwhile, Philip of Valois had died, and been succeeded by his son John, and at the instigation of the Pope, following his usual pacific course, in 1354, a treaty had been set on foot. Edward, regarding his claim to the French throne as hopeless, was willing to accept a peace, if the French King would give him the province of Aquitaine in full sovereignty. English plenipotentiaries appeared at Guisnes ready to conclude the treaty, but the French envoys then declared that they would never surrender a fragment of the French sovereignty.

Renewal of
the war.
1355.

Edward had no choice, therefore, but to renew the war. He now possessed two points whence an attack on France was easy; while he pushed out from Calais, the Black Prince was to lead an army from Bordeaux. As so often happened upon the northern frontier, the operations were without fruit; and the King was hastily recalled to England by the news that the Scots had surprised Berwick, and were over the Borders. The Black Prince's expedition was more successful. He marched at the foot of the Pyrenees, and all through Languedoc to Narbonne, and to Carcassonne, plundering and burning in all directions, destroying in seven weeks more than five hundred towns or villages. Such brutal and destructive war had indeed become habitual to the English.

Destructive
march of the
Black Prince.
1355.

The King's return checked the advance of the Scots. Purchasing the property and rights of Edward Balliol, he advanced into the



country, determined to treat it as a land of rebels. He systematically destroyed every building, and laid waste the country for twenty miles from the coast. But his severity was of no avail; famine again drove him home, and the Scots again hung upon his retreating forces. The following year the Black Prince attempted a repetition of his last exploit. But he now pressed northwards, and had reached the neighbourhood of Poitiers, when the news that a large French army was near forced upon him the danger of his situation, thus wholly separated from his base of operations. The army which threatened him was commanded by King John in person, and all the French princes were with him. So irresistible did it seem, that Edward would have listened to any good terms, but John would hear of nothing but unconditional surrender, and the English, remembering their success at Cressy, determined to fight. Again, what was regarded as their extraordinary good fortune, but which was no doubt their superior organization, secured them complete victory. On a piece of ground difficult of access, except by a narrow road exposed to the fire of the archers, and covered by enclosed country, the hedges of which were lined by the same class of troops, he awaited the assault of the French. The consequences can be easily conceived. The heavy armed Frenchmen in the road formed a target for the arrows; the confined space encumbered with wounded men and horses made the confusion irremediable. The first body of the French being thus disposed of, the Black Prince with his men-at-arms attacked the second, while the third, alarmed by a flank attack of six hundred English horse whom the Prince had detached for that purpose, left the field. Between the Prince and the second body of the French the conflict was a fierce one. It eventually terminated in the complete victory of the English, and the capture of King John.

This victory was followed by a truce for two years, and Edward had time to attend more particularly to the state of his affairs with regard to Scotland. King David had been a prisoner, honourably treated, in England since his capture at the battle of Neville's Cross. More than once the national party in his country had attempted to come to terms for his release. His character, however, was not such as to induce them to be eager on the matter; and he himself seems to have preferred the comfort of England to the position of King among his unruly subjects. He had been so obsequious, that he had twice during these ten years visited Scotland as Edward's agent, for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, the submission of those who

were contending for his throne. But the Stewart, who was the head of the national party, refused the recognition of English supremacy, and no terms could be arrived at. In 1354 Edward thought he had gained the success of his plan. David was to be released for 90,000 marks. As we have seen, the intervention of the French, followed by the fearful vengeance of Edward in that expedition which is known as the Burnt Candlemas, put an end to this treaty. Now, when all hope of help from France was gone, they renewed their negotiation, and David was at length released upon the promise of 100,000 marks, in ten yearly payments, a promise confirmed by the delivery of important hostages. Edward knew that he was really releasing a willing subject, and that it was probable that the failure of payment, or the party quarrels of the country, would before long put the kingdom into his hands.

He was, at all events, free to act against France. On the capture of its King, that country had fallen into the wildest disorder. The Free Companies, as the hired bodies of soldiery were called, from which both armies had been recruited, freed from their engagements, pillaged the helpless country. In their misery the lower commonalty broke out in fierce insurrections. The people of Paris, under the Provost of the Merchants, Stephen Marcel, enacted those scenes of revolution with which that city has been too often familiar. Wearing the red cap of liberty, the mob burst into the palace, killed two of the Dauphin's most trusted counsellors before his eyes, and drove that Prince to Compiègne. Charles of Navarre, grandson of Louis X., who was surnamed the Bad, broke from the prison in which he had been confined, made common cause with the Parisian mob, roused his tenants in Normandy, where he had much property, to insurrection, and called in the English King. What with the Jacquerie,¹ the fierce plunderings of the soldiery, the attacks of England, and the riot in Paris, the condition of France was in the last degree terrible. However, the murder of Stephen Marcel in Paris, and the success of the Dauphin in compelling Charles the Bad to enter into treaty with him, somewhat changed the aspect of affairs. Nor would the Dauphin consent to yield any part of France to his English conquerors.

Thus the time of truce wore away in useless negotiations. As it ended, Edward renewed his invasions. Sir Walter Manny poured

¹ The revolted peasantry.

Release of
King David.

Peace with
Scotland.

Terrible condi-
tion of France.

Reviving power
of the Dauphin.
1359.

with an army of German hirelings over Picardy and Artois. Edward, accompanied by all his sons except Thomas, whom he left at home as ruler, pushed into the heart of Champagne, tried in vain to take Rheims, where he hoped to be crowned, and purchased the neutrality of the Duke of Burgundy. But, successful and destructive as these invasions were, they were only vast plundering excursions; there was little systematic action, no gradual conquest of the country, no firm basis of operations. The very destruction which they caused roused the national spirit, and while Edward pushed to Paris, and tried in vain to excite the Dauphin to a general engagement, the Norman fleet was ravaging England in the neighbourhood of Winchelsea. Moreover, the wasted country could not support the invading armies unassisted by a proper commissariat, and as Edward, retiring from before Paris, was met by a fearful tempest, which seems to have forced upon him the difficulties of his position, he expressed himself ready to listen to the terms of peace which the envoys of the Legate and the Dauphin offered him. Thus, on the 8th of May, the great peace of Brétigny was made. The terms were, of course, very favourable to the English. Not only Gascony and Guienne, but all Poitou, with the counties of Xaintonge, Agen, Périgord, Limoges, Cahors, Rovergue, Bigorre, and in the north, Montreuil, Ponthieu, with Calais and Guisnes, were to be the possessions of the English crown, freed from all feudal claims. In return, all claim to the crown of France was given up, together with all claims in Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Brittany, and Flanders. King John was to be liberated on the payment of 3,000,000 pieces of gold.¹ Scotland and Flanders were to be left to themselves.

Edward thus appeared, even though he had not made good his claims to the crown, to have regained and put on a better footing the much disputed provinces of the south-west. But it was one thing to make such a treaty and another to secure its being carried out. The very misery of France produced a reaction. Though King John himself returned to France to collect it, his enormous ransom was not forthcoming. The barons of Poitou declared that they would not be severed from the French crown; while the hatred to the English was kept alive by the great bands of discharged soldiers, who, joining themselves to the great Free Companies, swept across France, put the Pope himself to ransom, and finding no congenial employment else-

Edward again
invades France.

Want of perma-
nent results
induces Edward
to make the
peace of
Brétigny.
1360.

¹ Each piece of gold (a mark) was worth 18s. 4d. or two nobles.

where, quartered themselves on the people. At the head of the party who were set against the completion of the treaty was Charles the Dauphin. His accession upon the death of John, who had honourably returned to England when he found himself unable to pay his ransom, marked a change in the national policy of France. Under the new King, it was managed that the renunciations required by the treaty should not be carried out. There were other causes also at work which promised a speedy renewal of the war.

By the treaty it had been expressly stipulated that the quarrel between De Montfort and Charles de Blois might be continued, though it was added, that whichever party conquered was bound to swear fealty to France. Du Guesclin, a soldier of a different class from the ordinary feudal leaders who had risen to eminence during the late wars, was sent to support the claims of Charles. The news of his arrival was at once followed by a similar step on the part of the English. Chandos, an English general, marched from Guienne to support De Montfort. A battle was fought at Auray, in which De Montfort's party were successful, and Charles de Blois killed. The Free Companies too, of which the best known are those of Calveley and Knowles, still ravaged France, and were a constant cause of complaint. The English themselves had to take part against them, but at length the means taken by King Charles to rid his kingdom of this burden again brought the French and English into contact. The provinces of the south-west of France had been erected into the independent duchy of Aquitaine, and given to the Black Prince, who held his court at Bordeaux. Thither, when driven from his country, Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, betook himself.

This king had secured his throne by a series of murders. His natural brother, Henry of Trastamare, had fled and taken refuge with the French King. When Pedro carried his cruelty to the pitch of putting to death his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, a French princess, the court of France had determined to assist Henry to dethrone his brother, and had intrusted Du Guesclin with the duty of enlisting the Free Companies for this purpose. His attempt had been successful; Pedro had taken flight, Henry had ascended the throne. But Pedro, as a fugitive king, found ready support at the hands of the Black Prince, thoroughly imbued with the false chivalry of the day. It was whispered to the Free Companies that their loved commander had an expedition on foot. In numbers they deserted from the

Treaty not
carried out.
1364.

War in Brittany
continues.

Affairs of
Castile.

France and
England support
the rival
claimants.

French army, and gathered round the Black Prince, who was thus enabled to cross the Pyrenees at Roncesvalles at the head of 30,000 men. The rival armies met at Navarette. The French were completely beaten, Du Guesclin taken prisoner.

Battle of
Navarette.

But Pedro, again upon the throne, forgot his engagements to his protector, and the Black Prince returned to his duchy, broken in health by the hardships of the campaign, and ruined by its expenses. It became necessary to lay heavy taxes upon his subjects. Those subjects were already discontented; the barons of Poitou objected to the English supremacy, and had applied to Charles as their suzerain. Charles had been fomenting their discontent, and had sent secret envoys to raise a similar feeling among the barons of Ponthieu in the north. To these malcontents were now added the Counts of Armagnac, and other barons of the northern slope of the Pyrenees, who regarded the infliction of the tax as a breach of their privileges; and after keeping the matter in abeyance for a year, till he was ready to strike, King Charles, taking advantage of the non-completion of the renunciations, proceeded to treat the Black Prince as a vassal, and summoned him before his court. The Prince answered he would appear at the head of 60,000 men-at-arms. The threat was idle. Before, in his distressed position, he could make any vigorous preparation, the French troops had begun to conquer the outlying parts of his province, and a declaration of war was at once issued. But several years of peace, during which the exhausted country had begun to recover itself, had disinclined the English to renew the war. The King appears to have grown old before his time, and to have thought only of enjoying in pleasure the fruits of his successful youth. Preparations went on but slowly, while insurrections among the nobles, and the pressure of the French army, continually increased around Guienne. There the Black Prince was so ill that he could not himself take the field. His brother Edmund of Cambridge, Chandos and Knowles, were indeed with him, but could scarcely make head against the insurgents. An attack upon Poitou failed, and Chandos lost his life. None of the English plans met with success. Knowles indeed, placed in command of Calais, marched again successfully to Paris, but the long wars had given birth to a new race of French generals, and Du Guesclin, now Constable, prevented any great success. At length the Black Prince roused himself, and took the field. At his mere name the French armies began to dissolve, and

Taxation in
Aquitaine.

Barons appeal
to Charles.
1368.

Renewal of war.

Gradual defeat
of the English.

he advanced triumphantly to Limoges, a town he had much favoured, and on which he intended to wreak his vengeance. The wall was mined, and the town taken. Men, women, and children, to the number of 3000, were pitilessly murdered. In the midst of this cruel slaughter, the Prince could show his knight-hood by sparing and honouring some French gentlemen who made an unusually gallant resistance. It was his last triumph. Early in 1371 he returned to England, broken and dying. There is no need to trace the progress of the war further. The gradual advance of the French could not be checked. The English armies might march far into the country, as one under Lancaster did in 1373, but the French invariably avoided a general action; and thus, by 1374, England had lost all her possessions in France, with the exception of Calais, Bordeaux and Bayonne, and a few towns upon the Dordogne.

The sequel of the Black Prince's friendship for Pedro of Castile deserves to be noticed. Upon the withdrawal of the English, Henry of Trastamare again conquered Pedro, and the brothers having met in Henry's tent, a quarrel ensued, terminating in a personal struggle and the death of Pedro. Henry thus regained the throne; and subsequently two daughters of Pedro married two of Edward's sons, Lancaster and Cambridge. Upon the Duke of Lancaster's assuming the title of King of Castile, Henry entered actively into the war, and at a great naval battle off Rochelle in June 1372, completely destroyed the English fleet under the Earl of Pembroke. At length a truce was agreed on, which, though it never ripened into a peace, continued from time to time during the rest of the reign.

A strange change of fortune thus clouded the end of what promised to be a glorious reign. Edward, making war in the spirit of a knight-errant, and trusting completely to the courage of his troops on the day of battle, had neglected all the precautions which the conquest of a country requires. He had been successful neither as a strategist nor as a statesman, and his war with France, adorned with splendid victories, and for one moment promising to establish on a firm footing the English power in the South of France, had ended in a more complete overthrow of that power than had been seen since the time of King John. It was natural that the close of such a reign should be marked by some expressions of discontent among the people. Old before his time, in the

Black Prince
takes Limoges.

His final return
to England.

Loss of
Aquitaine.
1374.

Naval victory of
the Spaniards.
1372.

Discontent in
England.

hands of a woman of the name of Alice Perrers, whose ostentation was constantly shocking the public eye, Edward had fallen under the influence of bad advisers, and had let the reins of government slip into the hands of John of Gaunt, his third son.

To understand the politics of this time, we have to rid ourselves of both the names and ideas of the present day. The lines which divided classes were much more distinctly marked. Political life was confined entirely to the upper ranks. The House of Commons, which we are in the habit of regarding as a popular assembly, and which was, in fact, the most popular assembly of that time, was in part entirely aristocratic, in part representative of the moneyed interests of the country. Below this no class could make its voice heard at all, and this moneyed and aristocratic House of Commons was only beginning by slow degrees to force itself into political power. It had, in fact, consisted at first of two separate orders,—the knights of the shire, who represented the lesser nobility, and the burgesses. The knights had naturally joined without difficulty in the deliberations of a baronage who were socially their equals; the burgesses had busied themselves almost exclusively with financial questions touching their own order. Various causes had gradually tended to draw the two lower orders together, and by the beginning of the reign of Edward III., the division of Parliament into two Houses, of which the lower consisted of knights and burgesses, had been completed. Indeed, the Act of 1321, passed when Edward II. was victorious over the barons, had acknowledged the claims of the burgesses to share in the proceedings of Parliament. The practical government of the country had hitherto been in the hands of the House of Lords. There were thus three distinct classes, the baronage, the upper or represented commonalty, consisting of knights and burgesses, and the lower commonalty. Power was as yet in the hands of the baronage. When, therefore, no common cause was driving the baronage to united action, as among all governing classes, there was certain to be a difference of view, and the baronage would be divided into parties. On the other hand, the upper Commons, just forcing their way upwards, were inclined to be sometimes subservient to the wishes of the Barons, sometimes ready to join that one of the baronial parties which seemed to give them the greatest promise of political assistance. The lower, or unrepresented Commons, unable to make themselves heard, had been of no political account; although a series of events had lately contributed to put them in such a position that their friendship was worth having, and

Politics of
the time.

to enable them soon to speak with arms in their hands, in a way which was very terrible. Each of these classes had its own particular interests, and made their combinations with the other classes to suit the advance of those interests. The Barons desired power, the higher Commons good administration, especially of the finances; the lower Commons such improvements in their position as they afterwards claimed under Wat Tyler. Hitherto, in the main, the interest of the baronage had been the restriction within fixed limits of the royal authority; they had hitherto been the guardians of the constitutional growth of the country, and their rebellions and opposition, whatever selfish leaven may have been mixed with them, deserve to be regarded as efforts towards popular liberty. About the period which we have now reached, this guardianship of the Constitution passed into the hands of the upper Commons. The Barons themselves having now acquired a preponderance in the government, it was their encroachments rather than the King's which had to be guarded against. In principle, the safeguards of the Constitution had been established by Edward I., and were therefore no longer the subject of contention. The baronage was no longer interested to secure power, but to enjoy a power already secured. They thus fell into parties whose real object was to appropriate that power. For that purpose, like other political parties, the rival Barons would seek to attach to themselves any of the other sections of society, and would therefore adopt those principles and those party cries which seemed to promise them the most success. It becomes, therefore, impossible to say that this or that baronial insurrection was popular or constitutional. For their own objects, the most disorderly Barons might attach themselves to the Commons, to the lower classes, or to the King. Their divisions had, in fact, become party struggles for power.

Now the chief questions at that time exciting England were the position of the Church, the continuation of the war with France, and the management of the finances. On any of these questions the baronage might form itself into parties, which might seek their own advantage by adopting the interests of other sections of society. It is in this way that must be explained the apparent contradictions in the conduct of the Parliament at the close of Edward's reign. For many years there had been growing a strong dislike to the Church in England. The oppressions of the Popes, the selfish character of their government at Avignon, the loss of spirituality on the part of the higher clergy, from whose ranks the statesmen of the time were largely drawn,

and the deterioration of the mendicant orders, together with the idea always prevalent in England of the supremacy of the state, had given birth to a party who desired the pre-eminence in all matters of the laity, — a party which is of course connected with the doctrinal views at this time brought forward by Wicliffe. The existence of this lay party is clearly shown by the proceedings of the year 1340, when for the first time a lay Chancellor, Sir Robert Bouchier, was appointed in the place of Stratford. When the baronage were divided, the natural leaders of the parties were the royal princes. Thus, when circumstances had put the reins of power into the hands of John of Gaunt, he fortified himself by assuming the leadership of the lay party, which found its adherents in all sections of society, but no doubt mainly among the barons, jealous of the great part played in the government by the clergy, the vast wealth which the Church held, and which is calculated at more than a third of the land, and rendered self-confident by their successes in the French war. Already schemes for the confiscation of Church property had been publicly mentioned, and the Commons, with the approbation of John of Gaunt, had in 1371 petitioned for the removal of all the clergy from the higher offices of state. The Bishop of Winchester, William of Wykeham, had surrendered the great seal, which, together with the offices of the exchequer, had been put into the hands of laymen. There are many proofs that the class which was represented in the Commons partook strongly of the dislike to the Church. But any claim to popularity which Lancaster's administration might have advanced on this ground was destroyed by their mismanagement of the finances and the disasters of the foreign war. In fact, there is little doubt that the ecclesiastics he had displaced were far better governors than the partisans he had put in their places. Another party was therefore formed, at the head of which was the Black Prince, a party consisting of those who preferred the old system of government, and which included the higher clergy and the financial reformers. It has been pointed out that the disastrous government of John of Gaunt had found its partisans chiefly among the Barons. On the whole, therefore, the Commons attached themselves to the party of the Black Prince. For the time a restoration of good government and well-managed finance seemed to them of more importance than the overthrow of the Church, especially as their interests as a class seemed to lead in the same direction. The struggle came to an issue in the Good Parliament, which met in April 1376. The Commons presented a remonstrance, which, after enumerating their financial grievances, and asserting

the mismanagement of the Government, demanded a change in the council; in other words, a change of ministry. The clergy, and William of Wykeham among them, again came into office. They were not content with this, but impeached—and this is the first instance of parliamentary impeachment—Lord Latimer, the Chamberlain. A considerable number of the other officers were arrested and thrown into prison, and Alice Perrers was forbidden to use her influence under pain of banishment. They were still discussing further reforms, when the death of the Black Prince deprived them of their chief support. Afraid that John of Gaunt had views on the succession, they insisted on the immediate recognition of the Black Prince's son; and a deputation waited on the old King at Eltham to receive an answer to their complaints and petitions. These, as might be expected, were chiefly directed against the encroachments of the Papacy, in hatred to which all parties in England joined. Still the King's reply shows the influence of the newly restored clerical counsellors. Enough, he said, had been done in the way of legislation, he would continue his personal appeals to the Pope. Parliament then separated.

It at once became plain that the Black Prince's death had again

Death of Black Prince. Lancaster regains power.

Lancastrian Parliament. 1377.

Trial of Wicliffe.

thrown the power into the hands of John of Gaunt. The power of the new Privy Council disappeared, Lord Latimer was pardoned, Peter de la Mare, the speaker of the Good Parliament, was thrown into prison, William of Wykeham was again driven from the court. The Parliament which assembled next year was thoroughly in the Lancastrian interest. Sir Thomas Hungerford, the Duke's steward, was elected Speaker, the proceedings against Alice Perrers withdrawn, and a new form of tax—a poll-tax of 4d.—granted. But the clergy did not thus easily yield their ground. They attacked

Uproar in London.

the apostle of the lay party, Wicliffe. He had to appear before Courtenay, Bishop of London, in St. Paul's. He came, supported by Lancaster and by the Marshall, Henry Percy, a close adherent of that party of which Lancaster was the head. An unseemly brawl arose in the church. Lancaster threatened to drag Courtenay out of the church by the hair. The Londoners were already so ill disposed to Lancaster, that measures were in preparation to remove their mayor, and put the government of the town in the

hands of a royal commission. The insult to their Bishop roused them to fury. It was only by Courtenay's intervention that Lancaster's house was saved from demolition; and a

wretched man was killed under the supposition that he was Henry Percy. Lancaster escaped, and the city had to make some sort of reparation; but the quarrel was scarcely quieted when the King died. Deserted by his mistress, who is said to have torn the rings from his dying hand, and by his servants, the wretched old man died, tended only by a single poor priest.

RICHARD II.

1377-1399.

Born 1367 = 1. Anne of Bohemia, 1362.
= 2. Isabella of France, 1396.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Robert II., 1370. Robert III., 1390.	Charles V., 1364. Charles VI., 1380.	Charles IV., 1347. Wenceslaus, 1378.	Henry II., 1368. John I., 1379. Henry III., 1390.

POPES.—Gregory XI., 1370. Urban VI., 1378. Boniface IX., 1389. [Also Clement VII., 1378. Benedict XII., 1394.]

Archbishops.	Chancellors.
Simon Sudbury, 1375. William Courtenay, 1381. Thomas Arundel, 1397.	Sir Richard le Scrope, 1378. Simon Sudbury, 1379. William Courtenay, 1381. Lord Scrope, 1381. Robert de Braybroke, 1382.
	Michael de la Pole, 1383. Thomas Arundel, 1386. William of Wykeham, 1389. Thomas Arundel, 1391. Edmund Stafford, 1396.

THE young King was but a child, and there was a prospect of a long minority, affording an ample field for the intrigues of party. The position of the kingdom too was such as to promise a time of considerable difficulty. The war with France had been put off by a succession of truces, but was still threatening, and England was in no condition to meet it. An invasion actually took place. French troops landed in the Isle of Wight, and laid waste the country. Moreover, the last reign had closed amidst domestic difficulties. The Lords therefore thought it right to take the settlement of the kingdom into their own hands. At a great council it was determined to form a Council of Regency, drawn from all orders represented in Parliament, to assist the great officers of the crown. The dangers which beset the country induced all parties for a time to rally honestly round the throne. The royal princes, who might become party leaders, were on

1377]

WAT TYLER

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that account excluded from the Council. The national party again gained the majority in the Commons, and again elected De la Mare as their Speaker. But the Commons had no wish to drive matters to extremity, or to change the existing balance of power. They fell back into their old position, which they had temporarily felt themselves obliged to desert, declined to have anything to do with matters of state; and when told to consider the best means for the defence of the kingdom, they pleaded their inability to answer, named a council of peers whom they thought qualified for the purpose, and made overtures of friendship by placing Lancaster's name at the head of the list. Lancaster, who desired power and had no fixed principles, accepted the position, first making a solemn denial of all the calumnious reports which were afloat about him, and thus again became practically Prime Minister. But the Commons showed that they intended to keep their own great object, economical management of the finances, steadfastly in view, by insisting that the subsidy, which was granted at once upon this reconciliation, should be paid into the hands of two treasurers named by themselves. They also demanded, as a further guarantee of good government, that the great officers of state and the judges should be chosen by the Lords, and publicly named to the Commons. The King was left unrestrained in the choice of those who should be about his person. At the next Parliament, held at Gloucester in 1378, they still pursued the same policy, and refused to grant a new subsidy till the accounts of that last granted had been exhibited to them. It was plain that the constant repetition of subsidies was much disliked.

But the continuation of war in Brittany soon made fresh demands for money necessary. This war had closed by a sudden revulsion of feeling on the part of the Bretons, who had been roused to extreme anger by the annexation of the province by the French King. But on his death they became equally hostile to their late friends the English, and drove them from the country. To supply this want of money, new methods of taxation were devised. A poll-tax, graduated from £6, 13s. 4d. on the Duke of Lancaster, to 4d. on the ordinary labourer and his family, was granted, but produced not half the sum required. Further demands were made, and the consent of the Commons purchased by reforms of the household, and by the establishment of a Parliamentary finance committee. Even the new grants thus purchased did not suffice, and at the end of the year 1380 a poll tax graduated from £1 to 1s. per head was imposed on every male and female.

The exaction of this tax, which fell proportionately with much greater weight on the lower, unrepresented orders, produced the great insurrection known as Wat Tyler's insurrection. Many causes had been at work, not in England only, but throughout Europe, to excite discontent among the labouring classes. The severity and rough inquisitorial spirit with which the present impost was collected was beyond what they could bear. In Essex, under Jack Straw, at Dartford, under Wat Tyler, whose daughter had been subjected to insult, and at Gravesend, where Sir Simon Burley had laid claim to a labourer as his villein, insurrections broke out. Wat Tyler was chosen for the general leader, accompanied by John Ball, the popular itinerant preacher. But the insurrection was not confined to these counties only, it extended from Winchester to Scarborough. It was in all respects a revolutionary movement. Manor-houses were pillaged and destroyed, and the court rolls, where the villeins' names were written, were burnt. Officials, those who had served on juries, justices, and even lawyers, were put to death. The rebels were particularly embittered against John of Gaunt, swearing to admit no king of the name of John, and refused all taxes except the customary tenth and fifteenth.

The insurgents entered Southwark, and pillaged the palace of Lambeth; on the following day penetrated into London, freed the prisoners in Newgate, destroyed Lancaster's house of the Savoy, and showed their national spirit by killing some fifty Flemish merchants. The King was alone in London; he offered to meet them at Mile End. He there received their petition, which demanded not political but social rights,—the abolition of villeinage, the reduction of rent to fourpence an acre, the free access to all fairs and markets, and a general pardon. The King granted their demands; and charters were at once drawn up for every township. But, in the meanwhile, the more advanced leaders, disliking the moderation of the bulk of their followers, broke into the Tower and ransacked it. On the following day, the King came across these men in Smithfield. Tyler was at their head. He advanced to have a personal interview with the King, and was suddenly killed by Walworth, the Lord Mayor, as he played with his dagger, an action which was construed as a threat. The young King, with remarkable presence of mind, rode forward to the astonished rebels, declared that he would be their leader, and induced them to follow him to Islington, where they found themselves in the presence of Sir Robert Knowles and 1000

Insurrection of
the Villeins.
1381.

Death of
Wat Tyler.

soldiers. They at once yielded, and demanded the King's mercy; he declined to punish them, and dismissed them to their homes. When time had thus been gained, the crisis was over. Richard found himself at the head of an army. Several defeats and numerous executions broke the spirit of the rebels, and the insurrection was suppressed.

In autumn the Parliament met. The King declared he had recalled his charters, but asked the Commons to consider the propriety of abolishing villeinage. The ignorance and want of sympathy with the feelings of the class below them, which existed among the representative Commons, was then made evident. No men, they said, should rob them of their villeins. The charters were therefore finally revoked; and not only the charters, but the general pardon also: at least 250 persons were exempted from it. Meantime, the House of Commons made political capital out of the insurrection; they declared that the cause of the insurrection was not the social oppression of the labourer, but their own grievances, purveyance, the rapacity of the officers of the Exchequer, the maintainers, or bands of robbers who carried on depredations in some counties, and the heavy taxation. This was followed by a further inquiry into the royal household.

Lancaster continued in power for three years longer. His ministry was unmarked by success; and the feeling against him, which had been exhibited in the insurrection, found frequent expression. With regard to Church reform he had completely changed his tactics. When Wicliffe passed beyond his attacks upon the abuses of the Church, and touched its doctrine, questioning even the fundamental point of Transubstantiation, Lancaster withdrew his support. Although Wicliffe was so far upheld by Parliament, that a statute which had been passed for the suppression of his "poor priests" was repealed, he was unable, without Lancaster's assistance, to withstand the power of the Church, and was compelled to make some form of recantation before he regained his living of Lutterworth, where he died in 1384. But Lancaster reaped no advantage from this change in his conduct. Every disaster was still laid to his charge, and the old suspicion that he harboured covert designs upon the throne still clung to him. The great schism was at this time dividing the Catholic Church. For seventy years the Papacy fixed at Avignon had been the servant of the French king: the Babylonish captivity the Italians called it. Gregory XI. restored the Papacy to Rome, but his death was followed by

Insurrection
suppressed.

Parliament
rejects the
villeins' claims.

Lancaster's
government.

He deserts
Wicliffe.

a double election. The French cardinals elected Clement VII., the Roman cardinals Urban VI.; and the Christian world was divided in its allegiance. In the interests of Pope Urban, who was received in England, the Bishop of Norwich, a remarkable prelate, who had distinguished himself in the suppression of the late insurrection, was engaged to lead an army against France. He selected the old road of attack. The Flemish citizens, in spite of the death of their great leader, Philip Van Artevelt, and of a crushing defeat they had received from the French chivalry at Rosbecque, continued their enmity to France. The Bishop was to act in concert with them.

His expedition failed; it was currently reported that Lancaster had thwarted it. A certain friar came to the King offering to prove traitorous designs on the part of Lancaster.

Sir John Holland, the King's half-brother, and a partisan of Lancaster's, into whose charge he was given, killed him. His death was no doubt suspicious. His story against Lancaster was believed. In 1385, Scotland, which had been subsidized by France, became

Jealousy of him
thwarts the
Scotch invasion.
1385.

troublesome. Richard led an army against it; but the advice of De la Pole, the King's chancellor and favourite minister, who pretended to dread the designs of Lancaster, induced Richard to retreat, and the expedition came to nothing. Moreover, still further to mark his fear of Lancaster, Richard declared Roger, Earl of March, his presumptive heir. The enmity between March and Lancaster, in which perhaps may be traced the first beginnings of the Wars of the Roses, had been already marked in the last reign. Peter de la Mare was the steward of the Earl of March, while Sir Thomas Hungerford, the speaker of the following Parliament, occupied the same office in the household of Lancaster.

He is glad to
have to support
his claims in
Castile.

John of Gaunt, thus mistrusted and opposed, was glad to embrace the opportunity of leaving England, which was offered him by affairs in Spain, where he wished, in union with the Portuguese, to push the claim to the throne of Castile, which he derived from his wife, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

He was at once succeeded in his influence and in his party leadership by a far more dangerous man, another uncle of the King, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. Meanwhile the politics of England had changed, and had fallen back into their normal condition. We have seen that the King had been allowed the free selection of his own household. He had surrounded himself by men not drawn from the higher baron-

age.¹ His chief favourite was De Vere, whom he had made Earl of Oxford, and subsequently Duke of Ireland, and to whom he had intrusted the government of that disturbed country; while his ministers nominated by Parliament were also men who owed their position to their capacity rather than to their birth. The chief of these was Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, whom the King had raised to the rank of Earl of Suffolk. He was thus open to the old charge of favouritism.

The King's
favourites.

The Lancastrian party had set themselves against his favourites. Already one of them, the Earl of Stafford, had been killed by Sir John Holland, and Gloucester found no difficulty in forming a powerful party among the barons, taking for his cry the reform of the administration, and seeking to excite the national feeling, by keeping alive the animosity against France, towards which country Richard was much drawn; while the specious pretext of reform as usual attracted the Commons. In 1386, Gloucester took advantage of a threatened invasion from France to produce charges against the administration. The King's officers, it was said, had used the public revenues for their own purposes; the Commons had been impoverished by taxes, the landowners could not get their rents, and tenants were compelled to abandon their farms through distress. The three last of these charges were traceable, not to government, but to economical changes, but served well as a party catchword; and so successful were they, that in a Parliament held at Westminster, Commons and Lords united in demanding a change of ministry.

Gloucester
heads an
opposition.

After a contest of three weeks the King yielded. Suffolk was dismissed, and his dismissal was immediately followed by his impeachment. The charges brought against him were held to be partly proved, and he was sentenced to be kept in prison during the King's pleasure. After the dissolution of Parliament he was released. His place was taken by Arundel, Bishop of Ely.

Change of
Ministry
demanded.
Impeachment of
Suffolk.

This blow, though severe, was followed by a worse one. The old baronial policy of establishing a committee of reform was renewed. To intimidate the King, the statute of the deposition of Edward II. was produced in Parliament. The estates having declared that unless he granted their requests they would separate without his permission, he was finally compelled to authorize a commission of eleven peers and bishops, to inquire into abuses and

Commission of
Government

¹ In 1385, during his Scotch expedition, his uncles, Cambridge and Buckingham, had been made Dukes of York and Gloucester; Lancaster's son Henry, Earl of Derby; the Duke of York's son George, Earl of Rutland; Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin; and De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk.

regulate reform. Their duty was a very wide one, touching the household, the treasury, and all complaints out of the reach of law. The partisans of Gloucester formed the majority of this committee, of which the Duke himself and his chief friend, Lord Arundel,¹ were members. It was arranged that the power of the committee should last for one year only. It does not seem to have brought to light any great abuses, nor was its government sufficiently superior to that which had preceded it to justify its establishment. Richard had no mind to submit to a limitation of his prerogative which seemed so little called for. He set to work with his usual secretiveness. At

The King
prepares a
counterblow.
1387.

Shrewsbury, and again at Nottingham, he inquired of the judges how far the late conduct of the reformers was constitutional. Their reply was strongly in favour of the prerogative. They declared the late measures treasonable, and its authors liable to capital punishment, denied the power of Parliament to impeach, and declared Suffolk's condemnation false. Fulthorpe, one of the King's judges, though sworn to secrecy, at once told Gloucester of the King's questions. Consequently, when Richard had made all preparations for a sudden *coup d'état*, he was alarmed to find that Gloucester, Arundel, and Nottingham, had reached

The five Lords
Appellant in
arms impeach
the King's
friends.

London the same day as himself, with a numerous army. At Waltham Cross the Earls of Derby and Warwick joined them, and they proceeded to appeal, or, as we should say, accuse of high treason, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian the judge, and Sir Nicholas Brember, whose influence had been employed to secure London for Richard. The accused sought refuge in flight, and the Duke of Ireland succeeded in raising troops in the West, and attempted to bring the matter to the issue of battle. But the Lords Appellant were beforehand with him; he was unable to cross the Thames, as he hoped, at Radcot; and being there surrounded, with difficulty escaped by swimming the river.

The appellants, now masters of the kingdom, made a thorough clearance of all who could be considered King's favourites. Eleven of his intimate friends were imprisoned, a number of the lords and ladies of the Court removed, and in February 1388, a Parliament known as the "Wonderful or merciless Parliament" assembled, which, in a long session of 122 days, was employed almost entirely in destroying the enemies of Gloucester. His appeal was heard, and all the five accused gentlemen were found

The Wonderful
Parliament.

¹ Brother of Arundel, Bishop of Ely, subsequently Archbishop of York and of Canterbury.

guilty; three escaped, Tresilian and Brember were put to death. Some of the judges were likewise executed, some pardoned on the intercession of the bishops, and four knights, old and intimate friends of Richard, of whom Sir Simon Burley is the best known, were also impeached and beheaded. Parliament closed with an ordinance, declaring that the treasons for which these men had suffered were not established by any statute, and should not form a precedent; and by exacting a repetition of Richard's coronation oath. For a year, Gloucester ruled at his will, without any marked success. The Percies were defeated by the Scotch at Otterbourne, and an invasion from France was only averted by the incessant dissensions which had arisen in that country during the minority of Charles VI. Before the end of Gloucester's administration, however, truces were concluded with both Scotland and France.

Gloucester's
unimportant
government.

Richard appears to have been able to dissemble profoundly; he had been most submissive to his conquerors, who believed their power safe, when, at a council in the spring of 1389, he quietly asked Gloucester how old he was. Gloucester replied that he was twenty-two. "Then," said the King, "I am certainly old enough to manage my own affairs. I thank you, my lords, for your past services; I want them no longer." He then proceeded to change the ministry, removed Arundel from the chancellorship,¹ and took the government into his own hands. Although the ministry was changed, there was no great reversal of policy, no punishment of the Lords Appellant. On the contrary, the King, under the advice, it is probable, of William of Wykeham, seemed determined to ignore party, and to attempt a moderate government. He declared that he would be bound by the decisions of the late Parliament, employed among his most intimate counsellors, Derby, who had been one of the appellants, and the Duke of York, who had been on the commission of 1386; and it would appear that he did not even remove Gloucester from his councils. In pursuance of this national and healing policy, in the following year, the chief officers temporarily resigned their offices, that their administration might be examined. The Commons found not the slightest cause of complaint, and they were reinstated at once. This peaceable state of affairs continued till 1397. During the whole of that time, we must believe that Richard was only waiting his opportunity. There were indeed some signs of his secret thoughts. Some of his banished friends were relieved or obtained places in Ireland. On the death of

Richard assumes
sole authority.
1389.

¹ William of Wykeham again took the Seal.

Robert de Vere he succeeded in obtaining the Earldom of Oxford for his uncle, Aubrey de Vere; and a year or two afterwards he brought his friend's body, which had been embalmed, from abroad, and before it was reburied, had the coffin opened, and gazed with much emotion upon the dead man's face. But outwardly such unity reigned, that national matters could be considered, and the period is marked by the completion of the quarrel with the Papacy with regard to Provisors, and by an expedition to Ireland.

England, it has been said, embraced the cause of Urban VI. In his gratitude he had given the King the nomination to the two next vacant prebends in all collegiate churches. But the appointment by the Pope of an Abbot of St. Edmunds, in 1380, produced a repetition of the Statute of Provisors of Edward III.'s reign.¹ Still the laws were repeatedly evaded, the Pope always presenting to benefices which fell vacant at Rome. As the cardinals generally died at Rome, this was a large exception. In 1390, the 29th of January of that year was settled as a term. All Provisors before that year were legal; all after, together with the introduction of any Papal letter of recommendation, absolutely illegal. In 1391, the new Pope, Boniface IX., declared all these enactments void, and proceeded to grant Provisors. Consequently, in 1393,² was drawn up the final Statute of Provisors, or Præmunire. By this any man procuring instruments of any kind from Rome, or publishing such instruments, was outlawed, his property forfeited, and his person apprehended.

The following year the King made an expedition to Ireland. The condition of that country had long demanded attention. Since the invasion of the Bruces, the native tribes had made considerable advances on all sides, but their domestic dissensions prevented any permanent success. A far greater evil was the condition of the Irish of old English race. The want of strong central authority had allowed the individual chieftains to establish something like royal power in their own dominions; they were gradually falling back into barbarism, and in a way very unusual among conquering races, had been gradually adopting the manners and laws of the conquered race around them. Among them, as among the natives, perpetual discord and fighting existed. So disorderly were they, that Edward III. had ordered that no official places should be occupied except by men born in England; and Lionel of Clarence, who had been appointed to bring the country

¹ 38 Edward III.

² 16 Richard II.

into order, had, in 1364, procured, at the Parliament of Kilkenny, statutes, directed not against the Irish, but against the English settlers, making the adoption of Irish habits, and of the Brehon or Irish law, high treason. Earlier in the reign, Richard had appointed his favourite De Vere to restore order. His success had been prevented by the attack upon him by the Lords Appellant in 1387. The King now, in the year 1394, determined to go in person. His measures were just and moderate, and he succeeded in inducing all the native princes to swear fealty.

He was called home by the excesses of the Lollards, as the followers of Wicliffe were called. They had prepared a petition, containing a forcible exposition of their own tenets, and a vigorous attack on the priests. The Church demanded the presence and protection of the King, who, on his arrival in England, expelled the Lollards from Oxford. At the same time he contracted a marriage, consonant with his known French views, with Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI. of France, a Princess of ten years of age. In 1397, the marriage ceremony having been performed, the young Queen was crowned. It seems possible that it was in reliance upon this new friendship with France that the King now determined to execute his long dissembled vengeance. The seven years of peaceful government had allayed suspicion, and won him popularity. Lancaster, who had returned from Spain, had ceased to take a very prominent part in the government, and had, moreover, been gratified by the legitimization of his children by his mistress Catherine Swinford. His son, the Earl of Derby, had deserted his former associates, and was one of the King's advisers. Mowbray of Nottingham, another of the Lords Appellant, had also been won over. The Duke of York had throughout been friendly disposed to the King. On the other hand, Gloucester had been continually acting in a spirit of covert hostility. He had made political capital by opposing the French match, and by publicly speaking against the extravagances of the royal household, which appear to have been very great. Froissart, indeed, mentions a story, which however needs confirmation, that he had combined with Warwick and the Arundels in a plot to seize the King.

Richard carried out his plans of vengeance with his usual secrecy and skill. Suddenly, Warwick, Arundel and Gloucester were apprehended, and sent to different and distant castles. He then proceeded against them as they had themselves proceeded against his friends. They were appealed of treason by a number of Earls in the royal interest. Rickhill, one of the

Marriage with
Isabella of
France.
1397.

Richard's
vengeance after
seven years'
peace.

justices, was sent to Calais to obtain Gloucester's confession, and a Parliament was assembled at Westminster, in which the good will of the Commons had been already secured. As a preliminary measure, all pardons to Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick were revoked. An impeachment was then brought against the Archbishop Arundel, and the appeal against the Duke and the two Earls was heard. Arundel refused to plead anything but his pardon. This having already been revoked, he was at once condemned and executed. The Earl Marshall, to whom Gloucester had been intrusted, was ordered to produce him, but replied that the Duke was dead. It seems almost certain that he had been murdered by Richard's orders at Calais. The Archbishop was condemned to banishment for life; and Warwick, who pleaded guilty, was exiled to the Isle of Man. Lord Mortimer, who was also involved in the accusation, fled to Ireland, and was outlawed. A shower of new titles was lavished on the obsequious Lords. Derby and Rutland were made Dukes of Hereford and Albemarle; Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk; De Spencer, Neville, Percy and Scrope, respectively, Earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester and Wiltshire. A statute was passed making it treason to levy war against the King, and declaring the penalty of treason against any one who should attempt to overthrow the enactments of this Parliament. The next Parliament at Gloucester, in 1398, acted in the same obsequious manner. The Acts of the Wonderful Parliament were repealed. To the grant of a subsidy was added the tax on wool and hides for life; and a permanent committee of twelve peers and six commoners was appointed to represent Parliament for the future.

Hereford and
Norfolk
banished.

The new Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk alone remained unpunished of the old Lords Appellant of 1386. These two men, who had shared in the destruction of their former associates, had now quarrelled, and Hereford brought a formal charge against Norfolk of treasonable conversation. To the Parliamentary committee this question was now referred, and by them laid before a court of chivalry; at the same time the committee enacted laws in the royal interest, exactly as though it had been the Parliament. It was agreed that the dispute between the two dukes should be settled by the arbitrament of battle. The lists were prepared at Coventry, but as the combatants were about to engage, the King took the matter into his own hands, and, on what principle it is impossible to conceive, punished both; Hereford he banished for ten years, Norfolk for life. Richard had thus destroyed his old enemies, rid himself of the constraint of Parliament, and was practically despotic.

"Then the King began to rule," says Froissart, "more fiercely than before. In those days there were none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the King did. He had council meet for his appetite, who exhorted him to do what he list. He still kept in his wages 10,000 archers. He then kept greater state than ever, no former king had ever kept so much as he did by 100,000 nobles a year."¹

He acted in accordance with his position. He raised forced loans, meddled in the administration of justice, and went so far as to declare no less than seventeen counties outlawed, for having, as he asserted, favoured the Lords Appellant before the affair at Radcot Bridge. But he overrated his real power. His government had been accepted because it had been constitutional and moderate. The change which was evident since his acquirement of the sole authority induced the people to give the credit of that moderation to Hereford, who had been a chief member of that council, and who was a popular favourite. Thousands had attended him as he left England for his banishment, and excitement spread through the country when the King, in contravention of his promise and of law, refused him the succession to his father's title and property upon the death of that prince. Regardless of the discontented feeling of the people, Richard unwisely determined upon another expedition to Ireland, to complete his work there, and to exact vengeance for the death of the Earl of March, whom he had named as his successor. The kingdom was thus left vacant, and in the charge of the Duke of York, whose subsequent conduct proved that he shared in the national feeling.

His arbitrary
rule alienates
the people.

During his
absence in
Ireland,
1399,

The new Duke of Lancaster took advantage of this act of folly to land at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, declaring loudly that he came but to demand his family succession. The Percies, the old friends of the Lancastrians, received him with gladness, and his march southwards soon became formidable. The King's ministers, Wiltshire, Bussy, and Greene, fled for refuge to Bristol. Thither York also betook himself, thus leaving the capital open. Lancaster, now at the head of a powerful army, also drew to the West. As he came within reach of the Duke of York, civilities were exchanged, which proved that he had no opposition to fear from him. Bristol opened its gates. The King's favourites were seized and executed, and the King, who had landed in Wales from Ireland,

Hereford
returns and is
triumphantly
received.

¹ BERNER'S Froissart, IV., chap. 78.

with the Duke of Albemarle and other nobles, saw his army rapidly dissolve, and had to take refuge in the castle of Conway. Captures Richard. Henry of Lancaster found himself joined by all the nobility. He commissioned Percy of Northumberland to procure a meeting with Richard at Flint. The proposed meeting was a trap to catch the King; as he rode from the castle with Northumberland, Richard found himself in the midst of hostile troops. When he was introduced to the presence of Lancaster, he knew that his fate was sealed, and with his peculiar power of accepting circumstances, was entirely submissive in his behaviour.

A Parliament had been summoned to meet in September; but before that time, Richard was induced to make a formal resignation of the kingdom. Not content with this, when the Parliament met, Henry caused the coronation oath to be read. It was contended that Richard had broken it, and therefore forfeited the crown. The Bishop of Carlisle alone raised his voice in favour of the fallen King, and demanded that he should at least be heard in his defence. His interference was, of course, in vain. Makes him resign the kingdom. The deposition of the King was voted. The throne being thus vacant, the Duke was not long in laying claim to it. In a curious document, in which he mingled the claims of blood, of conquest, and the necessity of reform, he put forward his demands. They were unanimously admitted. The Archbishop of Canterbury took him by the hand and led him to the throne. It was his cue to act with strict legality, yet he could not afford to do without a Parliament so obviously devoted to his interests. As that Parliament had expired by Richard's deposition, he immediately issued writs for a new one, returnable in six days, thus rendering it absolutely impossible to make any new elections. It was with the Parliament thus secured that he began his reign.

STATE OF SOCIETY.

1216—1399.

ALTHOUGH the narration of political facts implies much of the history of the country, it leaves out of sight much that touches the real life of the people. During the last hundred years great social changes had been going on, and great social progress made. In fact, till the end of the reign of King John, the social, like the political history of the country scarcely deserves the name of national. The description of any feudal society will in a great measure suit it. But the national existence had been worked out in the reign of Henry III., and was completed and finally established by the great time of Edward I. From that time onwards, continuous change and growth had been visible, and that growth had been national. The great fact of all modern history is the breaking up of the feudal and ecclesiastical system of the middle ages, and the introduction, as political and social elements of weight, of the middle and industrial classes. It is the beginning of that process which constitutes therefore the history of this period. The points to observe will be, therefore, the growth and advance of the commons, the decay of the aristocracy. But it is as yet quite impossible to speak of the commons as one body. The line which divided the class which sent its representatives to Parliament, and which was already becoming of political importance, from the mass of the labouring part of the nation, was very clearly drawn, and the characteristics, the employments, and the feelings of the one class, as well as the causes of their advance, will be very different from those of the other. A brief sketch has been already given of the gradual introduction of the commons into Parliament. But it still remains to explain and illustrate the sources of their wealth, their aristocratic tendencies, and the prevalence among them of a strong distaste for the pre-eminent position occupied by the Church. It was their wealth which gained them admission to Parliament, and the way in which that wealth was gained which greatly influenced their views after they had been admitted.

Trade, on which their riches depended, was as yet in its infancy ; and the views which regulated its management as yet too crude to be spoken of by such a dignified title as political economy. As far as they went, however, they were very clear, and were, in fact, though afterwards improved, the same in spirit as those which existed in England before the time of Adam Smith. Observing only the obvious fact, that the possession of money enabled a man to purchase whatever he wanted, early traders conceived the idea that money was wealth, and that nothing else was. And as the wealth of the nation was of the last importance, both to the governor and to the governed, and as trade was the chief method by which money could be supplied, and by which money might be drawn from the country, the regulation of trade became one of the most important duties of the King and the Parliament. Now money being the sole wealth, in that regulation of trade it became necessary to aim first at the introduction of money ; secondly, at its retention. It was to these objects that the frequent ordinances and statutes with regard to trade were directed. Although very various and, as such regulations were almost certain to be, frequently inefficacious, they were energetic and simple. England was not as yet a manufacturing country. Its trade was an export trade of raw materials, principally derived from sheep farming on the vast spaces of uncultivated land which then existed, and from its mineral wealth. Its principal commodities were wool, sheep-skins, or wool-fells, and leather, together with tin and lead.¹ Only the coarsest kind of cloth was manufactured ; sometimes intentionally rough and coarse, to be changed into fine cloth afterwards in Flanders, but exported as cloth to avoid the tax on wool. Primitive trade, when the seas were beset with pirates, had been carried on chiefly inland, and great fairs, such as that of Troyes in France, had been established under the guardianship of feudal lords, who guaranteed the safety of the merchants for a toll. Domestic trade was carried on in the same way, and one of the forms of royal exaction was to open a fair, and insist upon all other shops and

¹ There is an account preserved in the exchequer of the exports and imports in the year 1354. The total value of the exports was £212,338. They consisted of 81,651 sacks of wool, at £6 a sack ; 65 wool-fells, hides, to the value of £89 ; 4774 pieces of cloth ; 8061 pieces of worsted stuff. The imports mentioned consist of a little fine cloth and wax ; 1830 tons of wine ; and linens, mercery, and grocery to the value of £23,000. To show the severity of the wool tax, it is to be observed that on the above-named exports the duty was £81,846, or more than 40 per cent. Robert of Avesbury gives a somewhat different account. He put the exports at 100,000 sacks of wool. He is thought to have died about 1356.

other places of sale being closed during its continuance.¹ As the seas became safer, and the mercantile spirit of the Flemings rose, the great free cities of Flanders became as it were perpetual fairs, and were known as staples, from the German "stapeln," to keep up. In order that trade should be well under command, it was necessary that it should be carried on in few channels. The English government had therefore chosen some of these Flemish towns, and ordered that all the chief productions of England, which have been already mentioned, should be sold in those towns, and nowhere else. These goods were therefore called staple commodities ; the merchants who traded in them, the merchants of the staple. And this staple trade was put under an organization—there being a mayor, a constable, and courts of the staple. At these staple towns, the King's customers, or custom-house officers, by means of this organization, had every bargain under direct supervision ; and every bargain thus supervised was obliged to be made for a certain sum of actual coin, the government thus securing a continual flow of silver into the hands of the English merchants. The staple towns were frequently changed. To reward any particularly faithful ally, or to raise the importance of any particular town, as for instance Calais, the staple was removed to that Prince's province, or to that town. The proportion of each bargain to be brought over in coin was also constantly varying. Indeed, the frequent interference of government in such matters was not among the least of the restrictions of trade. Edward III. was said, at one time of his life, to have had a different plan every month. Upon the whole, however, the principle was the same. Amongst the most remarkable plans of Edward III. was one for keeping the evident riches that accrued to the staple towns within the limits of England. In the twenty-seventh year of his reign he named nine towns in England which were to be the exclusive selling places of the English staple commodities. For an Englishman to carry such commodities beyond the seas was punishable by death. As Edward could not protect the foreign merchants visiting his staples, and as the additional trouble of purchasing goods at them naturally lowered prices, this plan did not answer. It was, in fact, suicidal for an island people, since it destroyed all object in the keeping up a mercantile navy. It was therefore speedily abandoned ; and after the reign of Henry VI., Calais became the sole English staple town. A similar attempt was made in the fourteenth year of Richard II., when it was enacted that no English-

¹ In 1250 a fair was held in Tothill Fields, and all the shops in London were shut.—Matthew of Paris.

man should buy wool except of the owners of the sheep, and for his own use. The export trade was thus again for a time given over to the foreign merchant, for the sake of securing to the wool-grower the profits of the retail as well as the wholesale trade; the effect was naturally a decrease of purchasers, which reduced the growers to great distress. The government had, by insisting on money payments in every bargain, secured an influx of silver; but as the nation was too far advanced in civilization to do without foreign products, there were a certain number of foreign importers, who threatened in their turn to withdraw it again. One or two attempts were indeed made to confine English trade to the limits of the country. Thus, it was the view of Simon de Montfort, who disliked all extravagance in dress, that the production of the country was enough to supply its own inhabitants; and in 1261, and in 1271, exportation of English wool was forbidden, and people acquired the habit of dressing in undyed native cloth. Such primitive patriotism could not last in an advancing nation. Trade soon resumed its old course. The greater part of the foreign merchants were Germans, and to keep them under government supervision, they were formed into a guild, given certain privileges, allowed to possess a guild-hall, and are generally known as the Merchants of the Steelyard.¹ Other alien merchants there also were, who were protected by law; notably by the great statute of Edward I., "De mercatoribus." But although the goods they brought were necessary, their bargains, no less than those of the staple merchants, were under supervision. They were bound to employ a certain proportion of the money obtained from their sales in English goods.² Moreover, all foreign merchants were held to be mutually responsible for each other's debts. Thus the retention of the silver in England was also secured, while, to avoid any varieties in the value of money, English coin alone was current, and foreign coin had at once to be exchanged at the royal exchangers.

Since money was so important an object, the coinage was naturally regarded with great care. It was an exclusive royal monopoly, and in the reign of Edward III. the punishment of death was enacted against false coiners. There was a constant dread lest in the exchange England should be the loser. The belief was prevalent that the value of the money depended upon the

Coinage

¹ There were also great Italian merchants and bankers. Thus we hear that Edward III. ruined the Bardi, that the taxes at the end of Edward I. were pledged to and collected by the Frescobaldi. The extent of the German transactions may be seen by a complaint in 1348, that the Tidmans of Limburg had bought up all the Cornish tin.

² By the 14th Richard II. half the money they received was to be expended in the commodities of the land.

denomination. It had not yet entered men's minds to think that it was but another commodity, worth exactly its intrinsic value, which no change of name could alter. Up till the reign of Edward III., although clipped and lightened in use, and although Edward I. had begun the bad practice of depreciating the coin by diminishing its legal weight, the coinage had been on the whole but little tampered with. But between the years 1344 and 1351, the number of silver pennies made from the pound of silver had increased from 243 to 270. In that year, groats of the nominal value of 4d., but of the weight of only three and a half of the diminished penny, were issued. It is impossible to make any true estimate of the comparative value of money then and at the present time. The facts with regard to the actual amount of silver employed are these: The pound, which only nominally existed, was a full pound of silver, which would at present be coined into £2, 16s. 3d. The shilling, which seems also to have been a nominal coin, was the twentieth part of this, or 2s. 9½d. The silver penny, which was, till the time of Edward III., almost the only coin, was therefore worth 2½d. Edward introduced several new coins; some of gold, which, as there was no fixed proportion between them and silver, were not popular, and were recalled; and nobles of the value of 6s. 8d., or half a mark; together with the groats above mentioned. But of the purchasing value of the money thus made no fixed estimate can be given, as that of course depends upon the relative value of the articles purchased; and under the very different circumstances of those times the relative value of those articles was so different, that to compare the value of money with any one of them would give a totally false impression. It is usual to say roughly that to reach the present value of any sum mentioned it should be multiplied by fifteen.

This form of commerce, restricted as has been before explained, was certain to break down as the wants of the nation increased. There was a company of merchant adventurers ^{Guilds.} founded, perhaps, though this seems very uncertain, as early as Henry III.'s reign, which had the right to trade in other commodities besides the staple, and to choose its own ports. It was the growth of this company which, in the next century, had most to do with breaking down the staple monopoly. It is needless to point out the bad effects which this constant interference must have produced. It is certain that the foreign merchant paid himself well for the extreme difficulties placed in the way of his business; while, at the same time, the difficulties of procuring foreign articles of luxury must have gone

far to render the habits of ordinary life rough and simple. The same principle of restriction, which was established in the commerce of the country, existed in the retail trade. The towns of England were of natural and accidental growth, accumulations of men who had gathered for purposes of self-defence or convenience, living in accordance with the ordinary habits of the country, in the same position, in fact, with regard to the king and their lords as any other society of men—citizens originally by right of the possession of land, and as the system of lordship established itself, bound to customary duties to their lord, just as the inhabitants of the country were. In the same way the citizens of the town, with the exception of these customary duties, were free and self-governing. They gradually, and chiefly by means of purchase, obtained freedom from the customary duties, and thus became independent, self-governing communities. Charters securing them freedom, in the case of the royal cities at all events, were many of them due to the necessities of the Angevin kings, and to their want of money for the payment of their mercenary troops. The close neighbourhood of the inhabitants of towns early introduced an artificial system of union, analogous to the frankpledge. Men formed themselves into what were known as *frith-guilds*,¹ the members of which were mutually responsible for one another, met at periodical feasts, supported one another's poor, and in other respects performed the duties of members of an artificial family. As trade increased these guilds in the generality of cases coalesced into one, which took upon itself the direction of trade, and was known as the merchant guild. With the natural tendency of a governing body, this old merchant guild became exceedingly exclusive. New-comers to the town were not admitted to it, and craftsmen were generally excluded from its limits. In turn those craftsmen established guilds of their own, known as *craft-guilds*, by the warden and leaders of which the bye-laws of the particular craft were formed. Between these and their aristocratic neighbours, the merchant guild, quarrels arose, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the contest between the two was fought out, the craft-guilds eventually securing their acknowledgment and a share in the government of the town. Speaking generally, therefore, we may conceive of the towns of England as being divided into a series of guilds, the leaders of which usually formed a governing body, and which were capable of making bye-laws for their own special members. The commercial aim of these associations was, to

¹ For the history of guilds, see Dr Brentano's Preface to the "Ordinance of British Guilds," in the English Text Society

insure good work, to insure work for all its members, and to resist that spirit of competition which was gradually rising, and which ended in the creation of two classes, the capitalist and the workman. To secure these objects, they limited the number of master workmen, admitted candidates to their association only after lengthened apprenticeships, limited the number of apprentices each master might employ, and kept a close supervision over the articles made, which were usually authenticated by the corporation mark.¹

These restrictions upon industry at the close of our period were beginning to break down; round the master workmen, there was arising a class of journeymen or day labourers, whose ranks were constantly swelled by fugitive serfs from the country; while, on the other side, individual enterprise was making itself felt, and capital was being collected, the owners of which refused to submit to the old corporation laws. The constant supervision both of trade and of the work of artisans supported the notion that governing bodies had the right to set prices on the articles under their control, a principle which was used not only by the guilds, but by the Government, as when, in the famine years of 1315 and 1316, it prescribed the exact price of all articles of food. As this had the natural effect of keeping things entirely out of the market, so that butcher's meat disappeared altogether, it was shortly repealed; the prices to be demanded for victuals were constantly subject to the supervision of justices. The assize of bread, which is commonly assigned to the fifty-first year of Henry III., 1266, regulated the price in accordance with the market prices of corn, but the assizes of other matters, such as wine, wood, fish, fowls, etc., seem to have been perfectly arbitrary.

Though thus restricted, the trade of the English was very considerable. Their ships reached into the Baltic, where a constant communication was kept up with the Teutonic order, to whom Prussia belonged. The intercourse with that order was close. We hear of Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., and Thomas of Gloucester, repairing to their assistance. But the English merchants could never secure an equality of rights in the Baltic, the trade of which was regarded as a monopoly by the Hanseatic towns. English ships also visited Spain, so that Chaucer could describe his experienced shipman as knowing all the harbours from Gothland to Finisterre;² while Venetian and Genoese mer-

¹ The goldsmith's mark on all silver plate is a relic of this custom.

² Chaucer's Prologue:—

"He knew well alle havens as they were,
Fro' Gothlande to the Cape of Finisterre."

chants, in whose hands the whole trade of the East was, brought their goods largely to England; indeed, in 1379, a Genoese merchant is said to have suggested to Richard II. to make Southampton the emporium of all the oriental trade of the North. So great was the importance of the English shipping, that Edward III. distinctly claimed for himself and his predecessors the dominion of the sea.¹ The ships were, however, though numerous, of small burden; in the great fleet employed by Edward at Calais, there were 710 vessels,

with crews amounting to 14,151 persons, which would give an average crew of about twenty men; and as it is said that there were about sixty-five sailors to every hundred tons, it would make the average size of the vessels very small. Indeed, a ship manned by thirty seamen, employed to convey Edward I. to the Continent, was regarded as a wonder for its size. Of navy, properly speaking, there was little or none. There were only twenty-five royal ships at Calais, the rest were all merchantmen pressed for the service. About this time it became habitual to put cannon on board ships. When used for military purposes, they were manned by troops and archers.

It has been mentioned that the trade of England was almost entirely in raw materials. The cloth manufactured had hitherto been of the roughest description, but Edward III., true to his view of keeping English trade for the English, and moved perhaps by the wealth of his allies the Flemish, attempted to introduce the manufacture of finer cloths. In 1331, he invited weavers and fullers from Flanders, and the patent exists which he gave to one John Kempe, to practise and teach his mystery.² This seems to have been the beginning of the finer cloth manufactures of England.

The fact of so much trouble being taken to organize trade shows the extent of it, and in spite of all ignorance and mismanagement, it was certain to produce wealth. The standard of comfort among all classes was improving, though there was nothing like what we should

now speak of as luxury. The furniture used, even in the houses of the rich, was still rude. Things which are now found everywhere, and taken as matters of course, were then valuable rarities—beds, bedsteads, and rich clothing were frequently left by will. The lists of moveables, on which taxes were paid, are exceedingly meagre. A stool or two, a chest, and a few metal pots, constituted the ordinary supply of furniture. In the houses of the

¹ "Quod progenitores nostri, Reges Angliæ, domini maris et transmarini passagii, totis præteritis temporibus extiterunt."—Rymer, ii. 953

² Rymer, ii. 823.

very rich, art had indeed begun to show itself. The payments of Henry III. to foreign artists for paintings in his house are mentioned. Intercourse with the French, and especially with the Spaniards, tended to increase these more luxurious habits. Carpets had always been used by Eastern people, and the Moors had introduced the custom in Spain. Thus, on the marriage of Edward I., before the arrival of Eleanor of Castile, her brother, the Archbishop of Toledo, made his appearance. The hangings of his chamber excited the wonder of the people, and Edward, always inclined to ostentation, had the rooms of the bride elect similarly decorated. This is said to have been the introduction of carpets to England; but still the usual covering of the floor was rushes. There is frequent mention of payments for rushes for the King's chambers. In the matter of clothes the same change is observable. The extravagant court of Edward II. is said to have introduced parti-coloured garments. In Edward III.'s reign, wealth had so increased in all ranks that it was

found necessary to pass sumptuary laws, sharply dividing classes by the dress they were allowed to wear, and to confine silk and the finer woollen cloths to the higher ranks, for the sake perhaps of the English wool manufactures. In Richard II.'s reign, extravagance went still further. With his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, came in the awkward habit, soon adopted by all classes, of wearing long shoes, called *cracovys* or *pykys*, which required to be tied with silver chains to the knee before the wearer could move.¹ And Stowe says that Richard himself wore a garment made of gold, silver, and precious stones, worth 3000 marks. At the same time

the rich built more comfortable houses. Castles ceased to be mere places of defence. They were at once strongholds and handsome dwelling-places. Warwick and Windsor castles may be looked on as fair specimens of the more magnificent buildings of the time. Meanwhile, though among the few, and on special occasions, splendour was found, houses, even in the streets of considerable towns, such as Colchester, the tenth city of the empire, were still built of mud. In Edward III.'s reign, it was still necessary to issue frequent orders for the cleansing of the streets of London, that his courtiers might not get into difficulties as they moved from Westminster to the City. Filth accumulated in the narrow by-lanes; and, as in the East, crows were held sacred as the only scavengers. Pavement there was none, and lanterns were hoisted from the top of Bow Church, to guide the wayfarer through the paths of the heaths that surrounded the metropolis.

¹ Half a yard long.—Mon. Evesham.

Barbaric profusion in the matter of food made up for the want of substantial comforts. At the coronation of Edward I.,

Food. 380 head of cattle, 430 sheep, 450 pigs, 18 wild boars, 278 fitches of bacon, and 20,000 capons, was the amount of food provided. The conduits ran wine, and hundreds of knights, who attended the great nobles, let their horses run free, to be the prize of the first captor. In 1399, at a Christmas feast of Richard II., there were daily killed twenty-eight oxen and 300 sheep, beside numberless fowl. Richard of Cornwall, at his marriage, is said to have invited 30,000 guests; while we are told that the usual household of Richard II. numbered 10,000. But though at these great festivals there was vast abundance of meat, at other times, especially at the Church fasts, fish, often of the coarsest sort, was eaten. The wife of Simon de Montfort ate the tongue of a whale dressed with peas, and a porpoise dressed with furmenty, saffron and sugar. Enormous quantities of herrings were consumed, spoken of as Aberdeens; in six days of March, Eleanor de Montfort's household consumed no less than 3000. Her meals were diversified by dog-fish, stock-fish, conger eels, and cod. Wine was drunk in great quantities, frequently mixed with honey. Hops, though known in Flanders, had not been introduced; the beer which was largely consumed was made of any grain, and seasoned with pepper.

The House of Commons. It was the increasing wealth of the country, especially of the mercantile classes, which had caused their introduction to Parliament. Thither they came with all the exclusive notions which their trade traditions had fostered. They were as careless of the class below them as the Barons. Indeed, it would be true to say that the feeling of the House of Commons was completely aristocratic. One part of it was of necessity entirely so: the knights of the shire, originally the representatives of the lower baronage, were elected in the county court, which was the general meeting-place of all freeholders, whether they held immediately from the crown or not. Consequently, the baronial freeholders became merged in the lesser freeholders, and the class of gentry was created. Many things had tended to the increase of that class. The breaking up of great properties, the division of property among younger children, and alienation, had increased the number of freeholders. The statute "*Quia Emptores*," intended as a check upon subinfeudation, had really increased alienation by authorizing it. The smaller estates, thus separated from the large baronies, had to be worked to profit, and could not be regarded merely as means of military or

political influence. There thus had arisen an industrial as well as a military class of landholders. The representatives of towns, also elected upon a writ directed to the Sheriff, were, if not at first, certainly soon after elected in the county courts. This similarity of election united the two classes in feeling; and the smaller baronies, small landowners, and burghers, formed the body of representative Commons, aristocratic in feeling in accordance with the origin of the more aristocratic part of the class. It is thus that we find the Commons regarding the Barons as their natural leaders, not joining the crown against them as in France. Edward III., in his difficulties with Stratford, had tried to produce this combination, but had failed; and the Commons joining with the Barons, had insisted on the restoration to favour of that prelate. And thus, too, we find the Commons without sympathy with the demands of the rebels in Wat Tyler's insurrection. They had, indeed, certain grievances of their own, on which they were always petitioning, such as the encroachments of the King's purveyors, and the too great authority, sometimes misused, of the sheriffs. But apart from these particular wrongs, they may be regarded as siding as a whole with the Barons.

In their hatred to the Church they made common cause with all classes. The peculiar position which the submission of John had given the Popes in England was the primary cause of this dislike. Annates, or first-fruits, had been early demanded, but the great grievance, as we have seen, was Provisors. Against this assumption of authority, which forestalled the rights of the patrons, there was the strongest feeling. The exactions of the Pope had been strongly spoken of in the Statute of Carlisle in the end of Edward's I.'s reign. Edward II., like other weak princes, had yielded to this assumption. But in Edward III.'s reign, a series of enactments were passed, each one stronger than the last, against the interference of the Papacy. In 1343 the Statute of Carlisle had been read, and it was enacted that no more Papal instruments should be allowed in England. In 1344, the penalty of exile was pronounced against all provisors. By a Statute of the 25th year of Edward III.'s reign, it was ordained that "kings and all other lords were to present unto benefices, of their own or their ancestor's foundation, and not the Pope of Rome." If the Pope interfered the matter was to come into the King's hands, and penalties were enacted. In the 38th year of his reign these enactments were all confirmed and strengthened by the Statute of Provisors, by which the introduction of Papal Bulls and Briefs was forbidden. The strife, as we have

seen, was continued in Richard II.'s reign, and finally completed in the 16th year of that King, by a statute declaring the freedom of the crown of England, which was in earthly subjection to no realm, and pronouncing the penalties of the *Præmunire* against all who should purchase or procure any Bulls from the Court of Rome; any who were guilty of this should be put out of the King's peace, and forfeit all their property. In Edward III.'s reign, also, the annual tribute, or census, as it was called, of a thousand marks was left unpaid. At the end of Edward I.'s reign 17,000 marks had become due. Edward II. paid this, and continued throughout his reign to discharge the debt. Edward III. was again strong enough to refuse the payment, and in 1366, Urban V. demanded the arrears of thirty-three years. The King laid the matter before his Parliament, and an instrument was drawn up in the name of the King, Lords, and Commons, declaring that John had acted without the advice of his realm, and that any demand for the money would be resisted to the utmost. It was not again claimed. But it was not against the Roman Church only that the popular feeling had been aroused. The Church itself had become unpopular. The wealth and idleness of the older monastic orders, the spiritual encroachments and licentious lives of the new mendicant orders, had excited popular anger. The charges against them are humorously summed up in the Song of the Order of Fair-ease, a description of an imaginary order, to which each existing class of monks subscribes a characteristic or two. The monks of Beverley give the habit of deep drinking, in which they are joined by the Black Monks; the Hospitallers dress well and amble fairly on grey palfreys; the Secular Canons are the willing servants of the ladies; the Grey Monks are given to licentiousness; while the Friars Minor, whose order is founded on poverty, will never lodge with a poor man so long as there are richer men to be found. In the same way the constant interference of the consistory courts was the cause of popular complaint. "Yet there sit somnours, six or seven, misjudging all men alike, and reach forth their roll: herdsmen hate them, and every man's servant, for every parish they put in pain."

To crown all, the doctrine itself of the Church had begun to be questioned. In 1360, the name of Wicliffe first becomes prominent. His first attack was upon the mendicant orders, who had contrived to get into their hands much of the education of the country. From this time onwards he continually waged war against the abuses of the Church. The clergy, he urged,

should be poor, in imitation of Christ. This doctrine he carried out by the establishment of an order of poor priests. With regard to the Sacrament, he appealed to common sense; and while not yet ready to attack the doctrine of Transubstantiation, upheld that the elements taken were really bread and wine. But his great work was neither his assault on the wealth of the clergy, nor his attack on their doctrine, but the translation of the Bible into English, which was, in fact, an appeal to private judgment in opposition to ecclesiastical authority. His influence was very widespread. His poor priests worked largely among the lower orders, and his view of the necessity of poverty for the clergy was so in harmony with the feelings of the day, that it met with ready acceptance. As has been mentioned, the Church was too strong for him. He was obliged, when the support of John of Gaunt failed him, to make some sort of recantation, and retire to his living of Lutterworth. But his disciples are said to have numbered a third of the population of England, and when, as was inevitable, social and political views were added to their religious doctrines, they became an object of dread, not only to the Church, but also to the Government.

It is perhaps in the lower commons that social change is most obvious. The great insurrection of Wat Tyler is a sign of something more than mere temporary discontent. The lower classes. Agricultural villeinage was disappearing, and giving birth to a new class almost peculiar to England, the free but landless labourer. The existence of this class first comes prominently into notice in the Statute of Labourers. In the terrible pestilence of the Black Death which had ravaged England, a third, perhaps a half, of the population had been carried off. Labour became scarce. The labourers took the opportunity of making what we should now call a strike for higher wages. Such a demand, however consonant with economical principles, was quite repugnant to the feelings of that age, when prices were a constant matter of legal enactment. The Statute of Labourers, stating in its preamble that servants, taking advantage of the necessities of their masters, would not serve except for excessive wages, enacted that every able-bodied man should be bound to serve any one who required him at the old wages under pain of imprisonment; and that every master giving more than the old wages should forfeit thrice the sum he had offered. Such an ordinance could not be kept; but strenuous efforts were made to insist upon it, and again and again in some form or other it was re-enacted. But whether successful or not, it shows the existence of labour for wages, and

of a rising knowledge on the part of the labourers of the value of their work. Several causes combined to create this labouring class. The early form of agricultural society may be roughly described as a village of serfs lying round the manor-house of their lord. Each serf had his share in the common fields of the village, and was bound to join in the cultivation of his lord's domain or manor farm. For the simple farming at that time prevalent this forced labour was sufficient; and the lord valued his serfs more for military purposes than as agricultural labourers. As subinfeudation and alienation went on, the holders of small properties were obliged to work their land to better profit. The alienations also were chiefly made from the lord's domain, but it was not usual to part with serfs. Consequently, their number increased, while the domain land diminished; there were more hands than the lord could employ, and the tenant working for profit could therefore find labour among the surplus serfs who would work for wages. A change in the character of war took place at the same time. The insular condition of England made the feudal arrangement with its limited term of service inconvenient; in the highest ranks, therefore, military service was changed to scutage or money payment, and a large number of dependants became less desirable than money; proprietors were willing to work their farms with fewer servants and to receive money rent instead of service. There were thus at work the two principles which broke down villein labour; labour paid by wages, and land held for money rent. The change in war had another effect. Armies were raised by contract with some great lord. The payment was beyond the ordinary agricultural wages. The earl himself received a mark a day, the common foot-soldier, 3d. or 4d., and the archer, 6d.¹ Anxious to fulfil his contract, the leader would not be careful to inquire whether he was enlisting serfs or not. On his return from a war, the well-paid soldier would be unwilling to fall back into a state of serfdom. He swelled the ranks of wage-paid labour. Again, the residence of a year and a day uninterrupted within the limits of a borough gave freedom. Serfs, seeing the advantage of money payments, fled thither and became free. Again, the Church, in whose eyes all men were equal, would not refuse to admit them within its ranks; a serf could thus become a priest or monk, and withdraw himself from his lord's power. On the same principle, the Church constantly urged the manumission of serfs. To all these causes was now added the disarrangement of labour consequent on the Black Death. With a general demand for labour all

¹ The Welsh infantry, who were largely employed after Edward I., had 2d. a day

superfluous hands would find easy employment, perhaps at a considerable distance from their old homes. With a sufficient supply himself, the lord would not waste time or money to redeem them. We thus see how there may have been a vast number of free labourers in England. The Statute of Labourers, destroying their freedom of bargain, attempted, though with but partial success, to force these free labourers back into a semi-servile condition. But they had now joined the ranks of freemen, such as the small farmers of Kent, and the unincorporated artisans of towns. The spirit of equality fostered by the teaching of the mendicant friars, who had reached England in Henry III.'s reign, and who took up their abode among the poor city populations, was still further increased by the teaching of Wicliffe and his poor priests.

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

a doggerel couplet frequent in the mouths of the insurgents of 1382, shows how the lessons of the Bible made public by Wicliffe's translation could be turned in the same direction. The feeling that it was the plebeian archer, and not the lordly man-at-arms, who had won the great victories in France, and the success with which, during the last half century, the smaller trade corporations had in the cities forced themselves into an equality with the great ones, all led to the same democratic feeling. The lower freemen made common cause with the villeins. They had all felt the heavy pressure of the tax-gatherer. The popular songs of the day are full of wretchedness. One, said to belong to the reign of Edward I. or II., speaks thus—

"To seek silver for the King, I sold my seed, wherefore my land lies fallow and learns to sleep. Since they fetched my fair cattle in my fold, when I think of my old wealth I nearly weep; this breeds many bold beggars. There wakes in the world consternation and woe, as good is it to perish at once, as so to labour."¹ The democratic outbreak of Wat Tyler was the consequence.

While the two sections of the commons were thus rising in social position, a change had also taken place in the character of the nobil-

¹ "To seche silver to the kyng y mi seed soide,
Forthi mi lond leye lith ant leorneth to slepe.
Seththe he mi feire feh fatte y my folde,
When y thenk o mi weole wel neh y wepe;
Thus bredeth monie beggares bolde.

Ther wakeneth in the world wondred ant wee,
Aso god is swynken anon as so for to swynke."

Political Songs, p. 152.

ity. It may be roughly characterized as the change from feudalism to chivalry.¹ Many of the same causes which had conduced to the freedom of the labourer had tended to loosen the territorial system on which the ancient strength of the nobility rested. Especially had the voluntary character of military service dealt heavy blows at the practical side of feudalism. Soldiering was no longer the necessary duty of every man; but the military spirit remained, and to the bulk of the aristocracy fighting became a pastime. The subordination of proprietors gave place to a sort of system of freemasonry, to which all knights were admitted. Knighthood made its holder any man's equal for actual military purposes. It was no longer the great noble, but the good soldier, who was the commander. Manny, Chandos, Knowles, all of them simple knights, were the generals to whom Edward III. trusted. As an amusement war was decked with ostentatious ornament. This is the period of showy tournaments, of armorial bearings, and of grotesque vows, like that of the young knights who attended Edward with black patches over their eyes. It is this chivalrous aspect of war which explains the short-lived character of Edward's expeditions. But it had a more important effect. Importance in the country became a more personal matter; partly from love of show, partly to produce respect, great men began to surround themselves, not with feudal followers, but with paid retainers. To these they granted liveries. It was a point of honour among these retainers to stand by each other and by their chief. Quite in the beginning of Richard II.'s reign, the Commons petitioned against these liveries and the bands of maintainers,² who upheld each other in illegal actions. Thus great households, and by degrees factions, were formed, and things were ready for the great outbreak of faction fighting, which ended in the destruction of the old nobility in the Wars of the Roses.

The feeling of national life, which is one of the characteristics of the time, had shown itself in literature. Public transactions were still carried on in French or Latin; but it will be remembered that as early as the Provisions of Oxford it

¹ The historian of this chivalrous knighthood was Froissart.

² Maintainers seem to have been of two sorts. On the borders of the counties palatine, confederacies were formed, who made sudden irruptions into the neighbouring counties, and carried off young women, particularly heiresses. They then retired within the freedoms of the counties palatine, and held their captives to ransom. The bodies of retainers who gathered round individual nobles, and stood by one another in such illegal actions as forcible despoil or ejection of rightful owners from their property, also received the name.

had been found necessary to publish any important proclamation in English as well. Up till that time the languages of the nobility and of the common people had been distinct. From that time onwards they begin to blend. This, as it happens, can be very well observed. Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote a Latin Chronicle of England in 1130. Before the end of the century it was versified by two writers; one wrote for the nobles and the aristocracy, the other for the common people. Master Wace, a native of Jersey, translated Geoffrey for Henry II. into Norman-French. Layamon, who wrote about 1180, translated it into a language which may be fairly called Anglo-Saxon, although of a somewhat degraded type. We have here a perfect division of the languages. But about the middle of the next century the same work was translated by Robert of Gloucester. In his language there is a much nearer approach to English, and a considerable number of French words are easily to be traced. Some fifty years afterwards, Robert Mannyng, or De Brunne, again rewrote the Chronicle; and again the further introduction of French words is striking. We have thus means of testing, as it were, at three different points, the process of amalgamation that was going forward. The Court language still continued to be French, but French not much like the language of France, and it was ceasing to be thoroughly understood by the bulk of the people. By the time that Chaucer wrote, he could laugh at English-French. His Prioress spoke Cockney-French,

"After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frenche of Paris was to hire unknowe."

And in recommending English writing, he says,—"Certes there ben some that speke thyr poysy mater in Frensche, of whyche speche the Frensche men have as good a fantasye as we have in hearing of Frensche mennes Englyshe." This indeed was to be expected. From the Conquest the language of schools had been French; but in 1356, John of Cornwall had begun a change in this habit, and taught Latin translation by means of English, and not French. The consequence, as described by Trevisa, was, their "avauntage is, that thei lerneth her gramer in lasse tyme than children were wont to do; desavauntage is, that now children of gramer scole kunneth no more Frensch than her lifte heele." Other signs also point to this change. Latin had ceased to be the language of public documents in the reign of Edward I. In 1362, in answer it appears to a petition from the Commons, the opening address delivered in Parliament was in English, and the Commons' debates in English also. At the same time it was ordered

that English should be the language of courts of law, because the French tongue was too much unknown. But it was not till the reign of Richard III. that the statutes and rolls of Parliament were written in English. It is probable that Parliamentary business continued to be carried on in both languages for some time longer. In 1381 English seems to have been generally used. There were thus during this period extant three languages for literary purposes—Latin, the language of learned men and historians; French, an acquired Court language, in which most of the legends of chivalry and lengthened rhyming chronicles were produced; and the gradually rising English language, which, as the popular tongue, was chiefly employed in songs and political satire. The earliest form of English poetry was alliterative,—metrical, but without rhyme, and depending for its effect upon a certain number of words in each couplet beginning with the same letter. But rhyme, and not only rhyme, but very easy and varied metres, were introduced as early as the reign of Henry III. Not unfrequently both principles were blended, and rhyme and alliteration occur together. Latin was also employed, we must suppose by the clergy, in satirical songs. All classical metres were then discarded, and Latin was used as a rhyming language. There are some instances also of verses, partly in one language, partly in the other. It may be worth while to give an instance of two of these various metres. Thus a verse of a song shortly after the battle of Lewes runs thus:—

"Sire Simond de Mountfort hath swore bi ys chyn,
Hevede he nou here the Erl of Waryn,
Shulde he never more come to is yn,
Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with uther gyn
To help of Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,
Trichen shalt thou never more."

This is rhyme, the rhythm is free, and there is a refrain. In the following verse, from a satire on the consistory courts, alliteration and rhyme go together:—

"Ther sitteth somenours syxe other sevene
Mysmotinde men alle by here evene,
Ant recheth forth heore rolle;
Hyrd-men hem hatieth, ant uch mones hyne,
For everuch a parosse heo polketh in pyne,
Ant clastreth with heore colle."

The next specimen, from a song on the venality of judges, shows how Latin was adapted to modern versification:—

"Sunt Justitarii,
Quos favor et denarii
alliciunt a jure;
Hii sunt nam bene recolo
Quod census dant diabolo
et serviunt hii pure."

While in the next verse is shown the mixture of two languages; it is drawn from a song against the King's taxes:—

"Une chose est cointre foy, unde gens gravatur
Que la meyté ne vient al roy, in regno quod levatur
Par ce qu'il n'ad tot l'enter, prout sibi datur,
Le pueple doit le plus doner, et sic sincopat.
Nam que taxantur, regi non omnia dantur."

These satirical poems are directed against nearly every class of society, the monks, the judges, the taxers, the nobility, the ladies, the logicians of the university, and even the doctors meet with their share of abuse. The democratic spirit which is visible in them found a more complete and worthy expression in the poem known by the name of the Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman. It is supposed to be the work of a poet of the name of Langland. The form is allegorical, a form which the great celebrity of the French "Romance of the Rose" made permanent both in France and England for many years. A pilgrim of quite the lowest rank sees in a vision virtues and vices pass before him, and also representatives of all the various classes of society. Each in turn is criticised; none can lead him in the path of virtue, till Peter the Ploughman appears, who, in a religious conversation, shows him the right way. His character is one of typical perfection, and becomes confused towards the end of the poem with that of Christ. The poem is written in alliterative verse, and in English by no means so much like our present English as some of the songs that preceded it. But at length the time was come for the complete nationalization of the language. French was in decay, the popular songs were in rude English, and when the union of all classes in Parliament had completed the real nationality, any further division of the languages was impossible. The junction was effected by Chaucer. He set himself intentionally to work to make a compound and national tongue. He took for its basis the English; and on it he grafted, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in an altered form, vast numbers of French words. It is a curious instance of an intentional formation of a language. Many words he admitted apparently upon trial, and they have been rejected. Others have been somewhat changed in form, but in his works we have a language

which a very little trouble will enable any Englishman to read, and the grammar and structure of which, with few exceptions, is like our own English. The great work for which he employed this language, the "Canterbury Tales," was well fitted to establish it. While the prologue describes every class of English society, each drawn with an incomparable delicacy and humour, the tales which form the bulk of the work are of every description. Love romances for the knights; coarse or farcical incidents for the commonalty; sober religious prose for the serious. Compared with this poem, there is nothing for more than a century worthy of mention. Gower, who wrote at the same time with Chaucer, and in the three languages, is wholly deficient in humour, and heavy and prosaic to the last degree. His followers in the next century, Lydgate and Occleve, were poets by profession and not by inspiration, always ready to turn out a poem upon demand. Chaucer was not only the founder of the English language, but, before the appearance of Spenser, the only great poet whom England produced.

HENRY IV.

1399-1413.

Born 1366 = 1. Mary of Bohun.
= 2. Joan of Navarre.

Henry V. Thomas, Duke of Clarence.	John, Duke of Bedford.	Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.	Blanche = Duke Philippa = King of Bavaria. of Denmark.
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CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain (Castile).</i>
Robert III., 1390. James I., 1405.	Charles VI., 1380.	Wenceslaus, 1378. Robert, 1400. Sigismund, 1410.	Henry III., 1390. John II., 1406

POPES.—Boniface IX., 1389. Innocent VII., 1404. Gregory XII., 1406. Alexander V., 1409. John XXII., 1410.

Archbishop.

Thomas Arundel, 1397.

Chancellors.

John Searle, 1399.	Thomas Arundel, 1407.
Edmund Stafford, 1401.	Sir Thomas Beaufort, 1409.
Cardinal Beaufort, 1403.	Thomas Arundel, 1412.
Thomas Longley, 1405.	

THE reign of Richard II., with its strange and rapid revolutions, had been the beginning of that great faction fight which was concluded a century afterwards by the accession of Henry VII. After pursuing during that reign a policy of inconsistent, and even treacherous, self-seeking, the Duke of Lancaster now came forward as the champion of order. The *coup d'état* by which he put himself on the throne is another of those instances which history has so abundantly furnished, of the willing acceptance by a nation, after a period of long discomfort, of any one who would bring it rest. There are thus two points of view from which to regard his reign. It is the reign of a usurper bent upon establishing a dynasty, the reign of a conservative who bases his position on the maintenance of the existing state of society, and

therefore for a time checks the natural progress of the nation. The necessity which a usurper feels for popularity will explain the improved constitutional position of the Commons during the earlier years of his reign; his position as a reactionary that attachment to the Church which produced the famous statute, "*De Hæretico comburendo*."

The arbitrary character of the government at the close of the late King's reign, and the acts of vengeance which had marked it, were the evils which were most prominent at the moment.

Reversal of the
acts of the late
King.

Henry's first step was of necessity the reversal of these acts, and the restoration of the state of things which had

existed in 1388. The Parliament was therefore induced to declare all the acts of the last Parliament null, while those nobles whose adhesion to the late King had procured them fresh rank fell back to their old titles. Thus, the Dukes of Albemarle, of Surrey, and of Exeter, appear again as the Earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon,

Tumultuous
scene in the
first Parliament.

the Marquis of Dorset as Earl of Somerset. The scene in the House of Lords in the first Parliament marks the pitch to which passion had risen, and the preparation

already made for future civil war. Rutland, the son of the Duke of York, was challenged by Lord Fitz-Walter, and when Lord Morley, the friend of the new King, challenged Lord Salisbury, no less than forty lords threw down their hoods as gages of battle on one side or the other. This point is further illustrated by the petition of the Commons, that all liveries except those of the King should be forbidden. The nobles had been gathering paid retainers around them, and getting themselves ready for the threatening quarrel. Meanwhile, the King had been crowned, supported by his two great partisans—whose names show the great influence of the North in the late change of government—Percy, Earl of Northumberland, now made Constable of England, and Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, with the rank of Marshall. It by no means suited Henry to excite remark as to his right. He therefore stepped as quietly as he could into the position of his predecessor, and his son Henry was declared Prince of Wales and heir-apparent, entirely without mention of the young Earl of March, the real heir, who was then a child in the custody of the King at Windsor. A grant of a tax on wool and

The King's
insecure position
for nine
years,
1400.

leather for three years closed the session, and enabled Henry to take measures to secure his position; for it was not to be supposed that the party which had lost its influence would calmly acknowledge the new King. He

was scarcely crowned when plots began to be formed against him, nor was it till he had been nine years upon the throne that the dangers which assaulted him both from his own kingdom and from foreign countries were finally overcome. It was during this period of weakness and uncertainty that he had to rest principally upon the Commons, who supported him as the champion of order against baronial disorder, but did not fail to take advantage of his weakness.

The first of these difficulties arose from those lords who had been the appellants against Gloucester, and whose loss of rank has been already mentioned. A week before Christmas, 1399,

Insurrection of
the late Lords
Appellant.

several others of the depressed party met at Westminster, and there the Earls of Huntingdon, Rutland, Kent, and Salisbury entered into a conspiracy for the restoration of Richard. Their plan was to seize the King at Windsor, but Rutland, a never-failing traitor, disclosed the project to his cousin; the King hastily betook himself to London, and the insurgent lords, finding that their plans were discovered, fell back towards the West. The King was rapidly pursuing them; but at Cirencester, the inhabitants, under their Mayor, surrounded their lodgings, took them prisoners, and afterwards beheaded Kent and Salisbury. Several escaped for the time, but the same fate at length overtook Despenser at Bristol, and Huntingdon at Pleshy in Essex. Subsequently, Sir Thomas Blunt and eighteen others were executed at Oxford. Among them was a priest, Maudelin by name, who had been chosen for his strong personal resemblance to represent the late King in the insurrection. That the leaders of this conspiracy should have all fallen victims to popular vengeance sufficiently shows the feelings of the bulk of the nation with regard to King Henry and his rival.

Meanwhile, Richard had been imprisoned in Pontefract Castle. In February a report was spread that he was dead. On this the Privy Council begged that, if still alive, he might be carefully

Imprisonment
and secret death
of Richard.

secured. The answer was given that he was already dead, and a corpse was exhibited in London, the face of which, from the eyes to the chin, was left uncovered, the rest of the body being carefully clothed. This peculiar arrangement excited suspicions, which were probably groundless, but were further supported by the complete mystery which hung over the manner of the King's death. Hunger and violence were both alleged; while some asserted that the corpse exhibited was not that of Richard, but of the priest Maudelin.¹

¹ The priest had, however, been dead a month before.

His domestic enemies for the present silenced, Henry could look abroad. He made advances towards friendship with France, but it soon became plain that that kingdom was inclined to support the cause of the late King, whose young widow, Isabella, was the daughter of Charles VI. The title of King of England was refused to Henry, Isabella and her dowry demanded, and hostility thus kept continually alive. In Scotland, also, the same feeling showed itself. The King, Robert III., was confined by weakness of body and mind almost exclusively to the Isle of Bute; his brother, the Duke of Albany, was the real ruler of the country. Henry, who had a party in the country, and at whose court Dunbar, the Earl of March, the chief enemy of the Douglas family, was resident, thought it desirable to show his power. He therefore marched as far as Leith, demanding homage from the Scotch King similar to that claimed by his predecessors, but the Duke of Rothesay, heir-apparent, held firm in the Castle of Edinburgh, and want of provisions speedily obliged the English to beat a somewhat hasty retreat. As in the case of France, this transaction with Scotland established a constant hostility.

In the other dependency of England affairs were still worse. Owen Glendower, a Welsh gentleman of good family educated in England, incensed at the rejection of a suit about a certain property of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, had roused the national animosity, and claimed for himself the title of Prince of Wales. For the present Henry could do nothing effective against him. The war assumed a national character; the Welsh were expelled from the towns in the Marches. Edward I.'s statutes against the Welsh were re-enacted, even including that which ordered the destruction of the bards. The conduct of the war was placed nominally in the hands of Henry, Prince of Wales, a lad of thirteen. But the whole of the following year Glendower's successes continued. Grey of Ruthyn and Edward Mortimer, uncle of the imprisoned Prince, the Earl of March, were taken prisoners, and an expedition undertaken by Henry in person towards the close of the year was forced to retire from the mountainous strongholds of the Welsh. The storms and snowdrifts seemed to fight against them in that wild district, and gave rise to the belief that Glendower was a magician.

Could these various enemies but find some powerful adherents in England, it was plain that Henry's position would be precarious. A quarrel with those who had hitherto been his chief supporters, the Percies of Northumber-

Hostile attitude
of France and
Scotland.

Useless and
impolitic march
into Scotland.

Insurrection in
Wales. Owen
Glendower.
1400.

Quarrel with
the Percies.
1402.

land, supplied this element of danger; while a strange report, that the late King was still alive in Scotland, gave a central point round which all Henry's enemies might gather. About Whitsuntide, in 1402, the rumour reached England that Richard had escaped from Pontefract, and had made his appearance at the house of the Lord of the Isles, by whom he was handed over to the Court, and there kept so strictly that no man could get sight of him. The existence of such a pretender was certain. It was in vain that Henry attempted to suppress the rumour by executions; in vain that he even proceeded to execute certain Franciscan monks who had been engaged in spreading it. The secrecy which covered Richard's death, and which for some reason Henry could not break, prevented any clear proof of the imposture. The false Richard is believed to have been a man of weak intellect, called Thomas Ward of Trumpington. The reason of the King's quarrel with the Percies is by no means clear, but various causes of discontent can be shown. The Duke of Albany, after much fighting on the borders, had made an expedition on a large scale against Carlisle. On its return home, the army, heavily laden with booty, was met by the Percies, and defeated at Homildon Hill. The defeat was complete; many Scotch nobles fell into the hands of the English, among them Murdoch, Earl of Fife, the son and heir of the Earl of Albany, and Douglas, Earl of Angus. For such prisoners the Percies expected a large ransom. Their anger and disappointment was great when the King took Murdoch from them and claimed the ransom of the rest. A somewhat similar affair took place in Wales. Of Glendower's great prisoners, Grey of Ruthyn was allowed to ransom himself, a privilege refused to Mortimer; when the younger Percy, Hotspur, who had married Mortimer's sister, urged his claim, he met with a rebuff. The King also owed the Percies large sums of money; £20,000 was due to them, which the entanglement of the finances made it impossible to pay. The general feeling that they had been badly rewarded for the invaluable assistance they had afforded Henry, acting upon the unusually hot temper of the younger Percy, drove them into a change of policy.

Before the end of the year 1402, they entered into negotiations with Glendower; and Mortimer, instead of attempting to gain his liberty, married the daughter of the insurgent chief, and recognized him as Prince of Wales. The Percies at the same time gained the assistance of their prisoner Douglas, and the conspiracy was completed by the support given to

The pretended
Richard.

Causes of the
quarrel with
Northumberland

The Percies
combine with
Glendower.

Glendower by France. On all sides the King's difficulties seemed to increase. The Earl of Worcester joined the Percies; Richard's old followers crowded to their standard, and an army, insidiously collected as though for an attack on Scotland, rapidly marched on Shrewsbury to make a junction with the Welsh. Thither Henry, with his son the Prince of Wales, hastened, and the decisive battle of Shrewsbury was fought, in which, after a keen struggle, Hotspur was killed, and most of the other leaders, including Worcester and Douglas, captured. Worcester and the other English leaders were beheaded; Douglas was retained in prison. The King had still to destroy the insurrection of the elder Percies in the North, where all the inhabitants of the country had taken the crescent—the livery of Northumberland. The royal army was, however, obviously too strong for opposition, and the Earl made his submission, and met the King at York. The House of Peers claimed as a right the trial of their fellow, and he was found guilty, not of high treason, but only of misdemeanour, and let off with a fine.

The great conspiracy was thus but half broken. Wales, Scotland, France, and the English malcontents were still in communication. From France, indeed, serious difficulties seemed to threaten. In presence of the weakness of Charles VI., the King of that country, the real power was disputed by his brother Louis of Orleans and his uncle the Duke of Burgundy. Louis had at this time the upper hand. He took in great dudgeon the events which had taken place in England; and rumours were abroad, strengthened by the distribution among the malcontents of Richard's crest by the old Countess of Oxford, the mother of De Vere, the late King's favourite. These rumours pointed to a great conspiracy, coupled with an invasion of Essex by France, in favour of the spurious Richard in Scotland. For a time the threat of invasion compelled the King to remain quiet; but after the French fleet, which had attacked the Isle of Wight and Plymouth, had been defeated at Portland, he was able to turn his attention to the North, and again to compel Northumberland to come to an explanation. But that explanation he found himself obliged to accept. Almost at the same time a fresh alarm met him. Lady Constance Spenser had contrived to withdraw the young Earl of March from Windsor, and to fly with him. She was shortly captured, and the young Prince brought back, but it was plain that the danger was great.

Battle of
Shrewsbury.
July 23, 1403.

Submission of
Northumberland
1404

Widespread
conspiracy.

Flight of the
young Earl of
March.
1405.

In April the King went against Wales. His absence in that direction was at once taken advantage of by his northern enemies. The difficulty with which he could secure supplies was one of Henry's main obstacles to success, and in the last Parliament the opposition had been headed by Sir Thomas Bardolph. That gentleman now appeared in close conjunction with Northumberland, assisting him to garrison his fortresses. At the same time Mowbray, the son of that Duke of Norfolk with whom Henry had quarrelled at the time of his banishment, and Scrope, the Archbishop of York, the brother of that Lord Scrope who had been Richard's chancellor at the beginning of his reign, and whom that King had been forced to remove, joined the insurrection. The Earl of Westmoreland, who remained constantly faithful to Henry, was sent against them while Henry was engaged in Wales. Again, the royal army was too strong for the insurgents. Scrope and Mowbray were induced to disband their forces, and were then immediately apprehended. Gascoigne, the chief justice, was called upon to try them and convict them summarily. He was one of those constitutional lawyers who were gradually rising in England, and he refused to do so, pointing out that he should infringe the liberties both of the Church and the House of Lords. Henry found in Sir William Fulthorpe a more complacent judge. They were both beheaded, not without arousing, as Gascoigne had foreseen, the anger of the Lords. Upon the capture of his confederates, Northumberland fled with Bardolph to Scotland, but being refused an interview with the impostor, and mistrusting the honesty of Albany, he subsequently withdrew to Wales. It was there alone that the war continued, nor was it finally suppressed during the reign.

But, in the next two years, events occurred which at length placed Henry in a position of security. The friends of the Scotch King, fearing the ambition of Albany, which had already induced him to take the life of the Duke of Rothesay, the heir-apparent, determined to withdraw James, the King's second son and heir-apparent, from danger. He therefore took ship for France, but on the way was captured by English cruisers, and brought a prisoner to Henry, who grimly remarked that they might as well have sent him direct to him, as he could have taught him French quite well. He justified this boast; for though he kept the young Prince prisoner, he gave him an education which, upon his subsequent release, well fitted him for the throne he occupied. Henry had now in his hands pledges of

Renewed
activity of
Northumberland,
Scrope and
Mowbray.

Events which
secured Henry's
triumph.
1406.

Capture of
James of
Scotland.

safety from all his enemies. The Earl of March was still with him; Murdoch of Fife, Albany's son, served as a hostage for his father; while James served as security from all attacks from the royalist party in Scotland. The following year (1407) was still more fortunate. The overweening vanity of Orleans, his licentiousness, which, it is said, did not even spare the young Duchess of Burgundy,

Murder of
Orleans.
1407.

excited the anger of the Duke of Burgundy, the King's cousin, to such a degree, that he caused the Duke of Orleans to be murdered in the streets of Paris. Henry's chief enemy in France was thus removed. With Burgundy, who had lately inherited Flanders, and thus become the Prince of a trading nation and the champion of the city populations, he had much in common; and though he did not espouse his cause in any active manner, he felt secure from any immediate danger. Without his French allies, Owen Glendower was gradually driven back to the

Final defeat and
death of North-
umberland.

mountains of North Wales, and in despair, Northumberland and Bardolph again appeared in the North, took arms, and were defeated and killed at Bramham. Thus safe on the side of France, with Scotland pledged to peace by the captivity of its princes, the Percies finally defeated, and Owen Glendower confined to the limits of the purely Celtic part of Wales, Henry was at length triumphant.

Henry's
improved
position.

During the whole of these years of difficulty, the King had found it necessary to keep the Commons in good temper. Although he suffered from constant want of money, and in vain tried to induce his frequent Parliaments to act liberally towards him, he seems on no occasion to have employed illegal means for improving his position. It had become an accepted axiom, that consent of all the estates of the realm was necessary for the levying of taxes; and the Commons had made their position so good, that, in the very year of his final triumph, they ventured upon a quarrel with the Lords, claiming for themselves the exclusive right of originating grants, and insisting on the absence of the King while they were discussed. More than that, they had attempted, though unsuccessfully, to oblige the King to answer their petition of grievances before they made their grant, and succeeded in establishing the custom of appropriating their grants to special objects, and of paying them into the hands of treasurers of their own appointment. But their increase of power was chiefly visible in their interference with the royal expenditure and administration. In the fifth year of his reign, the King had been obliged to displace four of his ministers

His enforced
respect for the
Commons.

at the request of the Commons, to declare his intention of governing economically according to law, and to name his Privy Council in Parliament. And in the eighth year of his reign, when already he seemed upon the point of triumphing over his enemies, he was compelled to grant his assent to a petition of the Commons, which put as strict limitations upon his power as any to which Richard, even at the time of his greatest depression, had submitted. He had to name sixteen counsellors, by whose advice solely he was to be guided. His ordinary revenue was to be wholly appropriated to his household and the payment of his debts. No officer of the household was to hold his place for life or for a fixed term. The council was to determine nothing which the common law was capable of determining; and the elections of knights were regulated. At the head of this council was put the Prince of Wales.

Climax of
their power
1407.

It is difficult to understand how the King should submit to this arrangement, which virtually established a strictly limited monarchy, just at the moment of his success. It is perhaps explained by his failing health. A disease had attacked his face, which changed into a form of leprosy, and during the remainder of his life he was subject to attacks of epilepsy. It was not unnatural that he should wish to withdraw somewhat from public affairs. Under these circumstances, it is not quite clear how far he is to be credited with the remaining events of his reign. But the prudence and state-craft exhibited in them, which could hardly have been expected from so young a man as Prince Henry, and the more vigorous opposition which he subsequently made to the demands of the Commons, would seem to show that he was still practically ruler. This restoration of vigour is marked by his refusal, towards the close of his reign, to grant any extension of the right of liberty of speech, and by the humble tone adopted by the Parliament in the thirteenth year of his reign, when he was entreated to declare that he was not offended, and that he regarded them as his loyal subjects.

Explained by
the King's
failing health.

Renewed vigour
at end of reign.

Having secured his position at home, though not, as has been seen, without some sacrifices, the King's attention was chiefly directed towards securing the permanence of his dynasty by foreign matrimonial alliances, and to obtaining a strong position abroad by interfering in French politics. His two sisters were already respectively Queens of Castile and Portugal. He had himself married, in 1403, a Princess of Navarre. As

Henry's foreign
policy.
Marriages.

a husband for his eldest daughter he procured Louis, Count Palatine, the son and heir of Rupert, King of the Romans; while his younger daughter married Eric, who had consolidated a great Scandinavian monarchy in the North.

In France he made his weight felt by alternately siding with one or other of the great parties which divided that kingdom. His natural connection would have been the Burgundians; and he first attached himself so far to that party as to send a considerable army to their assistance. A battle fought near St. Cloud (1411), in which the Armagnacs (as the friends of Orleans were now called) were worsted, for the time rendered the Duke of Burgundy the master of France. Henry chose this opportunity to change sides, and entered into an arrangement with the defeated princes, by which he was secured the full possession of Guienne. He intended at the same time to have led an army into France, and to have imitated the career of Edward III. The national danger produced a temporary friendship between the French parties, and Burgundy, at a meeting held at Auxerre, succeeded in persuading the Armagnacs to annul their arrangement with the English. Henry's health prevented him from leading the expedition, as he intended; but an army, under the Duke of Clarence, his second son, laid waste Maine and Touraine, and was only stopped by the payment of a large sum of money. After this Clarence withdrew to complete the conquest of Guienne. Thus, though unable to fulfil

Success of his policy.

his ambitious project of invasion, Henry had contrived to make his position abroad very different from what it was at the beginning of his reign, when the French could refuse him the royal title, and paralyze his home policy by a threat of invasion.

From one point of view, as a usurper founding a new dynasty, he had now been quite successful. As a preserver of society, he probably regarded himself as not less so. Though the son of John of Gaunt, the favourer of Wicliffe, and not averse in his youth to the doctrines of that teacher, he had seen that Lollardism pointed, not only to ecclesiastical, but to political changes. From the beginning

His alliance with the Church.

of the reign he had determined that the preservation of the Church in all its privileges and possessions was the surest means of checking the rising democracy. He had therefore been always its staunch supporter. In pursuance of this policy, in the second year of his reign, he had given his assent to a persecuting statute, formed, it seems probable, on the petition of the clergy, without the participation of the Commons. This statute, which is

known under the title of "De Hæretico comburendo," forbade teaching and preaching without the license of a bishop, to whom also was given the right of condemning heretical books and writings, while the State undertook to carry out the bishop's sentence. Should any person thus condemned continue in his heresy, he was to be regarded as relapsed, and handed over to the civil arm, to be publicly burned. The first victim of this statute was William Sautré, at one time parish priest of Lynn, and involved in the treason of Kent and Huntingdon. On his persisting in the errors with which he was charged, the new law was carried into effect. The persecution once begun did not cease without more victims, and produced the effect, so common in cases of persecution, of driving the Lollards into further extremes of fanaticism. The germ of socialism which no doubt existed in the Lollard doctrine, and which showed itself in the constant demand for the abolition of the wealth of the clergy, alarmed the barons, and made them strong supporters of orthodoxy. The Commons, on the other hand, although they appear to have differed in feeling at different parts of the reign, were on the whole willing enough, while supporting orthodoxy of faith, to countenance the secularization of Church property. Indeed, they went so far in this direction, that in the year 1410, in answer to the reiterated request of the King for a settled yearly subsidy for his life, they pointed out to him the advisability of appropriating some of the ecclesiastical revenues, which would be enough, they said, to supply him with 15 earls, 1500 knights, and 6200 men-at-arms for military service. They begged also that those condemned for heresy might be withdrawn from the bishop's jurisdiction, and tried by secular courts.¹

Persecuting statute. 1401.

Views of the nation with regard to the Church.

The popularity of the Prince of Wales, his position as head of his father's Council, not unnaturally gave the King some uneasiness in his last years. It seems not improbable that, having been once put at the head of the Council, he virtually performed many of the duties of the Government. Documents are extant in which he seems to be regarded as the King's representative. Moreover, the course of events seems to show certain changes of policy which can be explained in this way. It is evident from his after policy, that he was much attached to the Burgundian party in France. We may therefore credit him with the assistance sent to them, which proved so useful to them at the Battle of St. Cloud, especially as the force was commanded by his

Henry's jealousy of the Prince of Wales.

¹ Walsingham, 379.

friend, Sir John Oldcastle. The sudden change of foreign policy coincides in time with the King's altered tone in replying to the petitions of the Commons. These changes may very probably mark a determination on the part of the King to re-establish his authority, too much weakened by the position and popularity of the Prince. The stories of the Prince's wild life in London are mentioned by writers who are almost contemporary, yet do not seem to agree well with what is certainly known of his industry in public business. They, as well as the strange travesty of Oldcastle, a good soldier and stern religious enthusiast, into Shakspeare's jovial knight, Sir John Falstaff, are perhaps based on the malicious view taken by the orthodox of Oldcastle's religious tendencies. It is well known that one of the charges alleged against all enthusiastic religionists is immorality. Prince Henry's subsequent prosecution and punishment of Oldcastle would be represented as the discharge of his old favourites. The aspiring and dangerous character of the Prince, in the eyes of his father, is represented by the story which describes him as having taken the crown from his father's bedside during one of his fits, and placed it on his own head; and having answered to the remorseful observations of the King as to the unjust manner in which he had gained it, that he "was prepared to guard it against the world in arms." It is at all events certain that coolness existed between father and son at the close of the reign. The French expedition was intrusted, not to the Prince of Wales, but to the Duke of Clarence, and for the last year and a half Prince Henry was removed from his position as President of the Council. The disease which Henry's death had so long tormented Henry came to a fatal termination on the 20th of March 1413.

HENRY V.

1413-1422.

Born 1388 = Catherine of France.

Henry VI.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
James I., 1405.	Charles VI., 1380.	Sigismund, 1410.	John II., 1406

POPES.—John XXII., 1410. Martin V., 1417.

<i>Archbishops.</i>	<i>Chancellors.</i>
Thomas Arundel, 1397. Henry Chicheley, 1414.	Cardinal Beaufort, 1413. Thomas Longley, 1417.

THE position of Henry V. on coming to the throne contrasts sharply with that of his predecessor. Henry IV., with disputed title, and in the midst of excited passions of faction, in which he had himself taken a prominent share, had to work out for himself the establishment of his dynasty and the restoration of political order. His son entered into the fruits of his labour. He had but to continue his father's policy. The dynasty seemed secure, the apparatus of government was in good working order, and the new King, already practised in the work of government, brought with him that popularity which brilliant qualities, a handsome person, and the vigour of youth, are sure to secure. The painstaking prudence of the late King, overshadowed as it was by his ill-health and gloomy character, was forgotten, and the hopes of the nation were fixed upon the fortunate youth whose faults as yet had been but those which are easily pardoned as the natural wildness incident to his age.

The young King seemed to please himself with the idea that his peaceful accession was to complete the healing of faction in the country, and to begin a period of glory and happiness. He made but few changes in the ministry of his father, but both Thomas Arundel,

the Archbishop, and Sir William Gascoigne were removed from their offices. It is possible that they may have been the advisers of the late King during that period when he was at enmity with his son. Already, before his coronation, of their own free will the nobles did him homage; and his Parliament granted him without difficulty the tax on wool for four years. To complete the general harmony, he published an amnesty, dismissed many political prisoners, and the greater part of his Scottish captives, and entered into negotiations for the liberty of the Scotch King. He even went so far as to reinstate both the Earl of March, the real claimant to the throne, and Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, his father's persistent enemy, in their property and position. The body of Richard II. was removed from Langley, and honourably interred in Westminster. The past was, as it were, to be forgotten, and Henry would rule as the popular and accepted King of all parties.

In the midst of this show of security and peace there were, however, visible signs that his father's work was not yet completed. The royal favour shown to the Church and to the orthodox party during the last reign, and the persecution which had fallen upon heresy, had not by any means destroyed the Lollards. The same policy had still to be pursued. The religious, it might be called the bigoted, tendency of the house of Lancaster was very strong in the young King. He had been one of the chief petitioners against heresy in 1406, and had shared in and superintended some of the religious executions; especially is mentioned that of John Badby, in 1410. The Prince had interrupted this man's execution, and attempted the conversion of the half-burnt sufferer; finding him firm, however, he allowed the execution to be completed. This tendency induced him to enter into close alliance with the Church, and throughout his reign to adopt the language of religious enthusiasm, pretending to regard himself as the appointed instrument of God's vengeance on the sins of the French. He thus became the willing agent of the clergy in completing their persecution of the sectarians, and listened readily to the exaggerated reports for which the conduct of the Lollards afforded some ground. The head of this party was now Sir John Oldcastle, who sat as a Peer in right of his wife under the title of Lord Cobham. His castle of Cowling, in Kent, afforded shelter to their persecuted teachers, while his high character and old friendship with the King made his influence important. The Archbishop determined to attack this man, at first pretending that he desired his conversion only. He

General amnesty
and release of
prisoners.

Signs of
slumbering
discontent.

The Lollards.
1414.

placed in Henry's hands an heretical book which had been found in an illuminator's shop, and which belonged to Oldcastle. Henry tried first of all to argue with Oldcastle (who, however, denied having read the book), but could not convert him. The duties of friendship being now fulfilled, the Church was allowed to take the matter in hand. The heretic appeared several times before his judges, but firmly refused to depart from his points, that the Pope was Antichrist, and that in the Lord's Supper, though the body of Christ might be present, yet the bread was bread. This firmness produced the only possible result, and he was condemned to be burnt; but in the interval allowed him before the completion of his sentence, he managed to escape.¹

The attack upon their chief roused the Lollards, and they are said to have entered into a general conspiracy for surprising and mastering the King and his brothers at Eltham, during the festivities of Christmas. Henry had early news of a meeting which was to be held on the 7th of January 1414, in St. Giles' Fields. It is quite unproved how far the intentions of the conspirators really reached. Henry, with the Church behind him, was ready to believe anything. He feared, perhaps, an insurrection similar to Wat Tyler's. Causing, therefore, the gates of the city to be closed, he spread armed men round the place of meeting, and as the Lollards approached, singly or in small bodies, they were seized. The news that the King's forces were abroad soon spread, and prevented any great number from falling into his hands. A jury was hastily summoned to declare that Oldcastle had treasonable plans, and a price was set on his head. The same jury then proceeded to try the thirty-nine prisoners, all of whom were either hanged or burnt. This event was followed by a still stricter proscription of heretical preachers and books. Chicheley, who succeeded Arundel as Archbishop this year, followed in his predecessor's steps, and a statute was passed by which all judges and municipal authorities were bidden to apprehend and try Lollards, while conviction of heresy entailed confiscation of goods.

Henry prided himself on having won his first victory in the cause of the Church; but his naturally ambitious character led him to desire triumphs of another kind. It seems indeed as if a strange combination of motives impelled him to take the false step which gave the character to his reign, and

Henry's reasons
for the impolitic
French war.

¹ Four years afterwards he was captured and put to death, not as a traitor, but as a heretic. This throws considerable doubt on the truth of his connection with the present insurrection, a charge which was very slightly supported by evidence.

plunged the country into a lengthy and ultimately disastrous war with France. His father is said to have urged him, with mistaken worldly wisdom, to withdraw the minds of his subjects from dangerous topics by filling them with thoughts of military glory. The Church, frightened by the suggestions of confiscation in the last reign, urged him to pursue the same course. The natural but mistaken admiration for military glory induced him to listen readily to their advice, while the wickedness and misery exhibited by the French nation at once afforded him an admirable opportunity, and may have suggested to his fanatical mind, that it was his duty to punish such vice, and to reduce such turbulence into order. Experience proved, as it often has proved, the mistake, nay, the wickedness, of averting domestic dangers by the wanton pursuit of warlike success. Meanwhile, at first, and during the whole of this King's short life, the step seemed perfectly successful. The reign, as a period of English history, is almost devoid of interest. The attention of the nation was centred in a French war.

Since the Duke of Clarence had secured Guienne the state of France had become only more deplorable. The Treaty of Auxerre produced no real union between the factions. There was a certain show of national action under the pressure of a threatened invasion from England; the King and the Great Council of France sat in Paris; the States General were summoned, and under the influence of the University certain reforms introduced. But the death of Henry IV. prevented for the time all danger of invasion; and the cause of union being removed, the factions again separated. The Duke de Guienne, the French King's eldest son, and representative of the crown during his father's fits of madness, was devoted to the wildest licentiousness, and disliked his gloomy father-in-law, John of Burgundy. He began to intrigue for the restoration of the Orleanist Princes. The ruffianly populace of Paris, headed by the guild of

Expulsion of the
Burgundians
from Paris.

butchers, and led by Caboche, a skinner, were devotedly attached to the Burgundians. A fierce and murderous uproar arose; but its violence was such, that the better class of citizens were aroused, expelled the Cabochiens, who fled to the Duke of Burgundy, and readmitted the Armagnacs, as the Orleanists were now called. The counter-revolution was complete, the Armagnacs got possession of the government, attacked the Burgundian Duke, and drove him before them, till they were checked at Arras. A temporary

Attempt at
national
government.

truce was then patched up; but the Duke of Guienne soon after contrived for a moment to banish both parties from the capital, and to establish a sort of national government.

It was at this time that Henry V. began to meddle in French affairs. Already, during the retreat to Arras, Burgundy had opened negotiations with him, and these, in his anger against the Duke of Guienne, he now pressed still more warmly. Meanwhile, Henry negotiated also with the central authority in Paris. By this double negotiation, which included a plan for the marriage of Henry, on the one hand, with Catherine of France, and on the other, with Catherine of Burgundy, Henry made Burgundy neutral, while he pressed claims on the unfortunate French monarch of so outrageous a description, that he must have intended by securing their rejection to give himself a plausible ground for war. His first demand was nothing less than the cession of the whole French monarchy. When this was refused, his ambassadors restricted their demand to all the countries ceded to Edward III. by the Peace of Brétigny, as well as Normandy, the coast of Picardy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine, the suzerainty of Brittany and Flanders, 1,600,000 crowns, as the residue of King John's ransom, with the hand of the Princess Catherine, and a dowry of 2,000,000 crowns. The Duke of Berri, the King's uncle, was at that time the chief member of the government. He naturally refused Henry's enormous demands, but offered all the districts of Aquitaine to the south of the Charente, and 600,000 crowns as dowry for the Princess.

All this while, Henry continued his preparations, raised troops, borrowed ships from Holland and Zeeland, and summoned in April a great council of Peers.¹ He there declared his intention of seeking his rights in France, appointed his brother John, Duke of Bedford, Lieutenant of the kingdom, and fixed the conditions of the contracts which he made with nobles for supplying him with soldiers.² He arranged also the manner in which the spoil was to be divided, and other details for the supply of the army. The devotion of the Church was to supply him with the means of meeting these vast expenses. Archbishop Chicheley and the Churchmen, fearing, no doubt, the democratic tendencies of the Commons, were willing to make some sacrifice. They agreed that no foreigners should hold benefices, and thus allowed the King to use the incomes of all the priories of the foreign orders of the kingdom to the number of 122. The proceeds of this transaction, increased by loans from foreigners, the pawning of his jewels, and the pledging of the tax on

¹ There were fifteen Prelates and twenty-eight Temporal Peers at this council.

² A duke, 13s. 4d. a day; an earl, 6s. 8d.; a baron, 4s.; a knight, 2s.; a man-at-arms, 1s.; an archer, 6d.; a hundred marks to each who supplies thirty armed men.

wool, supplied him with finances. An embassy from France, with still larger offers, including Limousin, and a dowry of 800,000 crowns, produced no improvement in the relations between the two countries.

Before Charles VI. could reply to the despatch of his ambassador, announcing the rejection of these terms, on the 3rd of August, the English army, of about 6000 men-at-arms and 24,000 archers, was already embarked. On the 14th of August it landed at the mouth of the Seine, where Havre de Grace now is. No steps were taken to prevent the disembarkation. The kingdom was in a state of fearful misery and disorder. The conduct of the war was given to the Armagnacs, Charles d'Albret was appointed constable; the Duke of Burgundy therefore held aloof, and the English had, in fact, only one half of the country against them.

An event had occurred before the English embarkation which, by proving to the King that his position was not so secure as he thought, may have made him still more determined in his present course. He

*Conspiracy of
Cambridge.*

was engaged at Southampton preparing his expedition, when a conspiracy was discovered, in which the King's cousin Richard, brother of the Duke of York, and lately created Earl of Cambridge, and one of his most trusted counsellors, Henry Scrope of Masham, were implicated. They were accused of an intention to take Edmund, Earl of March, with them into Wales, to crown him there, and declare him rightful King, if Richard were really dead. They had also summoned from Scotland Thomas of Trumpington, the false Richard. The Earl of Cambridge had married Ann of Mortimer, the sister of the Earl of March. We have here the beginning of that close union between the supporters of the legitimate line and the House of York, which again appears in the Wars of the Roses. Cambridge and Scrope were both executed.

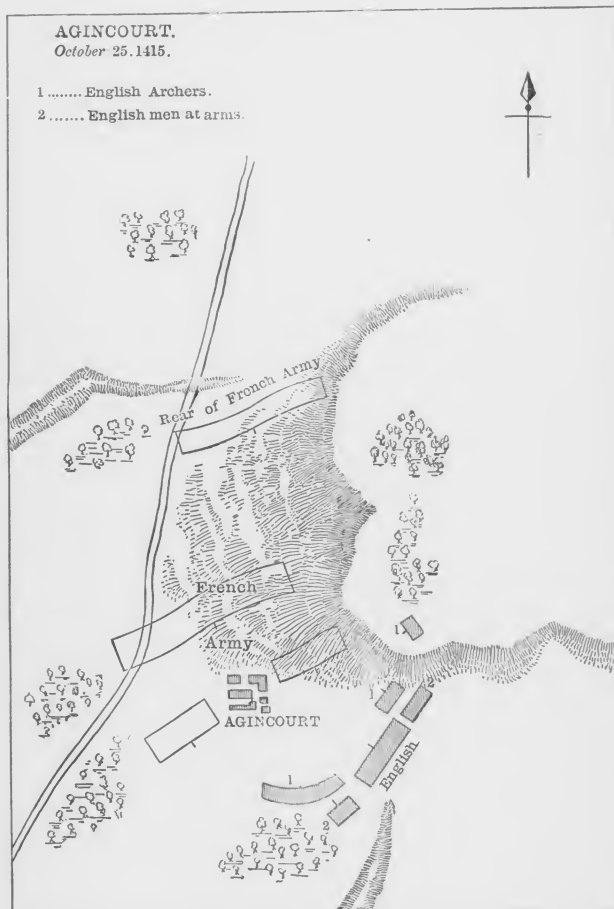
The first place to be attacked was Harfleur; it was bravely defended by the garrison under the Sire d'Estouteville. The inhabitants were told by the Court to take courage and trust to the King, but no help was sent them, though 14,000 or 15,000 men were within reach. On the 22nd of September they were compelled to capitulate. The conquered town was treated as Calais had been; the wealthier inhabitants were put to ransom, the goods seized, the people given their choice of leaving the city or becoming English. But this success had been hardly earned, the losses both by sickness and in fighting had been great. A large number of invalids had to be sent back to England. With little

more than half his army Henry could venture no further into France. He determined to march along the coast to Calais. The strictest discipline was maintained in the little band, and the King strove to foster in it a religious and enthusiastic spirit; pillage was punished with death; rations only were demanded from the inhabitants.

Henry had intended to cross the Somme at Blanchetaque, where Edward III. had passed it. False information was brought him that the ford was guarded. In reality, the feudal army was as yet only collecting near Abbeville, around the standard of the Constable d'Albret, a man but little fitted for his post. Had Henry passed at once he might have reached Calais without a great battle; as it was, he was compelled to follow the river upwards, and time was afforded to the French to collect their forces, and seek their own destruction in a pitched battle. Henry sought a ford across the river for a long time in vain. He passed Amiens, and had got within a league of Ham, in a very dangerous position among the strong fortresses of Ham, St. Quentin and Péronne, when at length a ford was discovered near Béthancourt. The Constable, who was at Péronne, might have destroyed him in the passage. He let him pass unmolested. Following feudal fashion, he sent to ask Henry to name a day and place for the battle; but whatever external chivalry may have been visible in Henry, his military character was that of a hard, practical, modern soldier. He answered that there was no need to name day or place, as he was always to be found in the open fields. For four days the armies followed almost parallel lines of march, the French making no use of their superiority in numbers to disturb the quiet advance of the English, although they spread nightly among the villages for shelter. At length the Constable, with singular want of prudence, took up his position a little to the north of Hesdin and Cressy, on a small confined plain, where his large army, of at least 50,000 fighting men, was jammed in between two woods. This force consisted almost entirely of nobles and their feudal followers, who in their foolish pride of class had rejected the assistance of the infantry of the towns. The ground was arable land, and the soil deep and heavy, so that the heavy armed French in their splendid harness sank deep at every step, while the English, clad mostly in leather jerkins, and many of them barefoot, moved with comparative ease. The night, we are told, was passed in riot by the French; in sober preparation or religious exercise by the English.

The French drew themselves up in three massive lines or battles;

*Henry compelled
to retire upon
Calais.*



the two first dismounted and fought on foot, for which their heavy armour but little fitted them; the third line retained their horses, as did two small wings intended to crush the archers. The state of the soil obliged them to adopt a defensive method of fighting quite contrary to their habits. The English advanced upon them—the archers in front, the heavy-armed infantry behind, the mixed archers and infantry on the flanks. They are described as having a miserable, ragged appearance after their weary march, as contrasted with the splendour of the French. Henry rode among them, cheering them with the memories of bygone victories. He had previously ordered every archer to supply himself with a stake sharpened at each end, which he was to plant before him, and thus make a moveable palisade. At eleven o'clock, after a brief and useless parley between the armies, Sir Thomas Erpingham, the English Marshal of the Host, tossed up his baton with the cry "Now strike," and the battle began. The English advanced a few steps, expecting a charge from the enemy, but the hostile ranks remained immovable; they were, in fact, planted knee-deep in the mud, and afforded a fine aim for the English archers, who did not spare them. At length, putting their heads down to avoid as much as possible the fatal arrows, the first line came heavily on, and the mounted wings began to close round the English; but the stakes of the archers served them in good stead. Of the horses, a large proportion tripped and fell in the rough ploughed land; not one in ten of their riders, we are told, came hand to hand with the archers. Unsupported and almost immovable, the infantry broke. The archers seeing their plight, issued from between their stakes, threw down bow and arrow, seized their axes and maces, and fell headlong upon them. "It seemed," says the chronicler, "as though they were hammering upon anvils." The men-at-arms fell beneath the furious charge, and were smothered by their own companions as they fell over them. The same fate awaited the second line. The English men-at-arms had come up to support the archers, and the battle was fiercer, and for a time more equal. Certain of the French knights, under the Duke of Alençon, swore to take the life of Henry, and did their best to keep their oath. One of them cleft in two the golden crown on the helmet worn by Henry, and Alençon killed his cousin, the Duke of York, at his side. It was in vain; the English steadily advanced; the defeat of the first line, the rush of the fugitives, disordered and confused the cavalry, and they turned and fled. The English were already masters of the field, when news was brought that a fresh

Battle of
Agincourt.
Oct. 25, 1415.

enemy was in their rear, and flames were seen arising from the village of Maisonnelle behind them. Henry, afraid of this new attack, and of a rally of the fugitives, gave the terrible order that all the prisoners should be killed. When his troops hesitated, he told off 200 archers to do the work; and already very many had been killed in cold blood, when the discovery that the alarm was a false one induced Henry to revoke his order. Of the 10,000 Frenchmen who died 8000 were of noble blood; among them were the Dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, the Constable d'Albret, and all the chief officers of the army. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts of Vendôme and Richemont, and Marshal Boucicaut, with 15,000 knights, remained prisoners. Besides the Duke of York and the Earl of Oxford, the English had lost 1600 men. The King, with his triumphant army, at once proceeded to Calais, and thence to England. He attributed his wonderful success to Heaven, whose instrument he was in punishing the crimes in France. "Never," said he to the Duke of Orleans, "was greater disorganization or licentiousness, or greater sins, or worse vices than reign in France now. It is pitiful even to hear the story of them, and a horror for the listeners. No wonder if God is enraged at it."

The destruction of princes and feudal nobles at Agincourt seems to have annihilated the Armagnac party. The hatred of the Dauphin for the Duke of Burgundy prevented the unity which such an event might have produced. He summoned Bernard of Armagnac from the south of France, where he then was, and gave himself completely into his hands, making him Constable, Governor-General of the finances, and Captain of all the fortresses of France.

The party of the Constable, which had once been that of most of the princes of the royal blood, consisted now of adventurers, pledged to continue a civil war, to which they owed their importance. The real governors of France and Paris were the Gascon noble D'Armagnac and the Breton Tannegui Duchâtel. Their tyranny was of the bitterest description; their hired men-at-arms did all the harm an undisciplined soldiery can do; the people were taxed, in the midst of bitter famine, to the last farthing; their bloody tyranny induced them to forbid bathing in the Seine, lest the bathers should find there the corpses of their victims. The sole virtue of the party was that they continued the war with England, while Burgundy renewed his treaty with that nation. The Constable's efforts were not successful. An attempt to regain Harfleur was defeated by the Duke of Bedford.

The French Government falls into the hands of the Armagnacs.

But Henry for the present was content to stand on the defensive. The Parliament, in its enthusiasm at his great success, had granted him large subsidies, and the tax on wool for life; and he was spending his time in recruiting the strength of his army, and in giving a magnificent reception to Sigismund, King of the Romans.

That Prince had succeeded in re-establishing the obsolete supremacy of the head of the Roman Empire. This he had done by the activity and success with which he collected a general council of the Church at Constance. His object at the council was to heal the great schism, which since 1378 had divided the Church. On the death of Gregory XI., who had brought back the Papacy to Rome, after its seventy years' servitude to the French at Avignon, a double election took place, and the world was divided between Urbanists, who owned Urban VI., the Roman Pontiff, and the Clementines, who acknowledged Clement VII. of Avignon. Each Pope had his successors, and an attempted compromise at Pisa in 1409 had produced a third Pope. The three claimants to the honour were now Gregory XII. at Rome, Benedict XIII. at Avignon, John XXIII. at Pisa. The new council declared itself superior to all Popes, and proceeded to secure the dismissal or resignation of these three prelates. It also undertook to suppress the Wicliffite heresy, which had spread to Bohemia. Its efforts in this direction led to the condemnation and burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. The negotiations with Pope Benedict, who was acknowledged in Spain, were intrusted to Sigismund, who thus not unreasonably thought himself the arbiter of Europe, and determined to add to his ecclesiastical successes the healing of the war between France and England. For this purpose he passed through Paris, but met with indifferent success, and then betook himself to England. With Henry, as suppresser of heresy and champion of the Church, he had much in common, and he soon laid aside his position of arbiter to become an English partisan.¹ One incident of his visit is interesting, as marking both his position and the determined independence of the English. While in Paris he was present at a trial, and one party to the dispute seemed on the point of losing his case because he was not of knightly rank. Sigismund immediately knighted him. This interference was not pleasant to

Visit of Sigismund. His position in Europe. 1416.

His close union with Henry.

¹ The close connection between Sigismund and England is illustrated by the fact that in the following reign, on one occasion, a magnificent table decoration was introduced, representing Henry VI. and Sigismund receiving at the hands of a kneeling priest ballads in derision of the Lollards.

the French, and gave rise to the idea that the Emperor was claiming universal supremacy. On his approach to England, therefore, one of the King's brothers and some other lords rode out into the water by the side of the ship, and there made him solemnly assert that he came as a friend, and claimed no jurisdiction in England.

Sigismund's efforts at procuring peace had been thwarted in Paris by the determination of D'Armagnac, whose position had become apparently more assured than ever. One after the other, Charles VI.'s two elder sons died, and his third son, Charles, who had been brought up by the Armagnac party, was now Dauphin. Besides the Constable, there was no one but his mother who had influence over him. That influence Bernard was determined to destroy. The avaricious character and licentiousness of the Queen afforded easy opportunity. He drove her into privacy at Tours, and seized her money. Henceforward she hated the Dauphin heartily, and was ready to do anything to injure him. Thus, when Burgundy approached Paris with an army, he was suddenly summoned to rescue the Queen from her captivity, and France became still more distinctly divided into the party of the Dauphin and the party of the Queen. Still further to complete the separation, and to give a shadow of legitimacy to their action, the Queen and Burgundy established a counter-Parliament at Amiens, and a rival Great Council of France. The civil war went on increasing in atrocity, and D'Armagnac was too hard pressed to interfere with Henry, who, on August 14th, landed at Honfleur for his second invasion, and proceeded to master Normandy. With Flanders, Artois and Picardy on the one hand rendered neutral by the friendship of Burgundy, and Brittany on the other under a truce with him, he could act at his ease. Caen, Bayeux, L'Aigle, were captured one after the other, and the next year, with four divisions spreading from Artois to Brittany, he pushed southward, conquering all the strong towns as he went. He was not a merciful conqueror. He exacted to the full the rights of war. Most of the towns were treated as Harfleur had been, but in nearly every case a certain number of the citizens were beheaded under the title of rebels.

It was impossible for the French parties, savage as they were, to look on calmly at the English successes; a great attempt at reconciliation was made, but again the obstinacy of the Constable brought it to nothing. The idea of

Failure of
Sigismund's
mediation.

Armagnac
attacks Queen
Isabella.
1417.

She allies her-
self with
Burgundy.

Henry's second
invasion.

The Parisians,
anxious for
peace, admit the
Burgundians.

the cessation of the civil war had filled the Parisians with hope. The failure of that hope was more than they could bear. The keys of the gates were secured, and L'Ile-Adam, who commanded one of the garrisons which the Burgundians had pushed close to Paris, was admitted within the walls. The people rose in thousands upon their hated tyrants. Tannegui Duchâtel succeeded in saving the young Dauphin, and retired with him to Melun. Meanwhile, the prisons were crowded with captive Armagnacs, and a few days afterwards the passions of the extreme Burgundian partisans broke loose. The Cabochiens, who had lived as exiles in Burgundy, and returned with the Duke, again made their appearance. A fearful massacre took place at all the prisons; among the number slain was the Constable himself. From this time onward, the Armagnacs were spoken of as the Dauphinois; their leading spirit was Duchâtel, who followed closely in the footsteps of the late D'Armagnac. He would hear of no peace with Burgundy.

Yet that peace was terribly wanted, for Henry had now laid siege to Rouen, the capital of Normandy. The defence was in the highest degree gallant. Promises were given by Burgundy that help should be sent, but none came. At length a part of the garrison determined to cut their way through. When a portion of them had already crossed the bridge, it broke with the remainder, and the attempt had to be given up. Men charged Guy Bouteiller, the governor, and not unreasonably, with treacherously sawing the supports. At length all hope, unless succour arrived, was gone. Every eatable thing had been devoured. Hundreds of useless mouths had been driven without the walls, and not being allowed to pass the English lines, lay starving in the ditches. The extent of charity the garrison could afford to show, was to draw the new-born babes up the walls in baskets, to have them baptized, and then return them to their mothers to starve. Driven to extremities, the garrison sent deputies demanding assistance from the King, and threatening if it did not come to become his fiercest enemies. They were bidden to wait till the fourth day after Christmas. In spite of their miserable plight, they resolved to wait the fortnight that was left. On that day there arrived, not assistance, but a message from the Duke of Burgundy to make what terms they could with the King of England. They asked what those terms would be. He bade them surrender at discretion. But they knew his character too well to trust to his mercy, and resolved to fire the town and make their way out as they could. This threat brought Henry to reason,

Fall of Rouen.
Jan. 15, 1418.

and for a ransom of 300,000 crowns he gave them the same sort of terms as he usually did. Seven men were excepted from pardon; of these all but one were ransomed. That one, Alain Blanchart, the King, ever unable to appreciate bravery in an enemy, caused to be beheaded.

At length it seemed as though the French factions had come to an understanding; the cry of the whole nation was too strong to resist. A truce was made between the parties for three months, and the Duke of Burgundy, with the Queen and the King, who had been in their custody since the recapture of Paris, met Henry at Meulan, and attempted to come to terms. But Henry still demanded more than it was possible to grant. Burgundy therefore withdrew in anger, and at Pouilli-le-Fort held a personal meeting

Negotiation for peace.
Attempted reconciliation of the French parties.

with the Dauphin, and apparently came to terms with him. The show of friendship was only hollow. Shortly after, at the instigation of Duchâtel, a second meeting was demanded at Montereau sur Yonne. It was nothing but an ambush. The meeting was to be held on the bridge, and barricades were to keep back all but ten partisans of either side; but no sooner was the Duke with two followers within the barrier than Tannegui Duchâtel shut the door on that side, while from the other end the Dauphinois crowded in. The Duke was there murdered, and of his following one man alone escaped.

Murder of Burgundy.

The effect of this murder was instantaneous. The son of Jean sans peur, Philip, Count of Charolais, at once put himself at the head of his party, and forgetting everything but revenge, opened negotiations with the English. On October 17th, the plenipotentiaries met at Arras, and the preliminaries of the treaty were drawn up; by which Henry was to marry Catherine of France, and to be recognised as heir after the death of the reigning king. Meanwhile he was to have the administration of the country. All the exchange asked was, that he would make no peace with the Dauphin, and join in carrying on war with that Prince. These preliminaries were to be ratified by the King, the Queen, and States General. The King's imbecility prevented any opposition from him, and the Queen was only too glad of an opportunity of disinheriting her son; she calculated that at least her daughter Catherine, whom she loved dearly, would enjoy the crown. An unexpected consequence followed this treaty, which was completed at Troyes. This was the resurrection of the party of the Dauphin, which henceforward became the national party. Henry was at once called upon to give vigorous assistance, and found occupation for all his army at

Young Burgundy joins England. Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

the siege of Melun, which was defended with extreme courage. But in December he found an opportunity of making a triumphal entry into Paris, where his stern and haughty manner, and "his words which cut like razors," won him but little favour; and thence he passed to England to meet a magnificent reception with his wife.

He there heard bad news. One of the signs of the renewed activity of his enemies had been a treaty with Castile, and the employment of the Castilian fleet. Already, in the preceding year, the Spanish fleet had defeated the English, and then proceeding to Scotland, had returned with a reinforcement of some 4000 men under the Earl of Buchan and Lord Stewart of Darnley. Strengthened with these troops, the Dauphin's party had attacked the English in the west. Clarence, the King's brother, who had been left in charge of the kingdom, advanced to meet them. The armies encountered at Beaugé in Anjou, and there, forgetting the national tactics, and neglecting the use of the archers, they suffered a complete defeat, in which the King's brother was killed. It was the first reverse the English arms had met with, and Henry well understood the moral effect it might have. He hastened at once to France, and leaving alone for the present the disaffection which was showing itself in Picardy, went direct to Paris to re-establish his prestige. Thence he marched to the attack of Meaux, whence an Armagnac garrison was pillaging the country to the very gates of Paris. It was under the command of the Bastard of Vaurus, a savage soldier, who delighted to hang his prisoners by dozens on the branches of a large elm outside his town. The bravery of his defence equalled his barbarity. It was not without the greatest efforts that the town and castle, called the Marché, were reduced.

English defeat at Beaugé.

Henry hurries to Paris.

Meanwhile the war had broken out again in Burgundy, and Henry was summoned to the support of his allies at the siege of Cosne. He would not send help, he said, but would come at the head of his whole army. The boast was a vain one. His army, indeed, set out under the command of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Warwick, but the King's health, which had been failing for the last two years, quite broke down, and the generals were hastily recalled to be present at the deathbed of their sovereign, who died on the 31st of August 1422. Conscious of his approaching end, he had made dispositions to meet it; he had laid special stress on the continuation of the treaty with Burgundy; had begged Bedford never to make peace under less advantageous terms than the entire cession of Normandy; had intrusted the regency of

While re-establishing his affairs he dies. 1422.

France to the same brother should the Duke of Burgundy decline it ; put England into the hands of Gloucester ; and intrusted the education of his infant son to Warwick. He then died amid all those signs of religious enthusiasm which had marked his life, declaring that he had intended to lead a crusade to Jerusalem, and covering all remorse, which his cruel war might well have excited, by the thought that he had acted with the approbation of those most holy men the English bishops. Stern, haughty, an un pitying soldier, he had yet by his exhibition of firm justice and love of order gained the admiration and respect, if not the love, of his new subjects ; and Englishmen forgot his reactionary policy, and misjudged the want of wisdom in his foreign undertakings, amid the enthusiasm his successful career excited. Very shortly after his conqueror, the old King Charles VI. also died, and his son Charles became the representative of the French monarchy. He caused himself to be at once crowned at Poitiers ; but the English failed to recognise his title, and spoke of him as the Dauphin.

HENRY VI.

1422-1461.

Born 1421 = Margaret of Anjou, 1445.

Edward. Died.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
James I., 1406.	Charles VI., 1380.	Sigismund, 1410.	John II., 1406.
James II., 1436.	Charles VII., 1423.	Albert II., 1438.	Henry IV., 1454.
		Frederick III., 1440	

POPES.—Martin V., 1417. Eugenius IV., 1431. Nicolas V., 1447. Calixtus III., 1455
Pius II., 1458.

Archbishops.

Henry Chicheley, 1414.
John Stafford, 1443.
John Kemp, 1452.
Thomas Bouchier, 1454.

Chancellors.

Thomas Longley, 1417.
Cardinal Beaufort, 1424.
Cardinal Kemp, 1426.
John Stafford, 1432.
Cardinal Kemp, 1450.
Earl of Salisbury, 1454.
Cardinal Bouchier, 1455.
William Waynflete, 1456.
George Neville, 1460.
Sir John Fortescue, 1461.

BY the fiction of the English constitution, England was now governed by a child of nine months old. The late King had thoughtfully arranged for the government by the nomination of Gloucester to the regency in England, Bedford to the regency in France ; but experience of former regencies, and the constant adherence to constitutional forms which marked the English nobility, led the Privy Council to make different arrangements. It was determined, in fact, that the Council should be virtually the governing body. This was in accordance with several precedents ; even as late as the reign of Henry IV., a council named in Parliament had, during the last years of that monarch's life, governed England. When the hero, whose popularity and ability had for a time carried all men with him, was dead, it was natural that the kingdom should fall back into the same system of government. In the first Parliament therefore, by the advice of the Council, Bedford was made Regent of both France and England, while to Gloucester was given the title of Defender or Protector of the kingdom.

Arrangements
of the kingdom.
1422.

which amounted to little more than the position of President of the Council, by whose advice he was bound to act, and of which the members were nominated in Parliament. After this, the grant of the wool tax and of tonnage and poundage, for two years, closed the session.

All interests were still centred in France. To all appearance, both in geographical position and in the talents of their leader, the advantage lay with the English. Bedford shared all the better qualities of his elder brother; as able, both as a general and a statesman, he was of a gentler and a finer character; on the other hand, the Dauphin Charles was a man without vigour, sunk in sensual pleasure, and still under the influence of unprincipled adventurers. His possessions, too, were much restricted. He found himself confined to the centre and south-east of France. It was only from south of the Loire to Languedoc that his power was unquestioned. Either England or its great ally Burgundy possessed or dominated all other parts of France; while Savoy and Brittany, at the extreme and opposite corners, were professedly neutral. The strength of this position, such as it was, lay in its central situation. The immense extent of country the English held required resources beyond the power of that country single-handed to produce; by alliance with Burgundy alone was it possible. But misgovernment and party feeling prevented any great exhibition of strength on the part of France. She had to rely chiefly on mercenaries, and the war was merely kept alive. In 1423, Bedford succeeded in forming anew a close alliance with Burgundy, in which Brittany also joined. It was cemented by a double marriage; on the one hand, Bedford married Anne, Philip's sister, while Arthur of Richemont, the brother of the Duke of Brittany, married her elder sister Margaret.

Position of
parties in
France.

Bedford's
marriage.
1423.

The treaty was scarcely finished when Bedford had to move southward to relieve Crévant on the Yonne, closely besieged by the Scotch and French. The expedition was very successful. A simultaneous attack from the city and the relieving army destroyed the besiegers; 1200 knights, chiefly Scotch, were said to have been left on the field. But fresh recruits were continually coming to the French, some from Italy, some from Scotland; notably 5,000 men under Archibald Douglas, who was raised to the Duchy of Touraine; while Stewart of Darnley, their former leader, received the lordships of Aubigné and of Dreux. Bedford attempted to cut off this source of help by arranging for the release of the Scottish King, who had now been twenty-four years a captive in England. In

Release of the
Scotch King.

September 1423, his freedom was arranged, on the payment of £10,000 for his past expenses, and upon a promise on his part that he would keep peace with England, and marry an English lady. He was told to choose his own wife, as English ladies were not in the habit of proposing for husbands, and married Joan Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, granddaughter of John of Gaunt. He did his best, though not always successfully, to keep his promise of peace. But this step on the part of Bedford did not stop the Scotch in France. They pushed on even to the borders of Normandy, and captured Ivry. Bedford addressed himself to the recovery of that fortress. 18,000 troops, Scotch, French, and Italians, led by the Duke of Alençon and Earl of Buchan, now Constable of France, marched to relieve it. This they were unable to do, but revenged themselves by the capture of the neighbouring town of Verneuil. Thither the Regent pursued them, and there he brought them to action. It was the old story over again. The French had not yet learnt wisdom by experience; and again the mass of heavy-armed foot, with cavalry on the flanks, was shattered by the English archers from behind their impenetrable wall of pointed stakes. The Scotch auxiliaries were nearly destroyed; and among the 5000 dead were the Earls of Douglas, Buchan and Aumale. The victory was likened in Parliament to the Battle of Agincourt. Its effects were almost as complete. For the time the French had to withdraw completely behind the Loire.

It was the unbridled folly of Gloucester which disturbed the favourable position which Bedford had secured. The Countess Jacqueline of Hainault and Holland had married John of Brabant, and had fled from her husband. She had taken refuge in England, and just before the death of Henry V., Gloucester, during the life of her former husband, had taken her for his wife. The Duke of Burgundy was the cousin and close ally of John of Brabant, and had hoped to bring all the Netherlands under his power by his kinsman's marriage with Jacqueline. Gloucester would hear of no compromise, but, in 1424, appeared with 5000 English troops in Calais, and took possession of Hainault. Philip of Burgundy at once wavered in his friendship for England, drew closer his connection with Brabant, and even procured a truce with the Dauphin. Preparations for a duel, to which he had challenged Burgundy, called Gloucester home. The immediate effect of his departure was the

It is useless.

Battle of
Verneuil.
1424.

Consequent
strength of the
English
in France.

It is disturbed
by Gloucester's
marriage.
First blow to
Burgundian
alliance.
1424.

occupation of Hainault by John of Brabant. Jacqueline herself was taken prisoner, but managing to escape in man's clothes, she reached her other dominions in Holland, and thence proceeded to begin a war with Burgundy. Her English lover could send her but little help, and at last, after her husband's death in 1428, she surrendered to Philip, and declared him her heir. Gloucester's infidelity broke off relations between them, and eventually, in 1436, the whole of the Netherlands came into the power of Burgundy. It has been said that, without the friendship of Burgundy, the English resources were insufficient to retain France. This was the first shock that friendship received.

This outbreak of Gloucester's was but one instance of his intemperate and ambitious character. At home, he had already involved the government in difficulties, by his constant rivalry with Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, second son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford. This Prince had already been engaged in all the prominent affairs of the last reign. But though a man of vast wealth and large ambition, his aspirations in England were rather for his family than for himself; and in the financial difficulties which began to beset England his money was freely advanced without interest to Government. In 1424, he had been made Chancellor, for the express purpose of counterbalancing the power of his nephew Gloucester, and in pursuance of this object, he had, during Gloucester's absence in Hainault, garrisoned the Tower, from which Gloucester on his return found himself excluded. This produced an open quarrel and an appeal to arms, only repressed by the intervention of the Prince of Portugal, at that time in England. There was one man only who could decide this quarrel, and that was the Duke of Bedford, who on coming to England would at once become the constitutional Regent. He found it therefore necessary to leave France, where he was much wanted, and to return to England. He contrived to bring about a reconciliation, at a Parliament held at Leicester. The Bishop of Winchester, from patriotic motives, resigned his chancellorship, and got leave to absent himself from England to go on a pilgrimage. At the same time, the Parliament defined as before the power of Gloucester, establishing the practical supremacy of the Council. This definition Bedford accepted. Eventually, though much against his will, Gloucester was induced to do so also; but his real view was expressed in the words attributed to him, "Lat my brother governe as hym lust, whiles he is in this lande, for after his going overe to Fraunce, I wol governe as me semethe goode."

Rivalry of
Beaufort and
Gloucester.

It was plain that the views of Bedford and Gloucester as to the government of England were very different. Nor had Bedford long left England to return to France when his brother gave rise to a fresh scandal. He had already forgotten Jacqueline, and even while getting supplies from the Commons, with whom he was very popular, for the purpose of upholding her cause, had married his former mistress Eleanor Cobham.

Gloucester's
marriage with
Eleanor
Cobham.

On his return to France, the Duke of Bedford found that his brother's conduct had increased his difficulties. Richemont, the brother of the Duke of Brittany, had been won to the French side, and received the rank of Constable, vacant by the death of Buchan, and was now using all his influence to induce his brother-in-law Burgundy to follow his example. Bedford's presence for the moment improved the position of the English. He contrived to renew an alliance with both Burgundy and Brittany, and was thus secured upon either side of Normandy. Encouraged by this success, the English generals were eager to press forward beyond the Loire, which had hitherto been the limit of their conquests. It seems probable that Bedford, with a clearer view of the difficulties of his position, would have been well content to have carried out the wishes of his brother Henry by securing Normandy. He, however, yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon him, and in October, the siege of Orleans, situated on the northernmost angle of the river Loire, and from its position holding command of that river, was undertaken. The town itself stands upon the northern bank, but is connected with a southern suburb, the Portereau, by a bridge, terminating in a strong castle called Les Tournelles. The siege was intrusted to Salisbury,¹ who began the attack upon the southern side. He established his troops in a fortified camp in the ruins of a monastery of Augustinians, and before long succeeded in capturing Les Tournelles, and breaking the bridge. He was unfortunately killed, while examining the country from that fortress, with a view to further investment of the town. The command devolved upon the Earl of Suffolk, who succeeded before the close of the year in erecting a string of thirteen strongholds, called bastides, round the Northern city. But the weather and want of resources compelled him to put

Bedford again
secures
Burgundy,

and attacks
Orleans.

¹ This Lord Salisbury was son of Sir John de Montacute, a zealous Lollard, the faithful adherent of Richard II. who was beheaded, 1400, at Cirencester. Henry IV. restored the Earldom to his son. Lord Salisbury's daughter married Richard Neville, the Yorkist partisan, and father of the Kingmaker Warwick.

these too far apart, and the intercourse of the defenders with an army of relief under the Count of Clermont at Blois was not broken off. Early in the following year, this army hoped to raise the siege by falling on a large body of provisions coming to the besiegers from Paris under Sir John Fastolf. The attack was made at Rouvray, but Fastolf had made careful preparations. The waggons were arranged in a square, and, with the stakes of the archers, formed a fortification on which the disorderly attack of the French made but little impression. Broken in the assault, they fell an easy prey to the English, as they advanced beyond their lines. The skirmish is known by the name of the Battle of the Herrings. This victory, which deprived the besieged of hope of external succour, seemed to render the capture of the city certain.

Already at the French King's court at Chinon there was talk of a hasty withdrawal to Dauphiné, Spain, or even Scotland; when suddenly there arose one of those strange effects of enthusiasm which sometimes set all calculation at defiance.

In Domrémy, a village belonging to the duchy of Bar, the inhabitants of which, though in the midst of Lorraine, a province under Burgundian influence, were of patriotic views, lived a village maiden called Joan of Arc. The period was one of great mental excitement; as in other times of wide prevailing misery, prophecies and mystical preachings were current. Joan of Arc's mind was particularly susceptible to such influences, and from the time she was thirteen years old, she had fancied that she heard voices, and had even seen forms, sometimes of the Archangel Michael, sometimes of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, who called her to the assistance of the Dauphin. She persuaded herself that she was destined to fulfil an old prophecy which said that the kingdom, destroyed by a woman—meaning, as she thought, Queen Isabella,—should be saved by a maiden of Lorraine. The burning of Domrémy in the summer of 1428 by a troop of Burgundians at length gave a practical form to her imaginations, and early in the following year she succeeded in persuading Robert of Baudricourt to send her, armed and accompanied by a herald, to Chinon. She there, as it is said by the wonderful knowledge she displayed, convinced the court of the truth of her mission. At all events, it was thought wise to take advantage of the infectious enthusiasm she displayed, and in April she was intrusted with an army of 6000 or 7000 men, which was to march up the river from Blois to the relief of Orleans. When she appeared upon the scene of war, she supplied exactly that element of success

Battle of the
Herrings.

Danger of
Orleans.

Joan of Arc.



which the French required. Already long and bitter experience had taught them the art of war. They were commanded no longer by favourites of the Court, but by professional soldiers, such as Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, La Hire and Saintrilles; and the cause of their weakness was the deep-rooted immorality both of public and private life, which the disastrous party struggles of the last reign had produced. A national instead of a party cry, strict morality enforced by a Heaven-sent virgin, and the enthusiasm of religion, were well calculated to remove this cause of weakness. It is to this combination of experience with enthusiasm that the success of the French henceforward must be traced. Aided by the skill of Dunois, Joan succeeded in entering Orleans by water, while her army the day after marched in unopposed upon the northern side. After various attacks upon the Bastides, she at length, on the 6th and 7th of May, attacked the lines upon the south of the river. The camp in the Augustinian monastery was captured, and after a fierce assault the Tower of the Tournelles fell into the hands of the French, Gladsdale, the commander on the left bank, being killed. The effect of her uniform success, and the superstitious dread she inspired, is shown by the fact that three such generals as Suffolk, Talbot and Fastolf, who commanded on the northern side of the river, took no steps to assist their distressed comrades, and on the following day raised the siege.

Causes of her success.
The siege is raised.
May 8.

The release of Orleans was quickly followed up. The English were hotly pressed. In June, Jargeau on the Loire was taken, and Suffolk with it; while on the 18th of the same month, Talbot and Fastolf suffered a thorough defeat at Pataye, while attempting to save other fortresses lower down the river. Joan of Arc had set herself two great duties to perform—the relief of Orleans, and the coronation of the Dauphin at Rheims. To this second duty she now addressed herself. Her difficulties arose chiefly from the folly of the Dauphin, who was under the influence of his favourite, La Tremouille, a strong Armagnac, whose object it was to prevent his master from entering upon an independent course of action. These difficulties were at length overcome. At the head of a small army, Charles and the Maid of Orleans marched successfully into the heart of their enemy's country, securing either by force or by negotiation the strong cities on the way. At Rheims the coronation was completed, and thence the French generals directed their march on Paris at the persuasion of Joan. But there,

March to Rheims to crown the Dauphin.

while Joan had been overcoming the reluctance of the French Prince, Bedford had assembled an army of sufficient strength to resist them. He had summoned to his aid the Bishop of Winchester, who had returned from his pilgrimage to Rome with instructions to collect troops to assist the Emperor Sigismund against the heretic Hussites of Bohemia. With this little army he now joined his nephew; and Bedford, alarmed by the rapid defection of great towns such as Blois, Beauvais and Compiègne, determined, if possible, to destroy the superstitious confidence of the French by a successful battle. In this he was disappointed, for, after an indecisive skirmish near Senlis, he was compelled to fall back to cover Paris. For the present, however, this formed the limit of the French successes. A fruitless attack on the city, in which the Maid was wounded, caused timid counsels to prevail, and the army withdrew behind the Loire.

and unsuccessful attack on Paris.

The winter was employed by Bedford in continued efforts to retain the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy; and the united armies of Burgundy and England were attempting to regain Compiègne, when in March Joan of Arc again took the field. She succeeded in passing through the two armies, and in entering the city, but was surprised during a sally and taken prisoner. Her capture gave the English hopes that they might still retain their conquests, as the sluggish and vacillating character of the French King was well known. Bedford set to work to do all he could to regain the prestige he had lost the preceding year. Shortly after the coronation of Rheims, he had caused King Henry to be crowned at Westminster, and with his brother Gloucester had retired from his official situation. He now determined to have the coronation repeated in France. Henry was brought over for that purpose, but it was found impossible to crown him at Rheims, now completely in the hands of the French. Bedford had to content himself with a coronation at Paris. Meanwhile the unfortunate prisoner had been given up to be tried as a sorceress. She was found guilty, and handed over to the secular arm; for a moment she was induced to confess herself guilty, abjuring the truth of her Divine calling; her resumption of arms in the prison was regarded as a relapse into heresy: she was therefore burnt at Rouen. The strangely superstitious character of the age, and the devout belief which existed in sorcery, cannot excuse what was, in fact, an act of base revenge.

Capture of Joan of Arc.
1430.

Coronation of King Henry.

Joan's death.
1431.

From this time onwards the fortunes of England declined. Diffi-

culties accumulated on all sides. The long war had caused such a drain on the finances, that the payment of the troops had already been lowered, and a dangerous mutiny had broken out at Calais. At the same time, Gloucester's meddlesome and overbearing character perpetually kept the Government at home in disturbance. In 1428, an attack was made on the Bishop of Winchester. He had returned from Rome a Cardinal, and with the rank of Papal Legate for the purpose of collecting troops against the Hussites. His authority thus clashed with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was *ex officio* Legate when no one else was specially appointed to that office. Displeased at being superseded, Chicheley joined with Gloucester, and suggested that Winchester, by becoming Legate without royal permission, had incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. Winchester was therefore excluded from the Council, and from the Chapter of the Garter, of which he was the Prelate, held in 1429. His place in the Council was restored to him in gratitude for his conduct in the following year, when he lent troops to Bedford after the relief of Orleans. Nevertheless, during his absence in 1431, he was asked to resign his bishopric, as being the officer of a foreign power, and Gloucester brought formal charges against him, and caused the writ of *præmunire* to be actually prepared. The execution of the writ was postponed till the King's return, when Beaufort was allowed to clear himself, and a declaration vouching for his loyalty given him under the Great Seal. While thus attacking the Cardinal, Gloucester

Conduct of
Gloucester.

had been attempting to increase his popularity, already very great, by assuming the position of champion of the Church, and persecutor of heresy. In 1430, a man calling himself Jack Sharpe had been put to death at Oxford, and a clergyman of Essex had also been burnt. But there was evidently still existing a strong undercurrent of Lollardism; for the people came in crowds to the place of execution, and made offerings as though the victim of persecution had been a saint. But even worse for Bedford than these troubles at home was the loss of his wife, who died in November 1432, childless, thus breaking the strongest link which had hitherto bound England and Burgundy together. This misfortune was made worse by one of the few acts of indiscretion which can be alleged against Bedford. He married Jacquetta, daughter of the Count of Saint-

Bedford
re-marries.
Second blow to
the Burgundian
alliance.

Pol, of the House of Luxembourg, a marriage in itself politic enough, but which, contracted as it was without the permission of Burgundy, the lady's feudal superior, caused a quarrel between the two Dukes. This was the

second heavy blow which the alliance between England and Burgundy had received. Yet this alliance was absolutely necessary for the successful carrying on of the war. It began to be a question whether peace of some sort was not becoming necessary. Bedford even in the year 1431 received leave from the English Parliament to treat. Abroad the feeling in favour of peace was still stronger. Pope Eugenius IV. had set seriously to work to put an end to the warfare. The Emperor Sigismund, with Frederick of Austria and Louis of Orange, alarmed at the rising power of the Burgundian House, had made offers of assistance to the French King. The Bretons, headed by the Count of Richemont, were anxious to renew their natural alliance with France. Burgundy himself, in 1432, had gone so far as to make an armistice with the French; the presence at the French Court of La Tremouille, one of the murderers of the Duke's father and the constant supporter of the war, seemed the only obstacle to reconciliation: if that reconciliation were made Bedford must of necessity make peace. Other difficulties were leading him in the same direction. The finances were in the greatest disorder; the garrison of Calais mutinied for pay. Bedford therefore, in 1433, returned to England to see what could be done. He made Lord Ralph Cromwell his treasurer, and intrusted him with the duty of examining and making a statement as to the condition of the finances. It became apparent that the yearly outgoing exceeded the income by £25,000. Bedford at once insisted on economy, and patriotically gave up a considerable portion of his own salaries. But the discovery of his failing resources, the necessity for his presence in England, where Lords and Commons united in intreating him to remain, the increase of the power of France, and the constant danger of reconciliation between Charles and Burgundy, induced him to be quite ready to make arrangements for a peace on honourable terms which should include the possession of Normandy. Such views did not suit Gloucester. He put himself prominently forward as the head of the war party, producing a great but impracticable plan for pressing the war with vigour. Bedford's residence in England was short. During his absence all went wrong; St. Denis was lost, and the Earl of Arundel taken prisoner. He was forced to return to France, and to leave the parties in England (now clearly defined as peace and war parties) to carry on their quarrels. But the general feeling for the necessity of peace, and for the release from their long imprisonment of the captives taken at Agincourt, gained ground abroad. So much was this the case that Burgundy found means to assemble

Formation of
peace and war
parties.

on the 14th of July what may be fairly called a European congress, at Arras, to settle if possible the peace of Europe. Thither came ambassadors from the Council of Bâle, (at that time sitting,) the Legate of the Pope, and ministers from the Emperor, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, Poland, Denmark, the Parisian University, and the great commercial towns of the Hansa and of Flanders. Archbishop John of York at first represented England. The Duke of Bourbon, who had already entered into agreement with Burgundy, represented France. Even on their first appearance, the English ambassadors were displeased with the precedence given to the French. The rival demands were these :— France wished either for a peace with Burgundy, and the continuation of the war with England, or if there was a cessation of that war, that the peace should be unconditional, with the restoration of all prisoners and all conquests, the three Norman bishoprics alone being left to the English, and those only as fiefs of the French crown; the English demanded the retention of their present possessions and an armistice. The pretensions of the two nations were evidently incompatible; even Cardinal Beaufort, who had joined the congress, was afraid of the war party at home, and on the 6th of September the English embassy withdrew.

At this inopportune moment an event happened which settled the wavering mind of Burgundy, and induced him to make a full reconciliation with the French. This event was the death of the Duke of Bedford. There was no one to fill the place of that great man. It had been his personal influence more than anything else which had kept Burgundy true to England. On his death the Duke at once declared himself ready to receive the terms which France offered. These were humiliating enough. Charles apologized for the death of Duke John, declared that he held the act in abhorrence, that he had been brought to consent to it by the advice of wicked ministers, and would henceforward exclude all Armagnacs from his council. At the same time he granted to Burgundy, Macon and Auxerre, together with the basin of the Somme, or Ponthieu. At first, news of this treaty served only to arouse the warlike feeling of the English. The appearance of the Burgundian envoy in London was the signal for violent riots. It was determined to prosecute the war with vigour. A great loan was raised throughout the country, and the prosecution intrusted to the young Duke of York. It was not to be expected that this young prince, however great his ability, could do what Bedford

Great peace
congress at
Arras.
1435.

Bedford's death.
Consequent
defection of
Burgundy.

Obstinacy of the
war party.

had been unable to accomplish. United with Burgundy, England had scarcely held its position in France. Against France and Burgundy united, it was helpless.

Already before York's arrival a great piece of Normandy, and even Harfleur, had been lost. In April the French King, with Burgundy, advanced on Paris, and was admitted by the townspeople. The war party grew only more obstinate. Gloucester revived his absurd claims upon Flanders in right of Jacqueline, and assumed the title of Count of Flanders. York and Talbot succeeded in driving back the Burgundians from Calais; but this was almost the only English success. In July 1437, York was recalled, and Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick,¹ appointed in his place. But it was too late for any one to check the advance of the French. That country was indeed exhausted and miserable to the last degree; but England was in little better plight. For several years the plague had been raging, and an unusually bad harvest added to the horrors of disease. Bread there was none, the people were reduced to live on pulse.

Moreover, the English forces were divided by the threatening aspect of affairs in Scotland. The young King had done his best to keep his promise of peace, but found it impossible to break off the long-standing connection with France. In 1428, his daughter Margaret had been betrothed to Charles VII.'s son, Louis of Anjou. This had excited the fears of the English, and in the following year, the Bishop of Winchester, under the plea of collecting help for his proposed crusade against the Hussites, had visited Edinburgh. A marriage treaty had even been proposed between the two countries, but it came to nothing, and a vigorous diplomatic struggle was still being carried on between the rival parties of France and England, when, in 1434, the folly of Sir Robert Ogle, who led a raid into the Scotch Lowlands, turned the scale in favour of the French. The marriage between Margaret and Louis of Anjou was at once carried out, and, in 1436, an army, with King James at its head, attacked Roxburgh. Fortunately for England, the Scotch King, bred at the Court of Henry V., and eager to introduce into his own kingdom the orderly constitution he had known in England, had excited the anger of his nobles. News of a conspiracy reached him, and he withdrew from his invasion only to fall a victim to that conspiracy in the following

¹ This Beauchamp was the 5th Earl of Warwick, and it was his daughter who carried the title to Richard Neville the Kingmaker.

Continued ill
success.
1437.

Danger from
Scotland.

James's death.

year. Weakened by these domestic confusions, Scotland was content to enter into a truce for ten years.

Neither the suffering of the people, nor the danger from Scotland, nor the constant want of success abroad, had any influence on the

Peace party
procure the
liberation of
Orleans.
1440.

passionate obstinacy of Gloucester. Meetings with regard to peace were in vain held at Paris, the English refused to recede from their demands. At length, however, Cardinal Beaufort and the peace party so far prevailed, that, after the fall of Meaux, they procured the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, hoping to find in him an efficient mediator. As a protest against the measure, while the Duke was taking the oaths required of him before his liberation, Gloucester, refusing to be present, betook himself to his barge and remained upon the river. The measure did not produce the desired effect. The Duke of Warwick had died in May 1439. Somerset, who had succeeded him, retook Harfleur, but, in the two following years, not only did the French successes increase in Normandy, even Guienne was in its turn assaulted. All efforts to save it were in vain, and it became quite evident that the policy of peace was the only one which could extricate England with honour from its disastrous situation.

The death of Bedford had left Cardinal Beaufort at the head of the party who desired a reasonable peace. But Beaufort was old, and the influence of Gloucester, as first Prince of the blood and the leader of the popular party, kept him much aloof from public business. In his place there arose a new minister, De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. This man, a descendant of a wealthy merchant in the reign of Edward III., and grandson of the favourite of Richard II., was fully engaged upon the side of the Lancastrian dynasty. He had been taken prisoner after the siege of Orleans, and had in France formed connections which pointed him out as a fitting person to manage negotiations with that country. It was determined, if possible, to make the marriage of the young

Marriage of
Henry with
Margaret of
Anjou.

King with a French Princess the basis of a peace. The Princess fixed on was Margaret, the daughter of René, Duke of Bar, representative of the Angevin house, the titular King of Sicily and of Jerusalem.¹ Suffolk

¹ This Prince was the second son of Louis II., Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence, and (as heir to his father, Louis I., who had been adopted by Joanna I. of Naples) titular King of Naples. All these titles René inherited, besides the duchy of Bar, from his uncle, and the duchy of Lorraine from his wife. He was, moreover, himself named heir by Joanna II. of Naples, but failed to obtain the crown. At the time of Margaret's marriage, of all his territories Provence was the only one he retained.

undertook to manage the delicate negotiation, although conscious, it would seem, of the obloquy he would probably meet with. He succeeded in obtaining an armistice to extend from June 1444 till April 1446, and the marriage treaty was completed; but so far from receiving a dower with his wife, as might have been expected, (but which her father, who had surrendered his duchy to the Duke of Burgundy, was quite unable to give,) it was arranged that Henry should surrender to the French, as the price of their consent, all that was left to the English of Anjou and Maine, where the war was still being carried on. In carrying out this arrangement, Suffolk had the consent of the Privy Council, but it is probable that they did not contemplate so complete a cession of English rights. His successful return secured him the title of Marquis, and the friendship of the young Queen (whose masculine mind soon got entire command of her husband's will), and enabled him to hold a position of complete superiority in the English councils.

Alliance with the French, on the somewhat disgraceful terms on which it had been contracted, not unnaturally raised the anger of Gloucester and his party. The rivalry grew hot between him and Suffolk. There were probably private causes of trouble between them, but at all events, in 1447, the Parliament was held at Bury St. Edmunds, and Gloucester was summoned thither. He went with a considerable following, but does not seem to have suspected danger, although he found the town fortified, and the guards everywhere doubled. He was suddenly apprehended on the charge of high treason, and before any trial was granted him, the public were told that he was dead. A death so opportune for his enemies naturally excited suspicion, and the most sinister rumours of foul play were spread among the people. It is impossible not to join in these suspicions; at the same time it is fair to notice that at a late examination his physician had declared his constitution radically unsound, and that some contemporary writers mention his death as having arisen from natural causes.

His death left room for Richard Duke of York's appearance upon the stage of politics. The son of Anne, sister of the Earl of March, and of that Duke of Cambridge who was put to death for his share in the conspiracy immediately preceding Henry V.'s first expedition to France, he stepped naturally into the place of leader of the Plantagenet Princes. Ever since that family ascended the throne, those branches of it which had not been actually reigning had been for the most part in opposition. Till their accession,

Pre-eminence of
Suffolk.

Gloucester's
death.

York takes his
place.

the Lancastrians had been the leaders of this party; their place was now taken first by Gloucester, then by York. It will be seen in the sequel that those same families which had formed the discontented party in the reign of Richard II., and in opposition to the Lancastrians, now sided chiefly with York. He had been already employed in public affairs, had been twice governor of Normandy, and in that capacity had quarrelled with the Duke of Somerset, who had been joined with him in command. To rid himself of so important an enemy, Suffolk, the leading statesman of the ruling party, had got him appointed in 1446 to the government of Ireland. This was a post of considerable difficulty; for under the management of the Earls of Ormond, one of the old Anglo-Irish settlers, that country had fallen into great disorder.¹

After Gloucester's death Suffolk had become unquestioned chief Minister, for Cardinal Beaufort had not long survived his nephew. He took upon himself all the unpopularity which the Lancastrian dynasty had latterly earned: It is plain that among the people there was deep-seated discontent. The persecution of the Lollards had never relented. Frequent executions are recorded for heresy. The support the Lancastrians had constantly given to the Church had even produced several outbreaks. In 1438, and again in 1443, there had been uproars in several parts of England, directed against the Catholic ecclesiastical foundations. Nor was this unnatural. Amidst the misery and desolation caused by repeated plagues and famines, and the expenditure both of men and money incident upon a foreign war, the Church alone, represented by the wealthy Cardinal Beaufort, had retained its prosperity; while, to crown all, national honour had been deeply wounded by want of success in France. To this inherited unpopularity, Suffolk added that which arose from the late dishonourable marriage treaty with France. Instead of attempting to lessen the feeling against him, he followed the common course of upstart ministers. The Princes and great nobles found themselves excluded from the Council. His ministers were chiefly bishops, especially Ascough, Bishop of Salisbury, and De Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, and men of little eminence, as Lord Say. His government in fact resembled that of Bernard of Armagnac in France, and took that particularly objectionable form, the superiority of the lesser nobles.

His foreign policy, too, was eminently unsuccessful. At the close of the truce, in 1446, he had not secured any permanent peace; and early in 1448, an ill-judged outbreak of some

¹ For a description of this disorder see a letter from "The chief persons in the county of Kildare to Richard Duke of York," Ellis *Letters*, second series, vol. i. 117.

English auxiliaries, who captured the town of Fougères, again plunged England into war. John, Duke of Somerset, perhaps in despair at his ill success, had killed himself. His brother Edmund succeeded to his title and position in France. His opposition to the French, who attacked him in great force, was entirely unavailing, and before the year was over Rouen and a large part of Normandy had been regained by the French. In May an armament under Sir Thomas Kyriel had been defeated near Fornigny; in July Caen surrendered; and in August the last remnants of the English army returned to England from Cherbourg. In the following year a last effort was made to retain some position in Guienne with equally bad success.

The loss of Rouen, in 1449, brought the anger of the people to its highest point. In an uproar they put to death De Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, at Portsmouth; and at length the House of Commons, led by Tresham their speaker, insisted upon the apprehension of Suffolk, who had now become a Duke, upon a charge of treason. On the 7th of February eight charges were brought against him of a somewhat indefinite character, especially charging him with a wish to marry his son John to Margaret Beaufort, thus aiming at the kingdom, and with gross mismanagement and treachery in France. These were followed by sixteen more specific charges, in which it was asserted that he had appropriated and misused the royal revenues, interfered with the course of justice, and treated treacherously with the French. On the 13th he appeared before the King in the House of Peers. He denied most of the charges, and excused himself on others on the ground that he had acted with the approbation of the Privy Council. He however, declining the privilege of his peerage and trial by the House of Lords, threw himself entirely upon the King's mercy; and Henry, hoping to get over the difficulty without giving up his friend, without a trial banished him for five years. This was a manifest breach of the Constitution, and served only to increase the general discontent. The Duke escaped privately to his own estates, and took sea at Ipswich, but was met by an English squadron, taken on board the largest ship, the "Nicholas of the Tower," and after a sham trial by the seamen, obliged to enter a little boat. He was there beheaded, with a sort of parody of the usual forms of execution. It is pretty evident that behind the popular anger there was the influence of the Duke of York and other noblemen at work.

At the next Parliament, which was held at Leicester, many of the

Absolute
ministry of
Suffolk.

His unpopu-
larity.

Renewal of
the war.

Fall of Rouen.
1449.

Popular out-
break against
Suffolk.

Murder of
Suffolk.

nobles appeared in arms. At the same time the news of the defeat of Kyriel at Formigny arrived; and at once the men of Kent, who were probably in close alliance with the seamen who had executed Suffolk, rose. Their leader was Jack Cade. He led the insurgents under strict discipline towards London, assuming the name of Mortimer, and we cannot but believe with the knowledge of the Duke of York. Two papers were sent in to the Government; one called the Complaints, the other the Demands, of the Commons of Kent. In these were summed up the causes of the unpopularity of Suffolk; and the restoration of Richard of York to favour was demanded. Unable to hold their advanced position, the insurgents fell back to Sevenoaks, but there they were successful against a hasty attack by Sir Humphrey Stafford.¹ The King retired from London, and so far yielded as to order the apprehension of Lord Say, one of the obnoxious councillors. Cade then advanced, took possession of Southwark, and appeared in London, under the title of the Captain of Kent, and in the arms of Stafford. The burghers of London, full of sympathy for the demands of the Kentish men, and pleased with the strict discipline preserved, sided at first with the insurgents. At a formal trial presided over by the Lord Mayor, Say, who had fallen into the hands of the people, was condemned and immediately executed. Meanwhile, almost at the same time, Ascough, the obnoxious Bishop of Salisbury, was put to death by his own followers at Eddington. Thus all the obnoxious ministers had been got rid of. London was now in the hands of the populace. The temptation was too strong for them, and some plundering took place. On this the Londoners took fright, and, when the insurgents retired for the night to Southwark, broke down and defended the bridge. Cade, unable to regain London, fell back, and after his followers, deceived by a promise of general pardon, had chiefly dispersed, was pursued and put to death near Lewes by Iden the sheriff.

The disaffection was by no means quieted. Complaints were bitter, that by repeated prorogations of Parliament supplies were obtained without any redress of grievances, and that the bishops and clergy sided with the oppressors. While public feeling was in this irritable condition, York, suddenly leaving his government of Ireland without leave, appeared on the Welsh border with 4000 of his vassals. In this threaten-

Continued
discontent.

York's appear-
ance in arms.
1452.

¹ The Staffords, the head of whom was the Duke of Buckingham, were descended from Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III.

ing manner, and accompanied by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Devonshire and Salisbury, the whole clan of the Nevilles, and the Lords Cromwell¹ and Cobham, he appeared at Westminster. Meanwhile, Somerset, the acknowledged head of the rival party, returned from France, and received the office of Constable. The parties were assuming form, and a crisis was evidently at hand. York made a formal demand for the dismissal of Somerset and the punishment of the Duchess of Suffolk. As yet, however, the Government was strong enough to refuse these demands, and during the whole of the year 1451, without any public acts, the quarrel was becoming more embittered. In Devonshire Lord Bonville was at open war with the Earl of Devonshire. In the North, Percy, Lord Egremont, was fighting with the Earl of Salisbury. And in the winter, the Welsh vassals of York were gathered round the castle of Ludlow. Hitherto York and his partisans had persistently declared themselves the faithful servants of the Crown, interested only in the removal of the King's bad ministers. None the less, in the beginning of the year 1452, Somerset and the King marched into the West, where York had been collecting his vassals, while York, moving in the opposite direction, passed the royal troops, and appeared in Kent, where he felt sure of support.

This summoned the King back towards London; he took up his position at Blackheath, and there received the demands of York, to which he consented, promising to imprison Somerset, and to form a new council. Trusting to this promise, York disbanded his army, and went to have an interview with the King. He there discovered, to his dismay, that he had been deceived. His rival was in the tent, and evidently still in favour. Hot words were exchanged, but ultimately York was compelled to renew his oath of loyalty, and the Somerset party for the instant triumphed. The next Parliament was strongly in their favour; the speaker, Thomas Thorpe, a strong partisan of the Lancastrians. The King's half-brothers, the sons of Owen Tudor, (Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke,) were brought prominently forward as members of the royal house, and Cardinal Kemp, now Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, declared that the Government would enforce peace by arms if necessary.

This triumph was of short duration. News arrived of the failure of the new expedition for the rescue of Guienne, and of the death of

¹ Cromwell had been a great friend of Bedford and his financial reformer, but dislike to the conduct of the Suffolk party had driven him to join York.

Talbot, Lord Shrewsbury, its leader, at Castillon. And worse than that, the King, who had all his life suffered both from bodily and intellectual weakness, fell into a condition of hopeless imbecility. Under these circumstances, the birth of a Prince called Edward, which might have added to the strength of the Lancastrian party, was but a source of weakness. York, as heir presumptive to the throne of a sickly monarch, might have been contented to wait; the birth of a new heir apparent urged him to do what he had to do quickly. The opportunity, too, now offered itself; during the imbecility of the King, some regent was wanted; there was no excuse for passing over York. An instant change of government was the consequence. Somerset was apprehended. Even the Parliament chosen under the Lancastrian influence could not refuse, after it had obtained proof of Henry's folly, to appoint Richard. The amount of authority given him seems to have been exactly that which Gloucester had enjoyed. He was President of the Council, and chief executive officer. His office was terminable at the royal will. Though thus limited, his power was sufficient to enable him to change the constitution of the Council, to carry through a breach of Parliamentary privilege by imprisoning for a debt Thorpe the speaker, and on the death of Cardinal Kemp, to appoint his brother-in-law Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, to the chancellorship.

But the supremacy of York disappeared as suddenly as it had arisen. At the end of 1454, on Christmas Day, the King recovered his senses. Everything was immediately reversed. Somerset was taken from the Tower and declared innocent. York's officers were displaced. True to the policy of his house, Henry restored the chancellorship to the Church by the appointment of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. But York had now determined upon an appeal to arms. Urged by fear of Somerset, and by dislike to the secondary position which the Prince's birth had given him, and in company with the Nevilles, Lord

Recovery of
the King.
1454.

York again
appears in arms.

Salisbury, and his son the Earl of Warwick, he advanced towards London, to forestall the action of the Parliament summoned to meet at Leicester, which he expected to be hostile to him. At the same time the royal troops were marching northward. The two forces consequently met. From Royston, York wrote a letter still declaring his loyalty, and stating his conditions. It was unanswered, and on the 21st of May the armies met at St. Albans. The King had with him the Dukes of Somerset and

Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Devonshire, Stafford, Dorset, Wiltshire, Clifford, and Sudely. The battle was fought in the town, and the victory, chiefly owing to Warwick, fell to the Duke of York. Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford fell. Most of the other leaders were wounded, and the King himself was suffering from an arrow wound when York and the Nevilles came to him, knelt before him, begged his favour, and carried him with them in apparent harmony to London.

First battle of
St. Albans.
May 22, 1455.

On examining the chief names which occur as those of the leaders on either side in this the first battle of the Wars of the Roses, it will be seen that it was the Nevilles and Norfolk chiefly on whom York relied; his own relations, the Percies, and other gentlemen of the North, which constituted the strength of Henry's party. There seem to have been three principles of division at work—family, geographical position, political views; and with regard to family, it would seem that the quarrel was one of very long standing, dating back as far as the reign of Richard II. It has been already pointed out that there was constantly some branch or other of the Plantagenet party in opposition to the reigning branch, which took for its cry reform of government and the good cause of England. In Richard II.'s reign Gloucester had represented this party. If we take the names of the Lords Appellant in the year 1387, we find them to be Gloucester and Derby, Plantagenets; Warwick, a Beauchamp; Nottingham, a Mowbray; and Arundel. Now, of these, the second, Derby, became afterwards King as Henry IV., and the opposition which he had at one time helped to direct was turned against himself and his family. The families of Mowbray and of Arundel had coalesced in the Duke of Norfolk. The heiress of the Beauchamps had married the Earl of Salisbury's son Richard Neville, who with his wife had inherited the title of Warwick. The addition therefore to the party was that of the important family of the Nevilles, which had been consistently faithful to Henry IV. But this family had now become allied by marriage with the Duke of York himself (who had married Cecily Neville), with the Duke of Norfolk, and as we have seen with the family of Beauchamp. In addition to this, the fact that the rival house of the Percies had since the restoration of the son of Hotspur been firm supporters of the Lancastrian dynasty, would have been enough to put the Nevilles on the opposite side. The two families had ever been rivals for the chief influence in the North of England; and even now Lord Egremont, a Percy, was at open war with the Earl of Salisbury in the

Character of the
two parties.

neighbourhood of York. Of the leaders appearing on the side of Henry, Northumberland was a Percy, and therefore enemy of the Nevilles; Somerset was a Beaufort, and of the Lancastrian house; Pembroke and Richmond were the King's half-brothers; Clifford was one of the great lords of the North, and an opponent of the Nevilles; Wiltshire was James Butler of Ormond, of that family whose misgovernment York had been sent to cure. Of Buckingham and the Staffords, whose mother was a Plantagenet, it may be supposed that in the family quarrel they preferred the reigning house.

This seems to lead to the conclusion that in the main the war was a fight of faction, a tissue of hereditary family rivalries resting upon merely personal grounds. But beyond these there were geographical and political reasons which had their influence on the bulk of the nation. The demand for reform of government, the support given to the national prejudice in favour of continued war, and the opposition to the strong Church views of the Government, had rendered the party of York distinctly the popular one. The North of England was always more subject than the South to baronial influence. It was in the South therefore, in Kent, and in the trading cities, that the strength of the Yorkist party chiefly lay. To this of course must be added the very large estates held by York himself, as the heir of the Mortimers in the West; and the vast property of the various branches of the Nevilles. On the other hand, the Lancastrian party was that of the lower nobility, and of the Church, and found its strength in the baronial North. Politically, to speak broadly, it was the party of the Conservative gentry and the High Church, pitted against the party of reform of Church and State headed by a few great nobles; geographically, it was the North withstanding the attacks of the South.

One effect of the battle of St. Albans was, that the King again sank into lethargy. Again, for a brief space, was the power of York irresistible; he was appointed by the Lords to his old position of Protector. He was still careful not to speak of his claim to the crown, and accepted the Protectorate only as the gift of both Houses of Parliament. Again, however, the King suddenly recovered. In February, York was removed from his protectorate, and the Queen and Somerset were again ruling. The following year, a great meeting of the Council was held at Coventry, where York and his friends were again compelled to renew their fealty. But the loss of life at St. Albans had rendered the party feud much more violent, and York was induced to believe that the Queen had aims against his life. He and his friends at once

York's second
brief Pro-
tectorate.
1456.

separated; York to his western castle of Wigmore, Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire, Warwick to Calais, of which town he was the governor. Whatever influence the King had seems to have been directed to produce reconciliation. For this purpose he induced, in January, the rival chiefs to meet in London. The peace of the town was intrusted to the citizens, and a solemn reconciliation brought about, based upon money payments to be made by the Yorkists to the sufferers at St. Albans. Meanwhile, Warwick, a lawless and independent person, was living as a sort of authorized pirate at Calais. He attacked a fleet of ships, as he believed Spanish; they afterwards proved to be Hanseatic vessels. He was consequently summoned to Court to explain his conduct. There a quarrel arose between his servants and those of the King, and at once the ephemeral reconciliation was destroyed.

Both parties prepared again for war. The Court having been told that Salisbury was going to Kenilworth to concert measures with Duke Richard, Lord Audley was sent with an armed force to intercept him. The consequence was the battle of Blore Heath on the confines of Shropshire, in which Salisbury was completely victorious. A general meeting of the three great Yorkist nobles took place at Ludlow, where Warwick brought his veterans from Calais, under Sir Andrew Trollope. Again the old proclamation against evil governors was issued; but for some unexplained reason Trollope suddenly deserted, and, deprived of their most trustworthy troops, the leaders thought it wise to fly. York took refuge in Ireland, with his son Edmund of Rutland, while his eldest son, Edward of March, with Warwick, found security in Calais. Their flight caused something like a revolution, so complete was the triumph of the Lancastrians. The Parliament was assembled at Coventry, probably with much illegal violence, and bills of attainder were passed against the Yorkist leaders. But Warwick was determined upon further action. Having command of the sea, he contrived an interview with Richard in Ireland, and accompanied by his father and the young Earl of March, he landed in Kent, where he was rapidly joined by the people, and appeared at the head of 30,000 men in London. Having captured the capital, with the exception of the Tower, which Lord Scales held, they advanced northwards. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Northampton.

with the
Nevilles he
retires from
Court.

Hollow recon-
ciliation of
parties.
1458.

Renewed hos-
tilities. Battle
of Blore Heath.
Sept. 23, 1459.

Flight of the
Yorkists from
Ludlow.

Lancastrian
Parliament at
Coventry.

Fresh attack of
the Yorkists.
Battle of
Northampton.
July 10, 1460

The Lancastrians were strongly intrenched, but the intrenchment once broken through, a terrible slaughter ensued. Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Beaumont, and Egremont were slain. The wretched King was found deserted in his tent. Again the scene after St. Albans was repeated, and York, returning from Ireland, was once more master of affairs.

On the 7th of October a Parliament was held in London. All the acts of the Parliament of Coventry were annulled, on the ground that its members had been illegally elected, and in some instances that they had not been elected at all. And then first did York, who appears to have thought that all less decided measures had been tried in vain, bring forward a distinct claim to the throne. This claim he sent in writing to the

Yorkist
Parliament in
London.

York at last
advances claims
to the throne.

House of Lords, with whom alone it was said the decision could lie, pointing out, what was undeniable, that his hereditary claim was better than that of Henry VI. The majority of the Lords were at heart Lancastrian. They had, moreover, again and again sworn fealty to the reigning house; and to their common sense as proprietors it seemed ridiculous that an undisturbed possession of more than fifty years, defended by numerous Acts of Parliament, should be set aside by mere hereditary claim. With the Yorkists triumphant, they were naturally disinclined to give any answer, but it was in vain they applied to the judges or to the crown lawyers. The judges declared the question beyond their cognizance, and the crown lawyers argued that it was therefore much more beyond theirs. Thrown back upon themselves, the Lords devised a compromise by which they could save their consciences with regard to the oath of fealty, and yet give effect to the hereditary claim, which was urged by such awkwardly strong supporters. They agreed that the King should hold the crown for life, that it should then pass to Richard and his heirs, that Richard should meanwhile be created Prince of Wales and heir presumptive, and be the practical ruler of the Kingdom. That in spite of his victorious position he should have been able only to secure this compromise, seems to prove the close equality of the parties, and perhaps, taken in connection with his previous action, the moderation of Richard.

The Lords agree
on a compromise.

The Queen had no intention of submitting to this verdict. Trusting to the power of the North, which was constantly true to her, and collecting round her all the great chiefs of her party, she moved to York. Richard at once determined to hasten against her. Salisbury accompanied him; Edward, his eldest son, was ordered to collect troops;

Warwick was charged with the care of the King. With extreme rashness, York met vastly superior forces in the neighbourhood of Wakefield. Unexpectedly attacked, his little army was completely destroyed. He was himself taken prisoner, dragged with every sign of indignity before the Queen, mockingly crowned with a wreath of grass, and then beheaded. His second son, Rutland, but seventeen years of age, was killed in cold blood as he fled, and Salisbury, who was also captured, was beheaded at the demand of the people. March was collecting troops in the West when he heard of his father's death, and hastening northwards, he suddenly turned upon a small pursuing force under Pembroke and Wiltshire, and completely defeated them at Mortimer's Cross. The Queen's army meanwhile pushed southward. The wild northerners seemed to fancy they were marching through a foreign country. The fiercest destruction and plundering marked the course of their march. To meet them, Norfolk and Warwick had come from London to St. Albans, and there a second battle was fought, this time with the complete defeat of the Yorkists. The King again fell into the hands of the Queen. This battle, as all the others during these wars, was marked by extraordinary destruction among the chiefs, and followed by vindictive executions. Had the Queen pushed direct to London the Yorkist party might have been destroyed. But she could not hold her wild troops in hand. Their devastations excited the anger of the people. All round London the populace rose, determined to avoid the government which promised to be so cruel. The young Earl of March, whom Warwick had joined with the remnant of his troops, took advantage of this feeling, and advanced triumphantly to the capital. At a meeting in Clerkenwell, the Chancellor, the Bishop of Exeter, explained the claims of the House of York. The question "Shall Edward be your King?" was received with general cries of approbation. The news was brought to the young prince in Baynard's Castle, and the next day he ascended the throne in Westminster Hall, explained with his own lips his hereditary claims, and then proceeded to the Abbey where his coronation was performed.

York is defeated
and killed at
Wakefield.
Dec. 30, 1460.

The young Duke
of York wins
the Battle of
Mortimer's
Cross.
Feb. 2, 1461.

The Queen,
advancing to
London, wins
the second
battle of St.
Albans.
Feb. 17.

Sudden rising
of the home
counties.

Triumphant
entry of
Edward.

EDWARD IV.

1461-1483.

Born 1441 = Elizabeth Woodville.

Edward V. Richard, Duke of York. George. Elizabeth = Henry VII. Six other daughters

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
James III., 1460.	Louis XI., 1461.	Frederick III., 1440.	Henry IV., 1454. Ferdinand V., 1474.

POPES.—Pius II., 1458. Paul II., 1464. Sixtus IV., 1471.

Archbishops.
Thomas Bouchier, 1454.

Chancellors.
George Neville, 1461.
Robert Stillington, 1467.
Laurence Booth, 1473.
Rotherham, 1475.

THOUGH in after years much addicted to sensual pleasure, Edward IV. never lost his practical energy; he was not a man to leave unimproved his present triumphant position. He at once despatched the Duke of Norfolk to the East of England to collect an army, and with the Earl of Warwick himself hastened northward, with an army composed chiefly of Welshmen from his own possessions, and of men of Kent, the great supporters of his house. In Yorkshire he met his enemy. The passage of the river Aire was disputed at Ferry Bridge; the Yorkists, under Lord Falconbridge (a Neville), falling upon the rear of Clifford and his Lancastrians, stopped his passage, and killed that leader. On the 28th of March the armies were in presence, some eight miles from York. The battle was to be a decisive one. No quarter was to be expected on either side. The numbers engaged—of the Lancastrians, 60,000, of the Yorkists 48,000—were much larger than in most of the battles of these wars. For once the nation felt some interest in the quarrel. The change of the wind

Edward secures
the crown.
1461.

Battle of
Towton.
Mar. 29.

1461]

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR

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blew the snow continually in the eyes of the Lancastrians, and when the battle had raged through a great part of the night and till noon of the following day, the Yorkists had secured a complete victory. Again, the greatest names of the nobility are mentioned among the slain. Northumberland fell in the battle, Devonshire and Wiltshire were beheaded after it, and many reports speak of from 28,000 to 33,000 men left dead upon the field.¹ Henry and his Queen, with Somerset and Exeter, fled into Scotland, and purchased such assistance as that country could give in the midst of its own intestine commotions by a promise of Berwick and Carlisle. Edward now felt safe on his throne, and returned to London, where the joy was great. There, in November, he met his first Parliament, by whom the three last monarchs were declared usurpers, and the acts of their reigns annihilated, with the exception of such judicial decisions as would if repealed have thrown the country into confusion. All the great leaders of the Lancastrian party were attainted, and their property confiscated. The session closed with a personal address of thanks from the King to the Commons, an unusual occurrence, and marking the political position of the House of York.

Meanwhile, Margaret had been seeking assistance from her own country, France; but Louis, busy in his own affairs and content with the enforced neutrality of England, only gave her a small sum of money, and allowed Peter de Brezé, Seneschal of Normandy, to enlist troops for her. With these forces she succeeded in capturing the three northern fortresses of Bamborough, Dunstanburgh and Alnwick. But before the end of the year, the two first of these were recovered, and Edward was so strong, that even Somerset and Percy deserted to his side. Again, the next year, the Queen with De Brezé attempted in vain to relieve Alnwick. Her fleet was wrecked, and with difficulty she made her way back to Scotland. But, though beaten, her cause was still alive. In various parts of the country, disturbances showed themselves. The clergy missed the favour they had received from the Lancastrians; and, in the beginning of the following year, the Percies and Somerset had gone back to their own party, and renewed attempts were made upon the North of England. But Warwick's brother Montague, at Hedgeley Moor, and again at Hexham, destroyed their forces, and both Percy and Somerset met their death. This was the second Duke of Somerset who had died in

¹ William of Worcester, however, puts it at 9,000.

Yorkist
Parliament

With French
help Margaret
keeps up the
war.
1462.

Hedgeley Moor.
Hexham.
April 1464

these wars. He was succeeded by his brother Edmund. A greater prize was the King, who, after hiding for some time, was captured, in 1465, in Yorkshire, and brought with all signs of indignity to London. He was there, however, properly taken care of in the Tower.

Supported by his Commons, who granted him the wool tax and tonnage and poundage for life, King Edward seemed firmly seated on the throne. He was essentially a popular king. He sat and judged on his own King's Bench, talked familiarly with the people, and allowed the Commons to pass popular measures of finance, without regard to their want of wisdom. A revocation of grants

from the Crown was made, but with exceptions which rendered it nugatory; the importation of foreign corn or foreign merchandise was forbidden. The arrangement of the staple, by which wool and cloth could be sold only at Calais, and for bullion or ready money, was re-established; and still further to uphold the current theory of the day, and to keep gold and silver in the country, strict sumptuary laws were passed. Abroad, too, all seemed peaceful. The Pope had acknowledged the new King. France was too busy to interfere. With the rest of Europe treaties of amity were set on foot; and even with Scotland a long truce was made.

Edward's popular government.
Apparent security of his throne.

But the King had a weakness of character which destroyed his fine position. He was a slave to his passions; and now, regardless of all prudence, though various royal matches were suggested, especially one with Bona of Savoy, the sister of the French Queen, he was carried away by his admiration for Elizabeth Woodville, the daughter of Jacquetta, the Duchess Dowager of Bedford, and Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, and the widow of Sir John Grey, a strong Lancastrian partisan. On the 29th of September, in spite of the opposition which he could not but have expected, the King was publicly married in the chapel at Reading. Had not the King recognised the weakness of the nobility, caused by the slaughters of the late wars, he would scarcely have ventured on a marriage so much beneath him. As it was, the few great nobles who remained were deeply hurt, and Edward found himself obliged to make the best of his plebeian marriage. An unusually ostentatious and solemn coronation was held, and an air of aristocracy given to the ceremony by the presence of his wife's relative, John of Luxembourg. His other measures for the same purpose were not so well judged. The marriage might have been pardoned had it not brought with it the elevation of the whole of the Queen's family, whom the

Destroyed by his marriage, 1466.

King thought it necessary to raise in social rank. Her father was made an Earl, and given in succession the offices of Constable and Treasurer, and this at the expense of the nobles who were then holding those places. Her brother Anthony, a man of great accomplishments, was given the daughter, inheritance, and titles of Lord Scales. Another brother, John, at the age of twenty, was married, it is to be presumed, chiefly for interested reasons, to the old Duchess of Norfolk, who was nearly eighty. Her five sisters found husbands among the noblest of the Yorkist party.¹

The displeasure of the Nevilles did not, however, at first show itself, and Warwick stood godfather to the young Princess Elizabeth. Their position indeed was still one of enormous influence; George, the youngest brother, was Chancellor and Archbishop of York; to his third brother, John of Montague, had been given the property and title of the Percies, and he was now Earl of Northumberland; and Warwick, Warden of the Western Marches of Scotland, and in the receipt of public income said to amount to 80,000 crowns, was the most popular man in the country. He lived with an ostentatious splendour, which threw all his rivals into the background.² Nevertheless the marriage, and the formation of the new nobility consequent on it, began to divide England into new parties: on the one side, such as were left of the old nobility; on the other, the new. It was plain that the Nevilles, pledged though they were to the Yorkist side, would sooner or later side with their order against the King and his new friends. A still more important cause of quarrel existed in the difference between their foreign policy and that of the King. The House of Burgundy and Louis XI. of France were constant rivals; and while Warwick and the Nevilles inclined towards a French alliance, thus deserting the old policy of the Yorkists, Edward, seeing the advantages he would reap in a mercantile point of view, lent a willing ear to the advances of Charles, known afterwards as Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who was now demanding his sister Margaret as his wife. As a contingent advantage he knew that he would find in the Burgundian Prince a ready acknowledgment of his title to the crown of

and rise of the Woodvilles.
Power of the Nevilles.
Their French policy. Burgundian policy of Edward. 1467.

¹ Stafford, the young Duke of Buckingham; the heir of Bourchier, Earl of Essex; Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel; Lord Strange of Knokyn; and Lord Herbert. Thomas Grey, her son by her first marriage, was engaged to the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Exeter, the King's niece.

² "Every tavern was full of his meat, for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he should have had as much sodden and roast as he might carry upon a long dagger."—Stowe.

France, which he still had some thought of making good. On the return of Warwick from a friendly embassy to France, he found an alliance with Burgundy already concluded. The Count de la Roche, the natural brother of Charles, had appeared in England on the pretext of fighting a chivalrous duel with Anthony, Lord Scales; and had apparently arranged the marriage between Charles and Margaret which was consummated early in the following year. It would seem that this had been done contrary to the will of the Nevilles; for just before the arrival of De la Roche, at the opening of Parliament, Warwick was absent, and the King had suddenly deprived the Archbishop of York of his chancellorship, which he had given to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

With these causes of quarrel, Warwick and the Nevilles fell back into their old position of opposition to the Crown; and more completely to reproduce the often-repeated state of English politics, succeeded in securing a Plantagenet Prince as their nominal leader. The Duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, was induced, in spite of the King's prohibition, to go to Calais, and there marry Isabella, Warwick's daughter. This ominous union soon produced fruits. The lower orders—those orders that are below the burgher class—cared but little for the name of the ruler; it was much the same to them whether Lancastrian or Yorkist was on the throne, their interests were confined to evils which pressed upon themselves. They were therefore ready instruments in the hands of the opposition. And upon a quarrel upon some Church dues, the men

Defection of
the Nevilles.

Popular risings
inspired by
them.
1469.

of the northern counties rose under a popular leader, Robert Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Redesdale. The insurgents soon found nobler leaders. Lords Latimer and Fitz-Hugh, relations of Warwick, and Sir John Coniers appeared at their head, and with 60,000 men marched southward, declaring that Warwick alone could save the country, complaining that the money wrung from the people was squandered upon the Queen's relatives, and demanding the dismissal of the new counsellors, such as Herbert, Stafford, and Audley. At the same time, Warwick and his brothers promised the men of Kent that they would appear at their head to make demands similar to those of the northern insurgents. Herbert, who had just beaten Jasper Tudor with the last remnant of the Lancastrians in Wales, and received his title of Earl of Pembroke, and Humphrey Stafford, who had been made Earl of Devonshire, advanced against the rebels; but quarrelling between themselves, they were defeated, and Pembroke beheaded, while shortly after, Rivers and Sir John Woodville, the Queen's father and

brother, were captured and met the same fate. It was sufficiently plain that Warwick had instigated this rebellion. The destruction of his chief enemies made his power for the time paramount. He even kept Edward for a short period prisoner in his castle of Middleham. But his disapprobation of the Government had not yet gone so far as to make him wish for a return of the Lancastrians. And when that party again raised its standard in the North, he felt himself unable to cope with it without the King's assistance, and therefore released him. A complete pardon was granted to the Nevilles, and apparent harmony again reigned.

But it must have been obvious to all parties that it was but a temporary truce.¹ Had Clarence been a man of more ability, Warwick would probably have put him on the throne. Failing him, it began to be plain to the Earl that it was only by connection with the Lancastrian party that he could hope finally to triumph over his enemies—the new nobility. A new insurrection broke out in Lincoln, against the oppressions of the royal tax-gatherers. The insurgents, finding themselves no better off under the new dynasty than they had been before, declared for King Henry. At their head was young Sir Robert Wells. The King, not yet aware of Warwick's designs, under promise of pardon drew Lord Wells (Sir Robert's father) and Sir Thomas Dymock from the sanctuary, and kept them as hostages, and intrusted Warwick and Clarence with the duty of collecting troops to repress the insurgents. They collected troops, indeed, but did not suppress the insurgents; and the King discovered that they were acting in union with Sir Robert Wells. He at once put Dymock and Wells to death, routed the insurgents near Empingham in Rutland, at a battle known by the name of "Lose Coat Field," and turned his arms against Clarence and Warwick, who had been seeking assistance in vain from his brother-in-law Stanley in Lancashire. They did not await his coming, but rapidly fled through Devonshire to France. Sir Robert Wells, anxious to revenge his father, had driven matters on too hastily for the success of the conspiracy. Warwick had always been anxious for a French alliance, and was therefore well received by Louis, who felt that there was now but little chance

Clarence's
weakness drives
the Nevilles to
the Lancas-
trians.

Wells' rebellion,
1470.

Flight of
Warwick.

¹ Even ordinary observers saw this. "I cannot tell what will fall of the world, for the King verily is disposed to go into Lincolnshire, and my Lord of Warwick, as it is supposed, shall go with the King; some men say that his going shall do good, and some say that it doth harm."—*Paston Letters*.

of peace with England except by restoration of the Lancastrians. He therefore contrived to bring the Earl and Margaret together; and the old enemies, finding that they had in common their hatred to the new nobility and their views of foreign politics, agreed to forget their old differences, and made a treaty by which Ann Neville was to marry the Prince of Wales, upon whom the throne was settled. Failing him it was to pass to Clarence. This treaty, which put Clarence's claims in the background, did not please him; and, utterly without principle, he at once opened negotiations with his brother, although he did not as yet openly join him.

In spite of all the warnings which he received from Burgundy, Edward remained in a condition of false security, even allowing Montague to retain his offices in England. He was absent from London in the North, when the Queen, Warwick and Clarence landed in Devonshire, issued a proclamation calling on the nation to arm, and soon found themselves surrounded by a sufficient army. So far did Edward carry his want of suspicion, that Montague, who at once declared for the Red Rose, as nearly as possible captured him at dinner in the neighbourhood of Doncaster; he had just time to escape, and fled (not without danger from a Hanseatic fleet) to Flanders. Warwick and his friends proceeded to London, drew the old King from the Tower, and re-crowned him with all ceremony. A Parliament assembled on the 26th of November. All the Acts of Edward's reign were annulled, and a general change took place in property and offices. It marks the effect of the fusion of parties, that this revolution, unlike most of the events of this war, was almost bloodless. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who had rendered himself hateful by his severity as Constable, was almost the only victim.

Though on many grounds (personal hatred to Warwick, sympathy with Edward's enmity to France, and mercantile and family reasons) the Duke of Burgundy would have been naturally attached to the House of York, this friendship was of new growth, and could not make him forget his long connection with the House of Lancaster. It was therefore with much difficulty that Edward got from him a small pecuniary assistance. With such as it was, however, he collected about 2000 men, and took, what at first sight appears, the foolhardy step of landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. But he knew that he had friends in his enemy's camp. At first, declaring, in imitation of Henry IV., that he only came to claim his rights as Duke of York, he passed un-

Warwick
returns and re-
crows Henry.

Edward gets
help from
Burgundy.
1471.

molested through Yorkshire, where Montague was. Even Warwick, who lay in the midland counties, watched his progress unmoved. He had received letters from Clarence, begging him not to stir till he joined him with reinforcements. But when Clarence took the field, it was not Warwick, but Edward to whom he went. Strong enough now again to assume the name of King of England, Edward marched to London, where the Archbishop of York had tried in vain to raise enthusiasm for the Lancastrian King. Too late, Warwick found that he had been deceived, and he also marched towards London. Edward met him with inferior forces in the neighbourhood of Barnet, and there a battle was fought, in which Warwick was entirely defeated, and himself and his brother Montague killed. Probably the great bulk of the people cared but little who was their ruler. York's army was very small—less than 10,000 men. A series of accidents gave him the victory. The indifference of the nation, weary of the squabble, explains the rapid success of these revolutions.

Meanwhile, the day before the battle, Queen Margaret had landed at Weymouth. For the moment, the true Lancastrians were almost glad when they heard that they were rid of their new Yorkist ally. The Queen's generals intended to march through Wales, there make a junction with Jasper Tudor, who was collecting forces, and thence move to their strongholds in the North. Edward divined their plan, and pushed rapidly across England, to secure if possible Gloucester and the valley of the Severn. The armies encountered at Tewkesbury, where the Queen had taken a strong position among the abbey buildings and the neighbouring enclosures. Again the superior skill of Edward secured the victory to his much inferior forces. The few remaining Lancastrian nobles, the Prince of Wales, Devonshire, Lord John Beaufort, and others, fell upon the field. The Duke of Somerset, the fourth and last of the Beauforts, was executed after it. Margaret and some others were taken prisoners.

There was one other danger, and then the Lancastrian party seemed destroyed for ever. The Bastard of Falconbridge suddenly appeared with a considerable fleet before London. The gallant defence of the citizens, and the arrival of assistance from the King, thwarted this last effort, and Edward returned in triumph, having proved the stability of the house of York. His arrival was immediately followed by the secret mur-

Clarence joins
him.

Battle of
Barnet.
April 14.

Margaret lands.

Battle of
Tewkesbury.
May 4.

Edward's
triumphant
return.
Murder of
Henry VI.

der of King Henry, one of those dark deeds which has been attributed without much ground to Edward's brother, Richard of Gloucester. A bloody court of justice held in Canterbury, for the punishment of the Kentish men, closed this revolution of eleven weeks. On the subsequent death of Holland, Earl of Exeter, whose body was found upon the sea in the Straits of Dover, there were but two important members of the Lancastrian party left. These were Oxford, and Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, who made good their escape to Brittany, whence Jasper's nephew subsequently returned to England in that expedition which terminated in Bosworth field. The clergy and the lesser nobles, seeing further contest useless, made their peace with the reigning house, and received pardons, and after Parliament had re-established the Yorkist dynasty, the wars of the Roses seemed to be at an end, and England at peace.

But the house of York was now to feel that ineradicable evil which beset the Plantagenets. The princes of the family could not agree.

Clarence's
quarrel with
Richard.
1476.

Clarence had already occupied the position of chief of the opposition. He had already joined in the struggle between the old and new nobility as the partisan of the former party. Richard, a man of far greater ability, and of a reflective turn of mind, was in his heart inclined in the same direction. For the present, however, he saw his advantage in remaining the true and very efficient assistant of his brother Edward, by whom he had been intrusted with the government of the North. Clarence, incapable of being a great party leader, showed his disposition in lesser matters, and quarrelled with both his brothers. He had himself married Warwick's eldest daughter, Isabella, and was anxious to appropriate all the great Warwick possessions. When Richard, therefore, determined upon marrying Anne, the younger sister, he hid the young lady, who is said to have been discovered by her lover in the dress of a servant-maid, and when he was unable to prevent the marriage, refused to divide the inheritance. A fierce quarrel was the consequence, and it required the intervention of Parliament to secure an equitable division of the property. Thus embroiled with one brother, the Duke of Clarence speedily fell out with the other. On the death of his wife in 1476, he turned his thoughts to a second

With Edward.
1477.

marriage with Mary of Burgundy, who became, on the death of Charles the Bold at Nancy in 1477, the heiress of his vast dominions. Edward prevented the marriage. In the first place, he would have much disliked to see his brother, on whom he had not the smallest reliance, powerful in Burgundy, and again, the Queen,

and the Queen's party of the new nobility, were anxious that Mary should be married to the Earl of Rivers. The breach between the brothers was complete, and Edward, who never knew pity, only watched for an opportunity to rid himself of Clarence. The occasion chosen was trivial enough, but very characteristic of that age. A gentleman of Clarence's household, called Burdett, had uttered some angry words against the King. He was shortly after tried for necromancy, and as in the course of the inquiry it appeared that, among other acts of magic, he had cast the King's horoscope, he was condemned to death. With this verdict Clarence violently interfered. Edward was now able to charge him with interfering with the course of justice. He was impeached and tried before the House of Lords. The King in person was his accuser, and after a hot personal quarrel, in which the King charged him with all sorts of ungrateful acts of treason, he was condemned to death in 1478. A petition of the Commons, always at the command of Edward, removed the King's last scruple, and Clarence disappeared privately at the Tower, drowned it is said in a butt of Malmsey wine.

His trial.

His death.
1478.

These quarrels had occupied several years, but meanwhile matters of more national interest had also engaged Edward's attention. Charles the Bold was full of vast plans for increasing his possessions, and with the Duke of Brittany alone of the peers of France, resisted the centralizing policy of Louis XI. He found no great difficulty in enlisting Edward in a coalition against that King. As early as 1472, the war had been spoken of as probable. It did not actually take place till 1475, after a treaty had been made by which Lorraine, Bar, and other districts lying between Burgundy and Flanders were to be given to the Duke, while Edward was content to stipulate for the acknowledgment of his title as King of France, and a formal coronation at Rheims. The war, begun on such feeble conditions, had a disgraceful conclusion. Money, of which Edward was very fond, was scraped together, chiefly by the personal application of the King for loans known as benevolences, and a considerable army landed in France. But Edward did not meet with the reception he had expected. Charles, whose mind was incapable of carrying out the vast schemes that it planned, was engaged in war in other parts of his dominions, and brought no help to his ally. The gates of Peronne were shut against him. St. Quentin, which Charles had told him would be given up to him by the Constable of St. Pol, opened fire upon his troops.

Edward joins
Burgundy
against France.
1475.

Failure of his
expedition.

Provisions were scantily supplied, and Louis, who well knew the character of his invader, saw his opportunity. At a private interview with the herald who brought the declaration of war, he bribed him, and won from him the hint that he might apply successfully either to Stanley or to Howard, counsellors high in Edward's favour. He took the hint, found those Lords ready recipients of his bribes, threw Amiens open, and supplied the English army lavishly with

*Treaty of
Pecquigni.
Sept. 13.*

food; and shortly persuaded Edward to arrange terms at a personal interview at Pecquigni. He was thoroughly afraid of the English soldiers, but rated them very low as diplomatists, and, as his manner was when he had great objects in view, was lavish with his money. A yearly pension, the expenses of the war, 50,000 crowns as a ransom for Margaret, and handsome bribes judiciously given to the chief members of the King's Council, secured the withdrawal of the English army. At the same time it was arranged that the Dauphin should marry the Princess Elizabeth. It mattered little to him, having now the English King in his pay, that the English to cover their disgrace spoke of the money payments as tribute, and that Edward continued to bear the title of the King of France. Nothing can give a better view of the despicable character of that new nobility on which Edward rested, than the readiness with which they accepted the French King's bribes.

The chief objects of Edward's life were, to collect money to be spent in magnificent debauchery, and to secure the position of his house by great marriages for his daughters. He had thus arranged for the marriage of Elizabeth, his eldest, with the Dauphin of France; Mary was to have been married to the King of Denmark; Cicely to the eldest son of James III. of Scotland; Katherine to the son of the King of Castile; and Anne was destined for the son of Maximilian of Austria, who by his marriage with Mary of Burgundy had become the possessor of that duchy. None of these marriages took effect. The events connected with some of them fill up the remainder of the reign.

James III. of Scotland was a man much like Edward, a product of the renaissance at that time making its way in England. Addicted to art in all its forms, he had surrounded himself with artists, and ennobled members of the lower orders, and had estranged all the old nobility. At the head of the discontented party was the King's brother, the Duke of Albany. Although James had already received some of the dowry of the English Princess, in

*Ambitious
projects of
marriage for
his daughters.*

*Affairs in
Scotland.*

consequence probably of some French intrigues, he seemed inclined to withdraw from the engagement. Therefore, when Albany, a fugitive from Scotland, sought his protection, Edward determined to support him and his party, and, finally, made a treaty with him at Fotheringay, in which he spoke of him as King Alexander. He obtained from him a promise of homage, and of the cession of Berwick and some other districts. Albany also engaged to marry the Princess Cicely, who was to be transferred to him, although previously engaged to the son of the Scotch King. An invasion of Scotland under Richard of Gloucester, and a conspiracy which broke out at the Bridge of Lauder, where James's favourite, Cochrane, was hanged, seemed for a moment to raise Albany to the summit of his ambition. But the Scotch had no intention of changing the succession to the throne, or suffering their kingdom to be in any way dependent on England. They restored Albany his property, but also returned the dowry of Cicely, and intimated that the match was entirely broken off. The advantage that the English gained from the whole affair was the much disputed town of Berwick.

*Edward sup-
ports Albany.
1482.*

*England obtains
Berwick.*

The arrangements for the marriage between Elizabeth and the Dauphin were equally unsuccessful. Although that Princess had assumed the name of the Dauphiness, Louis was in no hurry to complete the marriage, and had indeed directed his views elsewhere. In 1477, Mary of Burgundy had married Maximilian the Archduke of Austria; and now Edward engaged to join him against France upon condition of receiving from him the same pension as Louis had paid him since Pecquigni. But, as usual, Louis' diplomacy got the better of Edward's. Mary of Burgundy died in 1482, and the French King contrived to make a treaty with Maximilian, by which the Dauphin, deserting Elizabeth, engaged himself to Margaret, the heiress of Burgundy. Edward was vowing vengeance at this trick, and speaking of a new invasion of France, when he died on the 9th of April, worn out probably by his self-indulgence.

His personal beauty, his success in war, the familiarity of his manners, his splendid household, and the share which he allowed himself to take in the commercial enterprise of the day, endeared Edward to the burgher class, and rendered him on the whole a popular monarch. But beneath this splendid exterior there existed a pitiless cruelty, a selfishness which sought its gratification in unbounded license, and which was ready to crush relentlessly any, however nearly related to himself, who

*Edward's death.
His character.
1483.*

crossed his path. The mixture of sensuality, love of the new state of society, mingled with political selfishness and cruelty, remind us rather of the character of an Italian tyrant than of an English king. The character of the monarchy which he established was also different from that which had hitherto been seen in England. It has been usual to name the reign of Henry VII. as that in which this change began. It is true that that Prince and his successors completed it; but already there are visible all the elements of that peculiar despotic government resting upon popular favour, which is the characteristic of the Tudor rule. In all respects Edward is the popular King. The old nobility had for the most part been destroyed. As around the Buonapartes of modern time, a new nobility of relatives or personal friends of the King had begun to be called into existence. The balance of the Constitution had been changed by the removal of the Baronage, the great check on the royal power, which now stood, as it were, face to face with the Commons, who were as yet unfitted to make head against it. The practice of tampering with the elections had ruined the independence of Parliament. The Church, no longer in sympathy with the nation, sought to secure their wealth by devotion to the Crown. The King thus found no class sufficiently strong to check his prerogative. For a time, therefore, the constitutional advance of the preceding century was lost, and the government of England was practically despotism. At the same time, as the disturbances caused by the Wars of the Roses were not yet wholly over, and a short period of rapid revolutions intervenes before the final establishment of the constitutional change now begun, it is more convenient to adopt the old division, and to place the epoch of the new monarchy at the Battle of Bosworth.

EDWARD V.

1483.

RICHARD III.

1483—1485.

Born, 1450 = Anne of Warwick.

Edward. Died 1484.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
James III., 1460.	Charles VIII., 1483.	Frederick III., 1440.	Ferdinand, } Isabella, } 1479.

POPES.—Sixtus IV., 1471. Innocent VIII., 1484.

Archbishop.	Chancellor.
Thomas Bouchier, 1454.	John Russell, 1483.

EDWARD V. was between twelve and thirteen when he came to the throne. His reign, which lasted from the 9th of April to the 26th of June, was entirely occupied by a short and not very intelligible revolution, which terminated in the accession of his uncle, Richard of Gloucester. On the death of Edward IV., the state of parties was rather complicated. In the period of success which followed his restoration in 1471, he had collected round him counsellors from all parties, although chiefly inclined to the new nobility. His friends were thus divided into three sections—the Queen and her family, the most prominent members of which were Anthony, Lord Rivers; Grey, Earl of Dorset; his brother Sir Richard Grey, and Lord Lisle, who seem to have worked in unison with the Chancellor, Cardinal Rotheram, Archbishop of York, and Morton, Bishop of Ely: there were, secondly, the new nobility, of whom Hastings and Stanley were the representatives: and, thirdly, a certain number of the older nobles led by Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and Sir John

Howard. The two latter sections were full of jealousy of the Queen's party, in which feeling Richard joined. But his real connection was with Buckingham and the old nobles. His first step was, by a union of the other two parties, to overthrow the influence of the Queen. This he immediately proceeded to do.

As the young King was being brought to London for his coronation, under the care of Rivers and Grey, to whom his education had been intrusted, and under whose charge he had lived at Ludlow, Richard and Buckingham, with 900 men, appeared upon their line of march at Northampton. Rivers and Grey, conscious of the advantage which the appearance of the King in London would give them, were unwilling to come to an open quarrel, and sent Edward forward to Stony Stratford, while they went to pay their respects to Gloucester, who had taken the oath of allegiance, and hitherto put on all the appearance of loyalty. The two Lords were taken prisoners at Northampton, and Richard and Buckingham suddenly advancing to Stratford, by the rapidity of their movements dispersed 2000 men who accompanied Edward, and took possession of him. The news spread dismay in London. The Queen, her son Richard and her daughters, with Lord Lisle and the other Grey, took sanctuary at Westminster; while Hastings calmed men's minds by assuring them of Richard's loyalty, that he had only withdrawn the King from the pernicious influence of his relations, and that he would speedily appear with him to crown him. Upon Richard's appearance, therefore, everything at first went on in the regular order

Richard first
overthrows
Queen's party.

According to precedent, Richard was appointed Protector or President of the Council. With the exception of the removal of Rotherham, and the appointment of Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, in his place, no important changes were made, and the Parliament was summoned, and the coronation appointed for midsummer.

Having thus vanquished one party, Richard determined to get rid of his other rivals also, and to rest exclusively upon Buckingham and the old nobles. The coronation was settled for the 22nd of June, when suddenly Richard despatched a messenger, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, to the North, where he was much beloved, bidding the people hasten to his aid, as the Queen was aiming at the life of himself and Buckingham. There is no proof of any such conspiracy. But the quarrel between the two sections of the Council is marked by the fact that they met apart, Hastings and his

Is made
Protector.

Quarrels with
the new nobles.

followers at St. Paul's, Richard, Buckingham, and their friends, at Crosby Place. They were however all joined on the 13th of June in the Tower, when Richard suddenly appeared with angry and suspicious countenance, charged the Queen and Jane Shore, the King's mistress, who now lived with Hastings, with aiming at his life by sorcery, in proof of which he exhibited one of his arms, which was smaller than the other, and included Hastings in the charge. At a given signal armed men entered the chamber, and Hastings, Stanley, and the Bishops of York and Ely, were apprehended. Hastings was beheaded without trial on the spot.

Hastings' death
and fall of
his party.

This *coup d'état* was immediately followed up. The people were summoned to the Tower, where Buckingham and Richard appeared in rusty armour, as though in their extreme necessity they had taken it from the armoury. Jane Shore was compelled to do penance through the streets of London. The Queen was persuaded by the Archbishop of Canterbury to surrender the young Prince Richard. And news arrived that, both in the North and in Wales, the people had risen for Richard. At the same time Grey and Rivers, hitherto kept prisoners in Northampton, were beheaded. It only remained for Richard to find some pretext for assuming the crown. He felt the necessity of forestalling the coronation, which would probably have withdrawn from him the protectorate, and have brought a commission of regency into power. On the very day that the coronation was to have been held, Dr. Shaw, brother of the Mayor of London, was put up to preach at Paul's Cross. He took for his text, "The imperfect branches shall be broken off, their fruit unprofitable,"¹ and proceeded to expatiate upon the lax life of the late King; and moreover, to renew the charge which Clarence had once made, that that King was himself illegitimate. As for the present Princes, he asserted that they too were bastards. According to him, before Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, he had been engaged to Lady Eleanor Talbot; by the laws of the Church, therefore, his subsequent marriage was void, and the King and his brothers illegitimate. He drew attention to the want of resemblance between Richard of York and Edward IV., and the close likeness which existed, on the other hand, between Richard and the Protector. At this moment the Protector made his appearance, expecting that the crowd would cry, "Long live, King Richard!" But the charges were too new and surprising; he was received in perfect

Richard, with
Buckingham's
help, secures
the crown.

¹ Wisdom iv. 5.

silence. The failure of this attempt induced him to repeat it; and two days after, Buckingham came to Guildhall, and there addressed the people in a similar strain. He was determined to take no refusal, and upon a few cries of approbation, commanded the people to follow him to Baynard's Castle, where Richard then was. The Parliament was just assembling, a number of Lords and representatives from the Commons joined the crowd, and enabled him with some show of truth to draw up a petition called "The choice and prayer of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons of England," in which, after recapitulating his story, he requested Richard to accept the crown. After some show of resistance, Richard accepted the petition, and took solemn possession of the throne at Westminster Abbey on the 26th. That this choice was by no means unanimous is plain from the order issued, commanding the inhabitants of London to keep within their houses after ten o'clock, and forbidding the wearing of arms.

Having once secured the throne, the object of Richard seems to have been to heal, as far as possible, the wounds that the war had made. John Lord Howard was the one of his followers whose reward was the most striking. His mother having been a Mowbray, he was made Duke of Norfolk and hereditary Marshal of England. The prisoners the King had taken, in company with Hastings, were released, and with strange and rash magnanimity, Stanley was given the office of Constable of England, while Morton of Ely, an old Lancastrian, whose influence he seems to have underrated, was sent to reside in a castle in the West of England. He even caused the body of Henry VI. to be removed from Chertsey Abbey to Windsor, as though the breach between the families was healed. The King was crowned in London, and then proceeded to make a progress through England. He had every reason to think his position was a good one. The people everywhere received him with a fair show of good-will. In York, where he was a second time crowned, his reception was enthusiastic. His foreign relations were also promising. It is true that the recognition of France was somewhat brief and grudging; but with the young Philip of Burgundy there was an amicable correspondence; while Queen Isabella of Castile congratulated him heartily on having removed the stain of his brother's degrading marriage, and desired a close alliance with him against France, the chief reason perhaps of her show of affection.

But, though all at first seemed so promising, Richard soon learnt

Richard's policy
of conciliation.

His strong
position.

that it was not for him to pass unopposed into the position of a peaceful governor of a united England. The injury he had done the memory of, his late brother, the cold-heartedness with which he had pushed aside the nephew of whom he was the guardian, and who with his brother was kept in secret confinement in the Tower, revived the old affection with which the South of England had regarded Edward IV. Moreover, the Queen's party was not destroyed, while Richard's own generosity had left at liberty supporters of the old state of affairs. Consequently the whole South of England, from Kent to Devonshire, showed signs of an intended insurrection.

It was just at this moment, and perhaps in the hope of removing those around whom disaffection might centre, that the King caused the report to be spread that the young Princes had disappeared from the Tower. It is needless to enter into a discussion as to their fate. The picturesque story which represents them as smothered beneath their bedclothes is the creation of the next age. Indeed, the popular view of the events of this reign and of the character of Richard is derived almost wholly from Sir Thomas More's life of him. All that contemporary writers mention is that the Princes disappeared, and were probably killed. Comines, the French historian, an excellent observer, says simply that Richard had the Princes killed in the Tower. And the fact that all those who had the charge of them, even down to Forest, the warden, were rewarded, makes it almost impossible that this should not have been the case.

The effect was not what Richard expected. The friends of his late brother and of the Queen became still more anxious to preserve the old stock, and, probably at the suggestion of Morton, a Lancastrian who had found favour in Richard's sight, the project of a marriage between Edward's daughter Elizabeth and the young Richmond began to be discussed. The conspiracy soon proved to be very widespread, and it must have been a terrible surprise to Richard to hear that his chief friend and accomplice, Buckingham, had declared for the house of Lancaster. That nobleman's motives are not clear, but he probably found that the party of the old nobility, of which he was the leader, was no better off under Richard than it had been under Edward. Like other men of a tyrannical turn of mind, Richard had found his chief support in obsequious followers, and Ratcliffe, Catesby, and Lovel were his real advisers and friends. The Duke,

Weak points
in it.

Disaffection in
the South.

Death of the
Princes.

Projected
marriage of
Elizabeth and
Richmond.

Defection of
Buckingham.

therefore, an unprincipled and very ambitious man, thought he saw his advantage in becoming a principal agent in the restoration of the exiled house. It is probable, also, that the influence and skill of Morton, with whom he had been in communication, may have had something to do with it.

News was also brought to Richard that the young Richmond, who after Tewkesbury had fled with his uncle to Brittany, and had there become the centre of the Lancastrian party, was meditating a descent on England. Richard displayed his usual energy. He called on the men of York, on whom he could rely, to meet him at Leicester; hastily wrote to the Archbishop of York to send him the Great Seal, an unconstitutional act which Russell did not resist; put a price on the head of Buckingham; and appointed, as though sure of victory, a vice-constable to superintend any summary executions that might be necessary. Meanwhile, Kent, Surrey, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Devon had risen, and Grey, Lord Dorset, had declared for Henry Tudor in Exeter. It was the intention of Buckingham, who was in Wales, to form a junction with the Southern leaders. For this purpose it was necessary to cross the Severn. But Sir Humphrey Stafford had broken the bridges, the

Death of
Buckingham and
failure of the
conspiracy.

floods were out, and the river impassable. His Welsh followers deserted, and Buckingham was obliged to fly. He sought a refuge with a dependant of his own in Shropshire, of the name of Banister, by whom he was betrayed. After vain entreaties for a personal interview with Richard, and for a legal trial, he was summarily executed. Richmond's part of the conspiracy had been an equal failure. His fleet had been scattered by a storm. He himself reached Plymouth, but the news of the failure of Buckingham, and the appearance of the King in the South, before whose approach all the gatherings of the rebels dissolved, induced him to return to Brittany.

Again undisputed master of England, Richard summoned a Parliament to meet him in January. As was usual when one party was predominant, it proved to be devoted to the Government. Richard's special favourite, Catesby, was chosen for speaker, and all Richard's claims to the throne were declared to be just. Nor was this all: the oath of allegiance was demanded from all the adult population of England; and a huge bill of attainder and confiscation, mentioning more than 500 names, was passed. As the King was allowed to regrant the confiscated property, he was enabled to fill the southern counties with northern

Parliament
and great
confiscation.
1484.

proprietors devoted to his cause; while with questionable wisdom, as it afterwards appeared, he sought to purchase the fidelity of the Stanleys, by giving to Lord Stanley, her present husband, the property of the Countess Margaret of Richmond, who was included in the bill of attainder.

But though defeated in his first efforts, her son, Henry Tudor, continued his preparations abroad. It was in vain that Richard, by promising Francis of Brittany his assistance against France, and by bribing the all-powerful minister Pierre Landais, succeeded in procuring Henry's dismissal from Brittany. He fled to the Court of Charles VIII. of France, where he was well received, and where the Lancastrian exiles gathered round him. Richard felt that all his efforts were necessary to oppose this Prince. He collected troops, demanded ships from the Cinque Ports, attempted a reconciliation with the Queen Dowager, by allowing her with her daughters to leave the sanctuary at Westminster, and contemplated a marriage between his own son Edward and her eldest daughter Elizabeth,

Continued
schemes of
Richmond.

Richard's efforts
to oppose him.

Attempts to
win the Queen.

a marriage which would have been the death blow to the Lancastrian party. He succeeded moreover in procuring a three years' truce with Scotland, and the promise of a marriage between the Duke of Rothesay, the heir to the Scotch crown, and his niece.¹ The most important part of his plan was frustrated by the untimely death of his son, which plunged him in the deepest grief. But he strove to supply his place by nominating his nephew John de la Pole, the Earl of Lincoln, his heir.

Death of the
Prince of Wales.
Lincoln de-
clared heir.

Meanwhile the feeling of uneasiness increased. Lancastrian emissaries moved to and fro through the country. Clifford and some others of them were apprehended and put to death. But the evil was too great to admit of a speedy remedy. Libels were freely scattered through the country; among others the well-known couplet, "The rat, the cat, and Lovel the dog, rule all England under the Hog," a plain allusion to his chief friends, Ratcliffe, Catesby and Lovel. William Collingbourne, its author, was captured and put to death. But libels increased in number, especially when there seemed to be grounds for asserting that, though his wife was still living, he was himself thinking of a subsequent marriage with the Princess Elizabeth of York. The opportune illness and death of his wife, and, it may be, the love² felt for him by the Princess, added such an air of truth to

General
uneasiness in
England.
1485.

¹ She was the daughter of his sister Elizabeth and the Duke of Suffolk.

² The love of the Princess rests upon a doubtful letter abridged by Buck in Kennett I. 568.

the story, that, at the instigation of his best friends, he was induced to make a public contradiction of it before the Common Council in London. His finances, too, were in disorder. Free-handed and ostentatious, he had speedily spent the wealth which his brother's avarice had accumulated; and though he had himself caused a bill to be passed to put an end to benevolences, he was reduced to have recourse to that illegal method of taxation which the people in bitter jest termed the raising of malevolences.

He was however prepared, when Richmond, supported by the French, made his second attempt upon England. But unfortunately for Richard, treason was at work among his own followers, and the Stanleys, without principle, without gratitude, and with a constant eye to their own aggrandizement, were in secret alliance with their young kinsman the Lancastrian Prince. At length the invasion came. The place of landing, which had been kept a profound secret, was Milford Haven: for the Tudor thought it prudent to enlist the national prejudices of the Welsh in his favour. The Leopard of England and the Dragon of Wales floated side by side on his standards. He advanced in safety to Shropshire; and the Welsh leaders joined him, as well as the Talbots of Shrewsbury. Richard had assembled his forces in the centre of England. Northumberland brought him troops from the North, Howard from the South, Brackenbury from London, Norfolk from the East. But it was very doubtful what part the Stanleys would take; and it was through the county where they were powerful, both as proprietors and as the King's governors, that Richmond had to pass. Lord Stanley demanded leave to go to his county; but the King, whose suspicions had been raised, insisted on his leaving his son Lord Strange as a hostage. Pleading illness, Lord Stanley had refused to join Richard, and with 5000 men retired before the invader, whom his brother Sir William had now openly joined. In August the armies approached one another in the neighbourhood of Atherstone.

Battle of
Bosworth.
Aug. 22.

Richard then threw aside all doubts. He ordered Lord Strange to be beheaded, and felt that the struggle must be a final one. Lord Strange's keepers, however, thought it well to await the issue of the battle before carrying out the command: and in the middle of the struggle, Lord Stanley, who, afraid for his son's life, had kept aloof with his troops, suddenly joined Richmond. This turned the fortunes of the day; and in spite of the greatest personal bravery, Richard's army was completely beaten, and himself killed.

His character has been the subject of much discussion, nor is this strange. Had he lived in times of greater security, he would have been an able and admirable governor. Several of the enactments of his reign attest his wisdom and his love of justice. He recognized the evil of benevolences, and forbade them, although necessity drove him to have recourse to them. His efforts were much directed to the re-establishment of justice, to support which he had caused a bill to be passed, to secure the respectability of jurymen, by forbidding any but freeholders to the amount of 40s. from serving in that capacity. He restrained the lawlessness of the barons by the suppression of liveries; and while promising to uphold the liberties of the Church, had shown that he would not allow any interference with the civil power. He had also fostered the trade of England by opening fresh markets for English wool both in Spain and in Iceland. His personal character, too, was attractive. With beautiful though peculiar features, he was liberal and at times forgiving to the verge of folly. He had pardoned and extended constant favour to the wives and families of his political victims. In spite of his strange charge of adultery against her, he had been always a dutiful and affectionate son to his mother. The gentle side of his disposition is perhaps shown by his passionate love of music. But the troublous times in which he lived called out all his worst characteristics; and for political ends he had shown himself scheming, cold, and cruel; while the tyrannical temperament, which could brook no opposition, hurried him into deeds of violence which were the proximate cause of his downfall.

Richard's
character and
laws.

It is necessary, as the border-land is thus reached between modern civilization and that of the middle ages, to say a few words on the political condition of the nation, which allowed of the establishment of the personal monarchy of the Tudors, and of the social state of the people from which modern forms of civilization were to spring.

Political condi-
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During the earlier part of the Lancastrian rule, Parliament, and especially the House of Commons, had apparently continued to rise in power. The Constitutional growth of the fourteenth century had been continued. The Commons had secured the unquestioned right of originating money bills, not to be altered by the House of Lords, nor discussed in the presence of the King. They had secured the right not only of recommending in petitions, but also of joining as an equal estate of the realm in the passing of laws. They had

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succeeded during the reign of Henry VI. in preventing any changes in the form of their petitions (which had not unfrequently been introduced when, after the session, the petition was enrolled), by bringing in complete Statutes, called Bills, to be rejected or accepted as a whole, instead of their old petitions. They had, in several instances, practised unquestioned the right of impeachment, and claimed, with some degree of success, the freedom of their members from arrest, even during the recess of Parliament. But in spite of this apparent advance, the real power of the Parliament before the close of the Wars of the Roses had almost disappeared. A statute in the eighth year of Henry VI. limited the franchise, with regard to the election of knights of the shire, to freeholders of lands or tenements to the value of forty shillings. This at once gave an aristocratic tone to the House. In addition to this it had become the fashion both of the nobility and of the Crown to tamper with the elections. With the new restricted franchise, the power of local magnates in the county elections was predominant, while, as regards the boroughs, the sheriffs exercised a power of summoning burgesses from such towns only as they pleased, and it was not difficult for the Crown or ruling party to bring the sheriffs under their influence. While the House of Commons thus lost its independence, the old Upper House had been virtually destroyed, and the new nobility was by its very nature dependent on the Crown. Another most important element of freedom had likewise disappeared. The great Churchmen, to whom the liberties of England owe so much, had been victorious over their enemies the Lollards. In the struggle they had lost their sympathy with the people. Their desire for the spiritual welfare of the country had shrivelled to a selfish eagerness for the preservation of orthodoxy. They had been drawn into closer communication with Rome, and had begun to share its interests. Cardinal Beaufort, in spite of all opposition, had succeeded in retaining his Roman rank, and it had become habitual that the Archbishop of Canterbury at least should bear the title of Cardinal. Wealthy, worldly and self-seeking, the leaders of the clergy were inclined to devote themselves to political life; and, conscious of the alienation of the lower orders, and fearing for their property, which had already excited the envy of the laity, and which, while confiscation was reducing the nobles to beggary, had remained almost untouched, they sought employment and safety in becoming the devoted servants of the King.

At the same time that the practical efficiency of the Parliament

had been decreasing, the power of the King's Council had been on the increase. The limits of its rights, springing as it did from the Concilium Ordinarium of the Plantagenet kings, had always been questionable, and its encroachments, in meddling with the petitions of the Lower House, and in issuing ordinances without the consent of Parliament, which had yet the authority of temporary laws, had been constantly objected to by the Commons. The long minority of Henry VI., during which the chief direction of the Government had been almost unavoidably in the hands of the Council, had tended greatly to increase its power.

Nevertheless, though constitutional growth had been checked, and the Commons had politically lost ground, the Wars of the Roses did not produce that complete exhaustion Effects of the Wars of the Roses. and depopulation of the country which might have been expected. The population appears to have been little, if at all, decreased, the number of inhabitants was still between three and four millions. In fact, it must be remembered that the broken hostilities of these wars did not on the whole amount to much more than three years of actual warfare; that the armies were in the field only for short consecutive periods, were usually few in number, and composed of untrained men, who returned, immediately their short service was over, to the cultivation of the fields. Thus the destruction and turbulence seemed to pass over the head of the great bulk of the population. Nor is this all. During the whole continuance of the war, the ordinary apparatus of justice was uninterrupted; courts were held, and judges went their circuit as usual. Indeed, it would seem to have been a period of unusual litigation, attended no doubt often with violence. For as property rapidly changed hands the titles to it became insecure, and the process therefore by which a title was questioned was frequently the violent dispossession of the present holder. But still it was to the courts of law that the ultimate appeal was made. Again, although the loss of France and the exclusive attention to home politics greatly diminished the national strength upon the sea, trade does not appear to have been seriously damaged. At all events, it was so kept alive, that upon the establishment of peace it revived with fresh vigour; and we are told that Edward IV. himself engaged in the pursuit. This trait is characteristic not only of the man but of the time. The pursuit of trade had risen greatly in estimation; great traders had become nobles, and Suffolk, the prime minister, was an example of the height to which such families might rise. From the decay of noble

families, and other more permanent causes, land had been necessarily brought into the market. Wealthy traders had purchased it, set up for landowners, and aimed at the dignity of knighthood. At the same time, the secondary gentry of the country, taking advantage of the decline of the nobility, found means in the midst of the disturbances to increase their property and influence. In spite therefore of the apparent insignificance of Parliament, the middle classes were in a vigorous and improving condition.

Lower down in the social scale the case was somewhat different. Serfdom had indeed almost disappeared, and existed only here and there in isolated cases. Free labour for wages had become general, and land was largely held by payment of money rents. Thus far there was improvement. But the change from slavery to personal freedom is always purchased at a somewhat heavy price—that price is the existence of poverty; it is no longer incumbent on employers to look after the wellbeing of free labourers; in time of want they are thrown upon their own resources. The new possessors of the soil too were inclined to work it to better profit than their predecessors had done; grazing became more common and employment proportionately scarcer. The unemployed labourer had two courses open to him: he might betake himself to the towns, or join the ranks of the rapidly increasing class of beggars. He there found himself in company of numbers of idle and needy men who took advantage of the disturbed state of the country. Discharged soldiers and sailors, and vagabonds who called themselves travelling scholars, were so plentiful, that as there was as yet no poor law in existence, stringent enactments were made against them. The number of those punished for crimes of lawlessness and violence was enormous. Fortescue describes with pride how the poor Englishman, seeing others possess what he wanted, would never scruple to take it by violence rather than be without it. Those of the unemployed labourers who preferred to seek the towns went to increase the crowd of journeymen, whose position could not have been very enviable. For the guild system was breaking down and giving place to the more modern arrangements of unlimited competition. The craft guilds, which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had triumphed over the merchant guilds and aristocratic citizens of the towns, had speedily begun to deteriorate. The object for which they were founded was to secure for all members of the craft a fair chance of livelihood, without the danger of destructive competition. This object implied that the guild was co-extensive with the trade

Changes in the lower classes.

and that its members were themselves craftsmen, carrying on their work with their own hands, with the assistance of apprentices. But a crowd of enfranchised villeins and unemployed labourers had gathered in the towns, and formed a class of journeymen or day-labourers, and the guild, originally a corporation of working men, changed gradually into an exclusive body of capitalists. Moreover, even within their own limits, their principles had failed as early as the reign of Edward III. We hear, for instance, of certain pepperers, who, separating themselves from their guild, became grocers [grossers] or general dealers. In other words, as individuals accumulated capital, they refused to have their enterprise limited by the guild laws; and thus setting up as independent capitalists, began to introduce the same relations between employer and employed which exist at present. Under these circumstances the unincorporated journeymen found the restrictions of the guild an obstacle in the way of advance, and were exposed to all the evils of an eager competition.

While thus the political position of the different orders was giving room for a temporary establishment of almost absolute monarchy, but at the same time allowing the formation of that middle class which was to overthrow it, and while the exclusive system of the middle ages was giving way to the modern relations of labour, the new culture, the existence of which more than anything else separates the middle ages from modern times, was beginning to make its way. As the leader in this direction Humphrey of Gloucester may be mentioned. In spite of his turbulent and disorderly character, he was a sincere lover of literature. He was in communication with several of the greater Italian scholars. More than one classical translation was dedicated to him. He carried his love of inquiry so far that he is believed to have dabbled in magical arts; and it is generally reported that his books, which he left to Oxford, were the nucleus of the present great library there. He did not stand alone in his literary tastes. Tiptoft the Earl of Worcester was likewise impregnated with Italian learning, and, among the newer nobles, Lord Rivers gave distinguished patronage to the art of printing, which Caxton introduced into England in the year 1469. Altogether, it would seem that among the upper classes the rudiments of learning were beginning to be widely spread, and that the laity were gradually becoming sufficiently cultivated to rival the Churchmen, and to take their proper part in the government of the country. It may be observed as an indication of this that Henry VI.'s reign was marked by the foundation of Eton, and that several

Influence of the Renaissance.

considerable colleges were founded both in Oxford and Cambridge during the century. It is probable that these were chiefly intended as defences for orthodoxy, the teaching being as yet confined to the worst form of scholasticism.

It is strange, immediately after the great civil war, and before the outbreak of nautical energy under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to meet with constant complaints of the degeneracy of the English as soldiers. But it seems as if changes in the military system, and the love of money and luxury which accompanied the Renaissance, were really producing their effects. Archery was giving way to the use of gunpowder; and we meet with statutes fixing the price of bows, and enacting general practice of archery, which clearly show that the use of the national weapon had to be artificially fostered. There was considerable difficulty in collecting a sufficiency of troops before the Battle of Bosworth, and Caxton writes to Richard III. a deplorable account of the decay of knighthood, to be cured, as he thinks, by the reintroduction of tournaments and the perusal of chivalrous romances. A change in warfare was, in fact, going on in Europe, which called into existence abroad standing armies, and the effect of which was felt in England, though circumstances postponed the establishment of a regular army some time longer. It was thus amid the general weakness in all classes except the Crown, and during the development of great social changes, that the Tudor sovereigns found it possible to establish that peculiar personal monarchy which occupies the transition period between mediæval and modern times, and under the shadow of which the various classes regained strength for the subsequent re-establishment of the Constitution.

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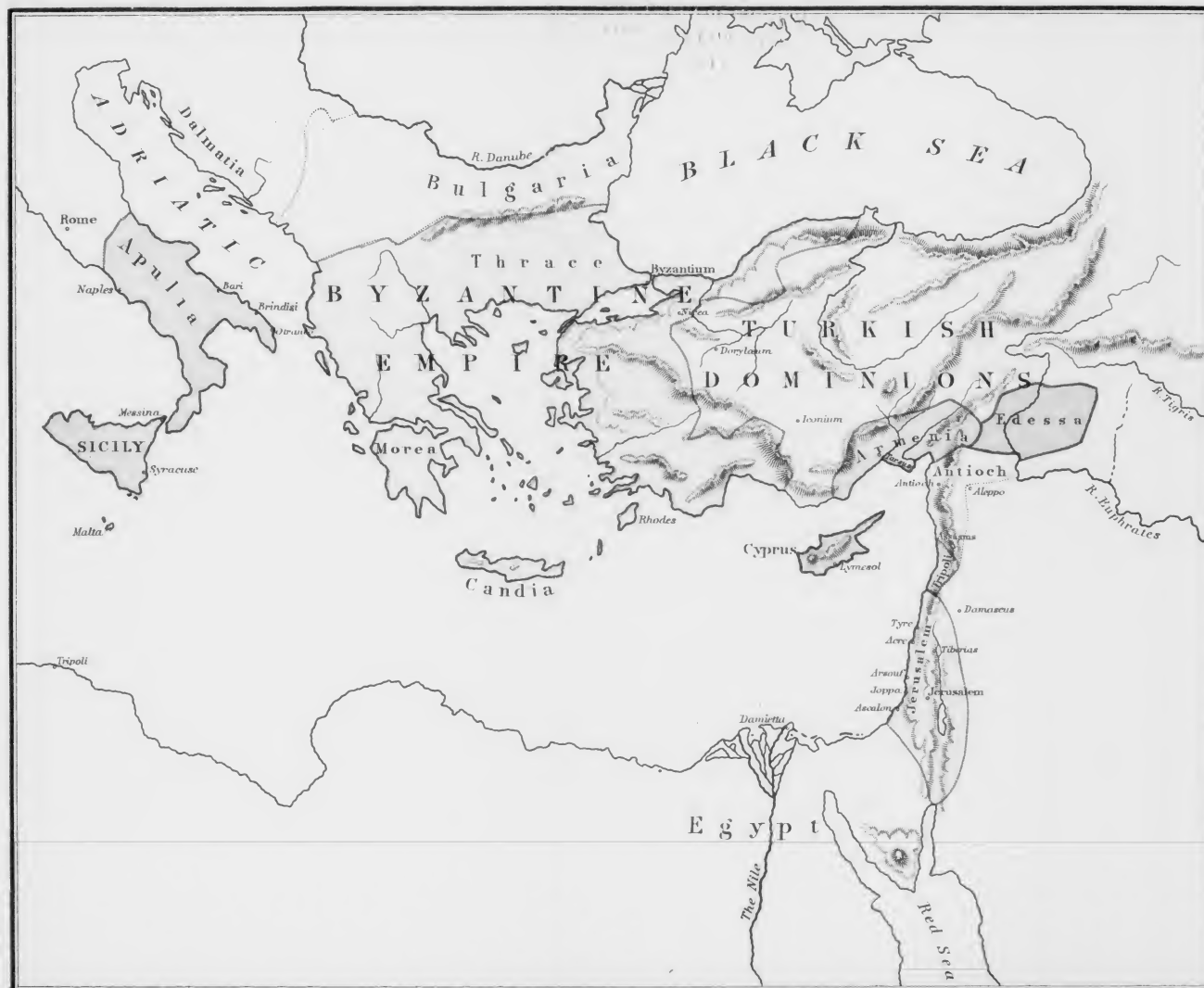
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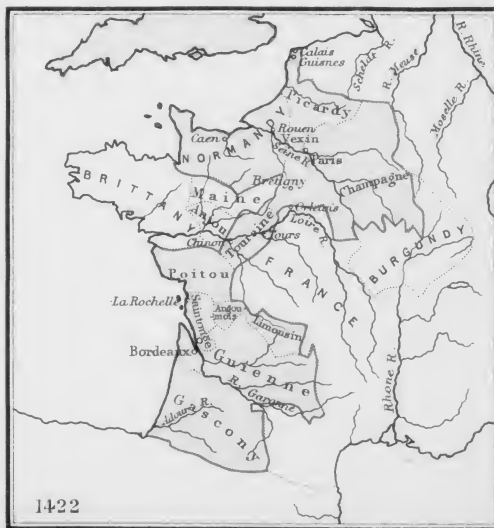
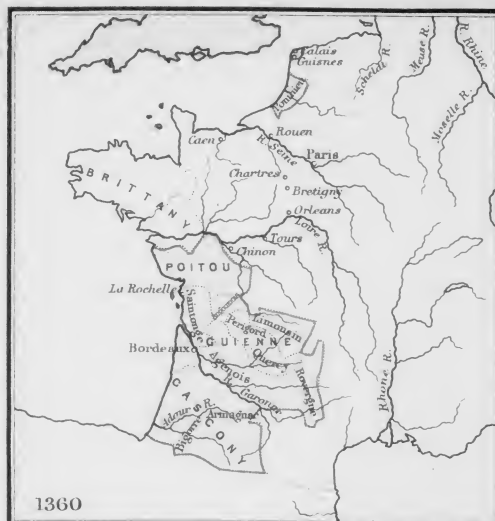
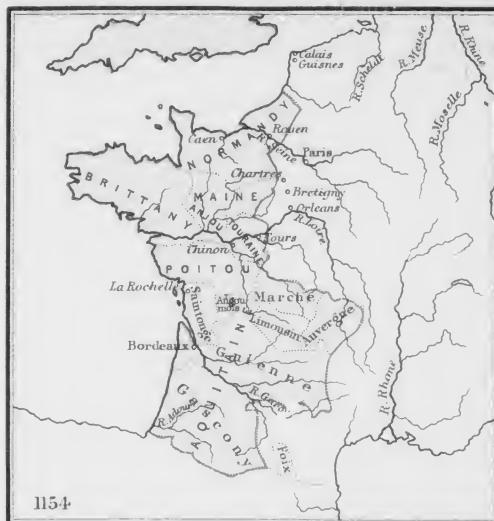
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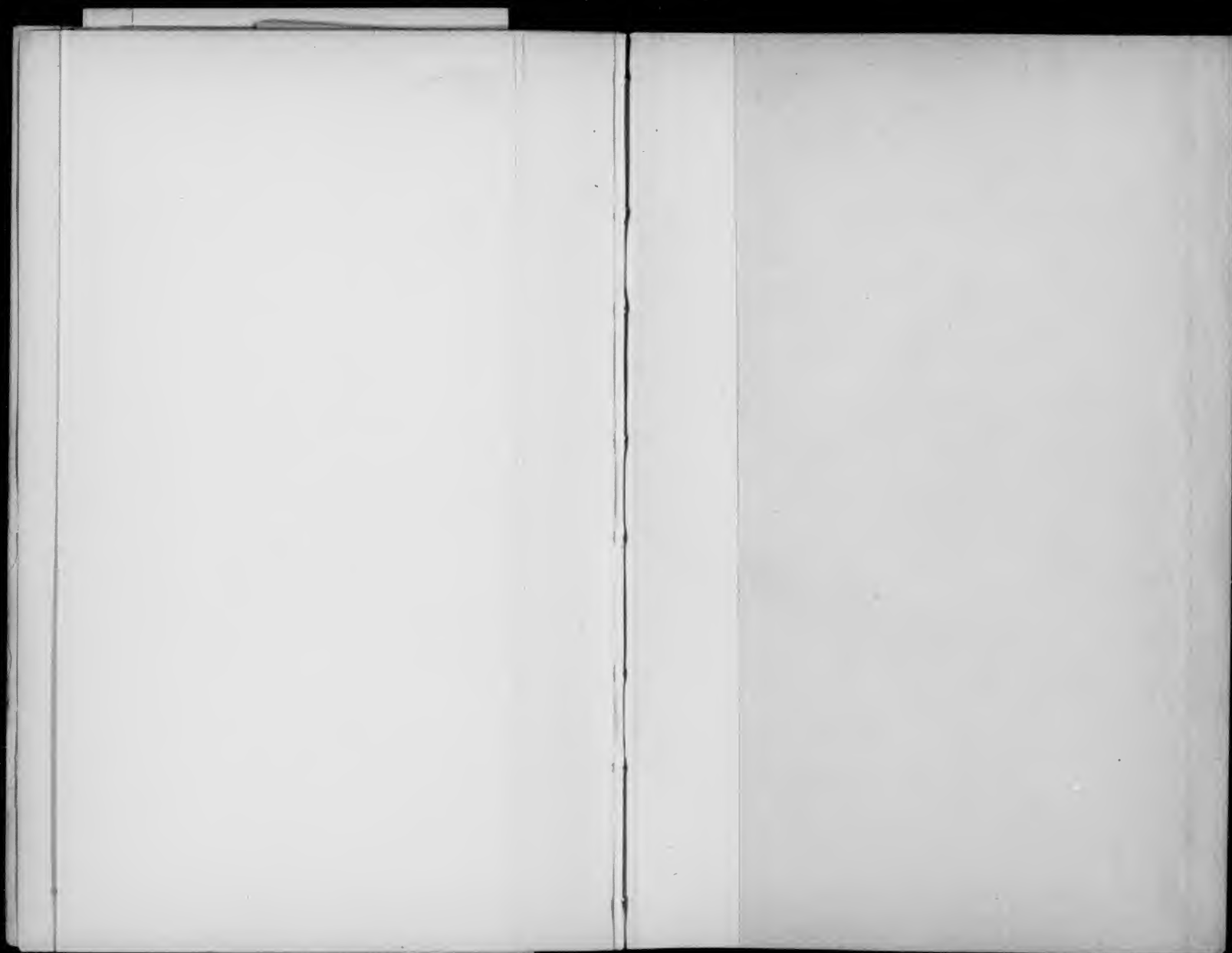


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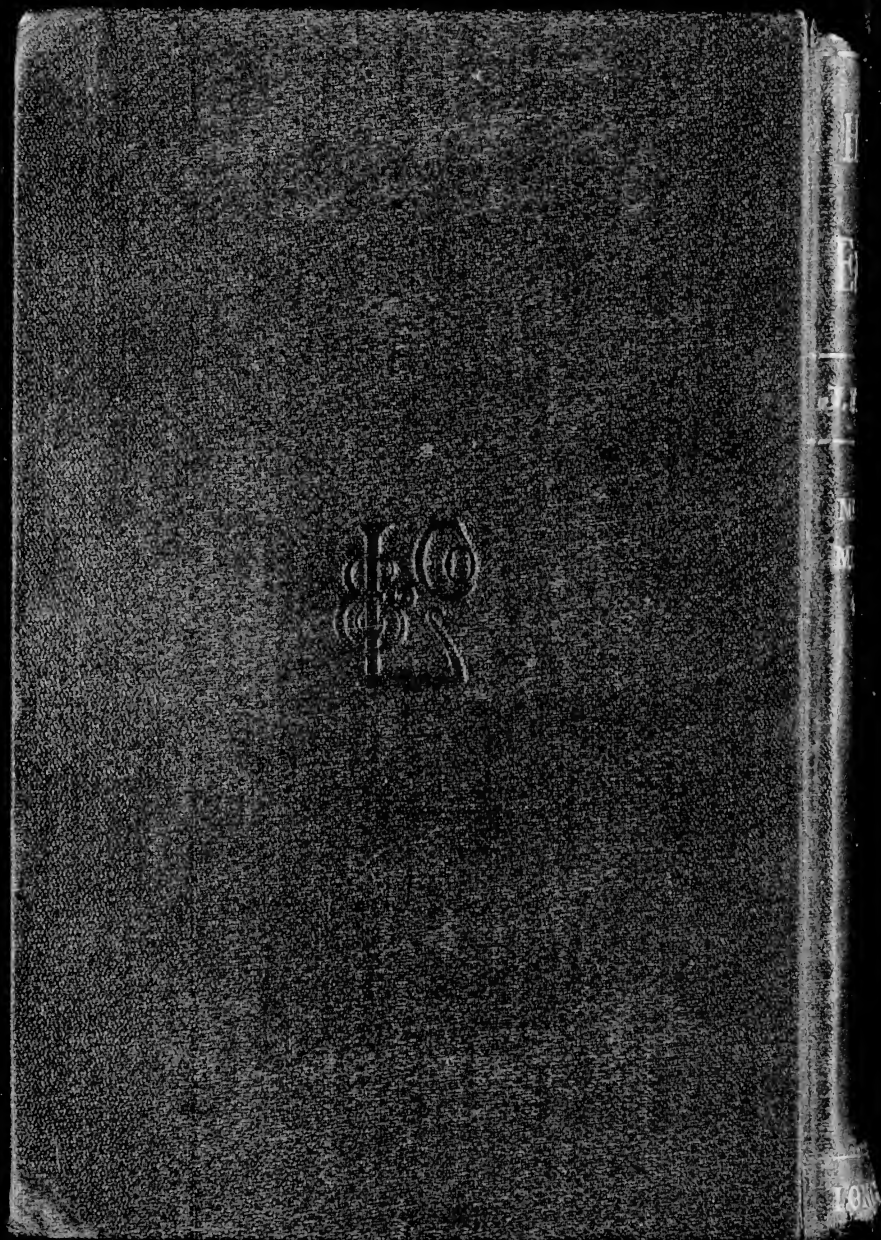




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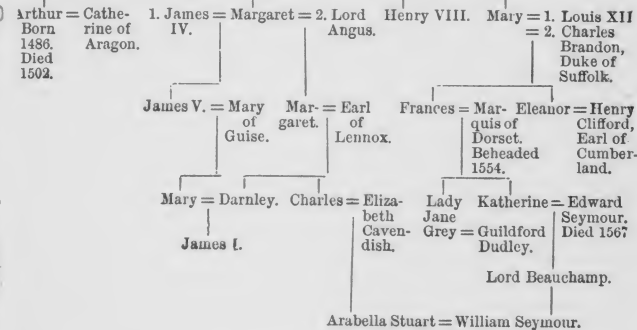
LIST OF MAPS.

1. EUROPE,	At end of Book
2. ENGLAND AND WALES,	" "
3. SCOTLAND,	" "
4. IRELAND,	" "

HENRY VII.

1485-1509.

Born 1456 = Elizabeth of York.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
James III., 1460. James IV., 1488.	Charles VIII., 1483. Louis XII., 1498.	Frederick III., 1440. Maximilian I., 1493.	Ferdinand II., 1479

POPES.—Innocent VIII., 1484. Alexander VI., 1492. Pius III., 1503. Julius II., 1503.

Archbishops.
Thomas Bouchier, 1454.
John Morton, 1486.
Henry Dean, 1501.
William Warham, 1503.

Chancellors.
John Alcock, 1485.
Cardinal Morton, 1487.
Henry Dean, 1500.
William Warham, 1502.

A NEW line was thus raised to the throne of England. It was only indirectly that the new King represented the House of Lancaster. On his father's side he was sprung from the second marriage of the wife of Henry V., on his mother's side from the illegitimate family of John of Gaunt, which had been expressly excluded from the throne. ¹ In the lack of any other leader, however, he had been accepted as head of the Lancas-

Character of the reign, that of an usurper.

¹ The exception does not occur in the patent of Legitimation in the Rolls of Parliament, but is added in the patent confirming the grant to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, 1407.

trians, but it was really a coalition between the Yorkists and Lancastrians which secured him his elevation. Richard had so shocked the feelings even of his own party, that they had been willing, as we have seen, to waive their old antipathies, and to assist Henry, provided always that he married the Princess Elizabeth of York. The new King therefore found some difficulty in stating on what grounds he claimed the throne. Lancastrian in feeling, but not purely Lancastrian in blood, and dependent upon the support of Yorkists, he could allege no hereditary claim,—to allege conquest, which seemed the other alternative, could not but be irritating to a proud nation like the English. Nor indeed would it have represented the fact. It would have been ridiculous to allege that the kingdom had been conquered at the battle of Bosworth, when the advantage had been secured chiefly by the accidental death of his rival. In fact, as he himself knew, he was accepted by the nation because they were wearied out of bloodshed, and because there seemed some chance that the great national feud might be healed by his accession. He consequently had himself declared King by the Parliament, which, though it was in fact subservient to the ruling power, retained much of the authority derived from its former greatness, and still presumably expressed the national wishes. The example thus set by Henry was followed by his successors, who, arbitrary though they were, preferred to give to their usurpations the sanction of what still professed to be the representation of the nation. None the less was his reign the reign of an usurper, the reign of one anxious to establish his dynasty, and working for that end without much regard for the national honour. It is plain, however, that he understood well the nature of the crisis, and the opportunity which was offered him for establishing a strong monarchy upon the ruins of the old nobility of England, which had been almost exterminated during the late wars. We find him therefore determined and cruel in the suppression and punishment of all insurrections on the part of any who could be dangerous to his dynasty;—avaricious and grasping, even violently and illegally so when he found himself strong enough, not merely for the sake of the money, though probably he liked that well enough, but because he knew what strength lay in the possession of large treasures, and because he saw that it might free him from the necessity of frequent Parliaments;—determined to maintain order, and for that purpose, and as an additional support to the central authority, establishing his Court of the Star Chamber. In his relations with foreign countries, we see him risking little for mere

honour, but securing some solid advantages by those forms of intrigue which, arising in Italy, were gradually growing into that art of diplomacy which is so distinguishing a mark of modern European history; while his domestic policy was directed chiefly to depress still further the already broken nobility, while surrounding himself with new-made men who depended for their importance on Court favour.

His reign is in fact the completion of an entire change in the character of the monarchy which was begun by Edward IV. The constitutional growth of the nation, which had been advancing with rapid strides since the time of Edward I., was checked. In the place of national or feudal monarchy there had arisen a monarchy personal and nearly absolute; and many of the abuses of royalty already removed (such as the exaggerated power of the Privy Council and the use of arbitrary taxation under the form of benevolences) began to reappear. At the close of the Wars of the Roses there was no class of sufficient importance to withstand the power of royalty; the intermediate classes had disappeared. The King stood face to face with the commonalty; and that commonalty was not yet sufficiently powerful to act as a check upon its rival. The constitutional growth of England had depended upon the union of all classes, Church, Barons, and Commons. But the Wars of the Roses had destroyed the old nobility. That great war had been in its character a faction fight among the nobles themselves; it had scarcely touched the bulk of the nation. The processes of law went on as usual; industry continued, trade improved, wealth increased. But the two great factions mutually destroyed each other; at the close of that war there were scarcely any of the great families left. The Church had been unaffected by the war. Its wealth was untouched. But by the signs of the coming Reformation given by Wicliffe and his followers, and by the threatening attitude more than once assumed by the Commons, it had been completely terrified. To uphold its position it was ready to cling to any support. The strongest support was the Crown. All its influence was therefore withdrawn from the nation, and thrown on the side of the King; and from among its numbers, till the time of Cromwell and the Reformation, the ablest ministers of the new monarchy were drawn. It might be supposed, that with the undoubted growth in wealth and importance of the gentry and higher commons, that class would have been in a position to act the part which the baronial party had hitherto taken. But several causes prevented the House of Commons

Change in the
character of
the monarchy.

from acting with independence. In the reign of Henry VI. the franchise had been narrowed. Till that time all freeholders had had the right of voting. The right was then confined to freeholders with the qualification of forty shillings. This at once brought the representation under the influence of the greater landowners and of the Crown. For party purposes this influence had been unscrupulously used. The representation was constantly tampered with. It is thus we find again and again the Parliament ready to subserve the objects of the party, and, instead of acting independently, merely sanctioning and registering the will of those who were at the moment masters of the Government. It was not until the time of the Puritans, until England had again felt under Elizabeth the impulse of national feeling, that the gentry found themselves sufficiently strong to step forward into the place left vacant by the destruction of the baronage. This new position they asserted in the reign of Charles I., and in the beginning of the Long Parliament, and finally made good in the Revolution of 1688. Thus, in the general depression of all classes, the monarchy was enabled to assume that personal character which it wore during the reigns of the Tudor Kings.

The first acts of Henry's reign were directed against the Yorkists.

Measures for
the repression
of the Yorkists.

Edward, the Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, was imprisoned in the Tower, and all grants of Crown lands made since 1454 were recalled,—these of course having been chiefly given to followers of the House of York. Nor was Henry's dislike for the excluded House groundless. In 1486 there was an unsuccessful rising under Lord Lovel and the Staffords, and the following year took place the great imposture of Lambert Simnel. This young man, trained no doubt by some one of more influence behind the scenes, took advantage of the popularity which Richard, the great Duke of York, had secured for himself and his family during his government in Ireland. Personating the young Earl of Warwick, he betook himself to Dublin, where he gained the complete support of the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Deputy. Being joined by Lord Lovel, by the Earl of Lincoln, himself connected with the royal family, and by an army of 2000 men from Flanders under Martin Schwartz, he landed in Lancashire, and pushing forwards across England towards Newark, fell in with the King's forces at Stoke in Nottinghamshire (June 10), where his troops were entirely routed. Lincoln, Martin Schwartz, and others, lost their lives in the battle. Lord Lovel escaped. His body was discovered some centuries later in a secret chamber of one of his

Lambert Simnel.
1487.

residences, where he had apparently taken refuge and been forgotten. Simnel became a servant in the royal household.

Alarmed perhaps by this sign of activity on the part of the Yorkists, Henry at length suffered Elizabeth of York to be crowned. It would seem from his delay that he was especially desirous of not in any sense reigning in right of his wife. But while thus in some degree softening the Yorkist opposition, he used the most stringent means to repress the party, and a Bill of Attainder was passed, including almost every important man who had been engaged in Simnel's insurrection. Moreover, to prevent the illegal habit of maintenance, which rendered unexpected insurrections very easy by placing a band of liveried adherents at once at the disposal of any discontented lord, a special court was established (subsequently known as the Court of the Star Chamber), having for its object the suppression of this institution, and which, consisting as it did of some of the chief members of the Council, strengthened by the addition of the judges, was enabled to reach those powerful nobles whom the weaker arm of the regular Law Courts might have been unable to touch. It is plain that the establishment of such a Court, though perhaps necessary for the maintenance of order, considerably increased the power of the central authority.

The expedients of the defeated party were however by no means exhausted. Claimants to the throne were so numerous that the explosion of one imposture only made way for another. In the beginning of the year 1492, a person, Perkin Warbeck acknowledged in France, 1492. purporting to be the younger of the Princes popularly reported to have been slain in the Tower, made his appearance in Ireland, where he gained, as Simnel had done, considerable support. But on this occasion there was no premature action. He withdrew from Ireland, and sought refuge with the King of France, who acknowledged him as the heir to the English throne. Charles VIII. was at that time at war with Henry. It had been a principal object of his policy to unite Brittany with France. Already, in 1487, he had assaulted that country, and Henry had been called upon to give assistance to the friends who had sheltered him in his exile. Assistance was promised, and money was raised, but the money was kept, and the assistance never given. The same trick had been played in 1489, when Henry had promised his assistance to Anne of Brittany, whose father, Francis, the Duke who had protected Henry, was now dead. This time the army was sent, but with instructions not to fight. Disgust at this double dealing produced an insurrection in the North of England, in which the Earl of Northumberland, who

had collected the money, lost his life. Neither such lukewarm assistance as Henry's, nor the more earnest efforts of Maximilian, King of the Romans, who was a suitor for her hand, could save Anne, who, in the year 1491, accepted the hand of Charles, and united Brittany to the French monarchy. This afforded Henry a fresh opportunity for raising a subsidy, to wreak his vengeance, as he said, on the French King. But the vengeance came to nothing; for, though a fine army crossed the Channel, it had not been there a week before a treaty with Charles was made. As might have been expected from the character of the King, this arrangement, known as the Treaty of Estaples (Aug. 1492), related chiefly to money, Charles binding himself to pay Henry £149,000. Henry's counsellors and advisers did not come out of the negotiation empty handed. One consequence of this treaty was the removal of the pretender Warbeck from the French Court.

He thence betook himself to the Court of Burgundy, in Burgundy. and placed himself under the protection of Margaret, Edward IV.'s sister, who, as Dowager, held her dower lands in complete independence. By her he was fully acknowledged, and by her influence the King of the Romans (Maximilian), his son Philip the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Saxony, the Kings of Denmark and Scotland, sent him ambassadors. Nor was he without powerful support in England. In 1494 several Lords were arrested on the charge of high treason and executed, among them Sir William Stanley (January 1495), one of the family who had secured the throne for Henry; his great wealth escheated to the Crown. In 1496, Henry's diplomatic skill succeeded in removing the pretender from Burgundy. But meanwhile he had made an unsuccessful descent upon the coast of Kent, when 169 prisoners were taken, and all hanged,—an instance both of Henry's determination to show no mercy to the Yorkists and of the little value in which human life was held, in consequence, partly no doubt, of the barbarous bloodshed of the last century. The treaty which expelled Perkin Warbeck from Burgundy was called "The Great Intercourse." For the last several years both countries had been suffering from the interruption of the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands. The present treaty was a broad and wise commercial arrangement, stipulating a reciprocal liberty of trading "in all commodities to each other's ports without pass or license," and mutual assistance and support in all commercial matters, such as the suppression of piracy and privateering. It marks an era in the history of international relations.

From Flanders, Perkin Warbeck, still hovering round England,

took refuge with the King of Scotland, whose reception of him was more practical and chivalrous than that of any of his earlier protectors. He did not hesitate to give him his in Scotland. 1496. kinswoman Lady Katherine Gordon in marriage, and before winter declared war in his behalf with the King of England. The proclamation of Warbeck, however, in which he spoke of Henry as "Henry Tyddor, the false usurper," and explained his escape from the Tower, met with no response, and after wasting some districts in the North of England, the army withdrew. But Henry could not let such an opportunity slip. He at once demanded a large sum from his Parliament. It was not raised without difficulty. The Cornish men rose against it, elected as their leaders one Hammock, an attorney, and Joseph a blacksmith. They afterwards, on advancing to Wells, obtained the assistance of Lord Audley, who put himself at their head, and under his command pushed on to London, and were not checked till they suffered a complete defeat on Blackheath. The leaders were at once executed, but the bulk of the insurgents made their way back to Cornwall. To this discontented neighbourhood Warbeck, who had found it necessary to leave Scotland, betook himself. With a small following he landed at Whitsand Bay, and leaving his wife at St. Michael's Mount, found himself before Exeter at the head of Warbeck lands in Cornwall. 1497. 6000 men. His assaults upon that city failed, and one of his counsellors, who may well be suspected of being Henry's spy, deserted him. Bacon, in his history of the reign, speaks contemptuously of those who remained as "Sterne, a bankrupt mercer, Hulton, a tailor, and Astley, a scrivener." Desertions appear to have become frequent; and though a considerable force still kept together, their leader's courage forsook him, and he fled by night and took sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu. He was there, in January 1498, surrounded, and having received a promise that his life should be spared, he left the sanctuary in a forlorn and comfortless plight. Without foreign assistance he had ceased to be an object of terror. He was allowed to move freely about London, but on attempting to escape, was placed in the Tower, after having read in public a full confession of his imposture. In this document he declared himself to be the son of John Osbeck, comptroller of the town of Tournay, and asserts that, while travelling as a servant, the people of Cork insisted on his being a Plantagenet. This would seem at all events to prove a very strong resemblance to that family, while the length of time during which he played his part, without, it

is asserted, committing a single error, prevents an absolute dispersion of the mystery which hangs over him; for although careful inquiries were made, and witness taken to prove his base birth, they were so entirely in the hands of Henry's agents, that their depositions cannot be taken for

is executed.
1499.

more than an *ex parte* statement. In November 1499, Perkin and the young Earl of Warwick, whom he had met in the Tower, were both executed. The charges against them were that they had attempted to escape, and some witness, which looks like a forgery, was advanced to prove their treasonable intentions. It is possible that Warwick may have listened to the suggestions of Warbeck. It is certain that the Yorkist feeling was not dead, for another spurious Earl of Warwick had just been suppressed and executed, and it is possible that at the bottom of this execution lay the intrigues of Ferdinand of Spain, with whom Henry was now negotiating a marriage for his eldest son, and who might not unreasonably object to contracting his daughter to a Prince whose claim was insecure, and who might easily by a turn in the wheel of Fortune be an exile and a wanderer.

Having thus rid himself of the last dangerous pretender of the House of York, Henry found his position secure. He was enabled to spend the remaining ten years of his reign in completing those lines of policy the foundations of which he had been laying during the seven years of discomfort which Warbeck had caused him. At home he had in a great degree completed the work of establishing the royal power. The large subsidies which he had collected during the war with France, and again in James's attack on England, had been used but sparingly. His household was so economically managed that he lived within the income which Parliament had granted him for the purpose of keeping it up. His yearly expenses were somewhat over £12,000, the grant was £13,000. He thus found himself in a position to act without frequent recourse to Parliament, which met but three times in the last ten years of his reign.

Ireland, which had twice shown its devotion to the House of York, had been brought into comparative order by Sir Edward Poynings, acting as a deputy for Henry's second son, afterwards Henry VIII., at that time a child of four years of age. The Earl of Kildare had been apprehended and sent to England, and the Irish Parliament had passed the statute known as Poynings' Law, by which the country was much more closely connected with England. It was enacted that in future no Parliament should be held without

Ireland pacified.
1495

the King being officially informed of it; and that no Acts should be introduced without having previously received the approbation and license of the King under the Great Seal. After the passing of this Act a conciliatory policy was adopted, Kildare liberated and restored to his position, and the quiet of the country for the time secured.

The influence of the great nobles of the Yorkist party had received heavy blows in the unsuccessful rebellions of the reign; while to judge by the story of the heavy fines exacted from the Earl of Oxford for receiving the King attended by a crowd of liveried servants, even the Lancastrians were not exempt from the severe enactments against maintenance, nor free from that legal tyranny which Henry, in common with most rising despots, employed as the chief instrument to secure his power.

Secure at home, he now sought to complete his alliances with foreign countries. The idea of a marriage which might ultimately bring Scotland and England under one crown was a traditional one with English politicians. In the earlier part of his reign, Scotland had been in the hands of James III., a man, unlike the uncultivated nobility around him, a favourer of artists and architects, but a poor soldier, and with a leaning towards the English alliance. His rough nobility could not put up with such crimes. They set up against him the claims of his young son, who was afterwards James IV.: the rival factions met at Sauchie Burn; and the King, as he fled from the battle, was thrown from his horse, and murdered at Beaton Mill, whither he had been taken after his fall. Thus placed upon the throne by the anti-English party, James IV. was not likely to maintain his father's policy. None the less did Henry continue negotiations; and, in 1495, he had urged upon the new King a marriage with his daughter Margaret. The opportunity afforded by the arrival of Warbeck was not neglected by James; but, after two destructive incursions into the Northern counties, he had been induced, chiefly by the intervention of the Spanish ambassador, to get rid of Warbeck, and to enter into a seven years' truce with England. The Spanish influence was sufficiently strong to carry the negotiations to a conclusion, and, in 1502, perpetual peace was established, and all the arrangements for the marriage completed. A year and a half afterwards the Princess went to Scotland, and the match was consummated.

Foreign policy.

Marriage of
James IV. with
Margaret.

It was a change in the position of Europe which had induced the Spanish government to use its friendly influence on behalf of Henry. The recovery of France after the

Influence of
Spain.

English invasions, and the rapid consolidation of the monarchy, had made it an object of dread to other nations. Henry was therefore inclined in the earlier part of his reign, as we have seen, to oppose it. At the same time he could not enter frankly into alliance with Burgundy, where his antagonists the Yorkists had met with their chief support. The lukewarm and inefficient policy of his earlier years was the consequence. But the invasion of Naples (a country on which Aragon had just claims) by Charles VIII. had produced in an especial manner hostility between France and Spain; and Ferdinand had determined to form a combination to check the further advance of the threatening power. In fact, the lengthened rivalry between France and the Austro-Spanish house was just beginning. His plans embraced a close union with the Burgundian house, friendship with England, and the withdrawal of Scotland from her old alliance with France. A sure ground for a more determined line of foreign policy was thus laid for Henry. By allying himself with Ferdinand, he assured himself against the danger of further support of the Yorkist interest on the part of Burgundy. For by the marriage of Ferdinand's daughter Joanna with the Archduke Philip, Maximilian's son, Spain and Burgundy had become closely united. When therefore Ferdinand, in pursuance of his own plans, proposed a marriage between his daughter Catherine and the Prince of Wales, Henry received the offer gladly. The negotiations for this marriage continued from 1496 till its completion in 1501. The dowry of the Princess was to be 200,000 crowns. One half of this was paid, when, early in 1502, Prince Arthur died. Ferdinand thus ran the risk of losing the friendship of England, and through England that of Scotland. He at once suggested the marriage of Catherine with Prince Henry, who succeeded his brother as Prince of Wales. The necessary dispensations were procured, but each of the crafty and avaricious monarchs thought it well to have a means of exerting some pressure upon his fellow; while Henry could threaten to forbid the match, Ferdinand could refuse to pay the remaining part of the dowry. Thus the marriage remained unfinished till the death of the King.

The death of Henry's wife in 1503 gave him fresh opportunities for strengthening his position in Europe and drawing closer his connection with the Austro-Spanish house. He first sought the hand of the Dowager Queen of Naples, but speedily transferred his suit to Margaret of Savoy, the sister of Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, the husband of Joanna of Castile. An additional advantage in connection with

Marriage of
Prince Arthur.

this marriage was to be the surrender of Edmund de la Pole, head of the Yorkists, at that time a refugee in Flanders, to which Henry compelled Philip to consent during an enforced delay in England, whither he had been driven by a storm. He further proposed a match between his daughter Mary and Charles, the child of Philip and Joanna, who was afterwards the great Charles V. In his desire for immediate gain he overreached himself. Isabella of Castile was dead, and Ferdinand had assumed the regency of that country for his daughter Joanna and grandson Charles, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, having meanwhile died. Eager to secure the immediate enjoyment of that kingdom, Henry threw up all chance of his marriage with Savoy, and of the future grandeur of his daughter Mary, and himself sought the hand of the widow Joanna, although she was imbecile and totally unfit to be married.¹ Nor was it till after a year, during which the weakness of her mind increased, that he could be induced to believe that his suit was hopeless. He died before any matrimonial plan could be perfected.

His last years were marked in England by a rapacious use of the means the law put in his hands. His agents, the chief of whom were Empson and Dudley, at once filled the royal coffers, and extended the royal authority, by the revival of obsolete penal statutes, and by an unjust employment of the royal right of escheat. When a state escheated to the Crown inquiry was made as to the facts before a jury. By a judicious selection, and the bribing of jurymen, the escheaters were generally able to make out a case in favour of the Crown. It was therefore with a feeling of relief that England heard of Henry's death; although it cannot be denied that his sagacity, his economy, and even the less amiable qualities of pitilessness and love of authority, had secured for England that rest from internal dissension which was so much required, had placed the country in a good position with regard to Europe, and set it upon that natural road of progress which the new birth of freedom and industry in the century that was passing away had rendered necessary. Feudalism had come to its last days, the spirit of industry and commercial enterprise was rising, a new nobility of statesmen had sprung into existence. It remained for his son to complete the destruction of the second great phenomenon of the middle ages—the Church.

¹ This seems so inconsistent with his usual prudence, that, as Ranke suggests, his request for the hand of Joanna may have been only intended as a means to check the urgent demands of the Spanish Court for the completion of the marriage between Catherine and the Prince of Wales, which Henry had no wish to see consummated.

Political schemes
of matrimony.

Exactions of his
later years.

His death.
Retrospect of
his work.

HENRY VIII.

1509—1547.

Born 1491 = 1. Catherine of Aragon, 1509.

Mary.

= 2. Anne Boleyn, 1533.

Elizabeth.

= 3. Jane Seymour, 1536.

Edward VI.

= 4. Anne of Cleves, 1540.

= 5. Catherine Howard, 1540.

= 6. Catherine Parr, 1543.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
James IV., 1488.	Louis XII., 1498.	Maximilian I., 1493.	Ferdinand, 1479.
James V., 1513.	Francis I., 1515.	Charles V., 1519.	Charles V., 1516.
Mary, 1542.			

POPEs.—Julius II., 1503. Leo X., 1513. Adrian VI., 1522. Clement VII., 1523. Paul III., 1534.

Archbishops.
William Warham, 1503.
Thomas Cranmer, 1533.

Chancellors.
William Warham, 1502.
Cardinal Wolsey, 1515.
Sir Thomas More, 1529.
Sir Thomas Audley, 1532.
Thomas Wriothesley, 1544.

HENRY VIII. had some peculiar advantages in his favour. He in a certain sense represented the two Houses whose rivalry had so long disturbed the peace of England, for, although the actual connection of Henry VII. with the Lancastrian princes was but slight, he had been acknowledged as head of the party, while Elizabeth was the accepted heir of the House of York. His personal gifts were not slight; even ten years later the Venetian Ambassador thinks him "as handsome as Nature could form him," and mentions that he was an excellent musician and composer, an admirable horseman and wrestler, and possessed of

Junction of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

1509]

HENRY'S CHARACTER

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a good knowledge of French, Latin and Spanish. His success in athletic sports was very great, and the same writer tells us how he would weary ten horses in a day's hunting, and how people came to see him for the sake of his beauty, while playing bowls. Besides these outward graces, he was possessed of considerable knowledge of theology, to which his father had trained him before he was heir-apparent to the throne—a pursuit which, though perhaps of no great worth in itself, at all events tended to the training of his intellect. He accepted as his counsellors those whom he already found in that position. Archbishop Warham was his Chancellor, and Bishop Fox his Secretary; Surrey, with Shrewsbury, Somerset and Poynings, were all members of what may be termed his ministry.

His first step was to complete his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. For six years the dispensation necessary to allow him to marry his brother's widow had been in England, but the marriage had been postponed, partly from a superstitious dread on the part of Henry VII., who conceived that Heaven had declared itself against the union,¹ and partly from money difficulties. It is perhaps worth noticing, in relation to the subsequent question of the divorce, that the young Queen, at this her second marriage, was dressed in white, with unadorned hair, as though a maiden, and not as a widow.

The accession of a popular monarch of necessity brought some popular measures in its train, and not long after his marriage Henry ordered the prosecution of his father's chief extortioners, Empson and Dudley. Although the use they made of legal quibbles deserves no less severe a name than extortion, it was found impossible to form of any number of instances of such extortions a capital charge, and recourse was therefore had to a trumped up story of a threatened conspiracy for carrying off the King. On this charge they both suffered death. This trial gives an early instance of the way justice was administered throughout this reign. Both these criminals were attainted in the Parliament, attacked that is by Bill, and not by process of law. They had however both been convicted in the law courts before the Bill of Attainder was passed. Indeed few of those who fell under suspicion, or were brought to trial during this reign, escaped unconvicted. This was owing probably to the necessary subserviency of a nobility, resting upon the Crown, and to the pressure which Henry VII.'s

His first measures. Prosecution of Empson and Dudley.

¹ This feeling arose from the untimely death of some of his children.

Council Court, and Henry VIII.'s Council, or, as it is often called, Star-Chamber, could bring to bear upon too honest juries.

The King having won popularity by these three acts,—the retention of the better members of his father's Council, the completion of his marriage with Catherine, and the punishment of the most hated of his father's financial agents,—found himself in a position to follow

Henry engages
in European
politics.
1511.

his personal inclination, and to plunge into the difficult intricacies of European politics, and a European war.

Italy was the point where at this time the interests of politicians centred. Louis XII. had followed the example of his predecessor, and had sought to win glory in that country which Comines calls the burialplace of the French. Meanwhile, amid the petty states of Italy, the cold consistent policy of the aristocratic Republic of Venice had raised that power to a great pre-eminence. Leaving her home among the islands, she had won considerable territory on the mainland, and had even laid her hand on some portions of the States of the Church. The Papal throne was at that time occupied by Julius II., a man who, if he were not a good Churchman, was at least an ardent Italian, and who, a soldier and a statesman rather than a prelate, was bent upon two great objects—the curtailment of the encroachments of Venice and the expulsion of all foreigners from the Italian peninsula. Under his influence the famous League of Cambrai was set on foot. It included the Emperor, the Kings of France and Spain, the Duke of Burgundy and the Pope, and its avowed object was an assault upon the Venetian power. Against such a league Venice could do but little, and a very few defeats on the mainland convinced her of the wisdom of throwing over all that she possessed in Italy, and of retiring within her ancient limits. Having thus made use of the strength of these foreign countries to rid himself of his domestic enemies, the Pope now aimed at winning his higher object of clearing Italy of the foreigner. For this purpose he picked a quarrel with the King of France by attacking his ally the Duke of Ferrara. Although unable to withstand the French in the field, he yet contrived to show himself so formidable, that Louis, among other efforts for his destruction, summoned a council at Pisa, thus giving Julius an opportunity to raise the cry that the Church itself was threatened, and to establish for his own support a Holy League. Of all the Princes who joined

Holy League.
1511.

this League Henry VIII. was probably the most disinterested. Maximilian of Germany was desirous of winning Milan, which the French had occupied (claiming it through

Valentine Visconti, the grandmother of Louis XII.). Ferdinand of Spain aimed at Navarre, which was in French hands, while the Pope expected to clear Italy of its barbarian conquerors. Henry alone had no apparent interest in the quarrel. The chivalrous love of glory natural to his age, and to one so personally gifted, combined with a sincere wish to uphold the Papacy, which his early theological training had strengthened, were the chief motives for his adhesion to the League. But there was also a desire, perhaps as yet undefined, of preserving the balance of power. This notion—the creation of Italian statesmanship—had begun to spread among European statesmen, and, with its varied consequences of good and evil, has held its place among them till the present time. It is interesting to observe, however, that there was a sharp discussion in the King's Council as to the wisdom of the war; a considerable number of the King's advisers urging, as they might urge now, that if aggrandizement was to be sought, Providence had marked out the way for us, namely the sea. This difference of opinion, as to whether England should aim at European connections, or confine itself to the natural development of its advantages as an island, will be found henceforward at the bottom of all party differences with regard to its foreign policy.

In the following year, the operations of the League were begun. An English army was despatched to co-operate with Ferdinand in the South of France, while the war was carried on with vigour by the Papal and Spanish armies in Italy. The English, who were under the Marquis of Dorset, found themselves used as a cat's-paw by the Spanish King, who objected—and perhaps by strict military rules he was right—to any advance beyond the frontier till Navarre had been secured. When this had been done, wholly to the advantage of Ferdinand, the English army, weary of waiting, had become disorganized. The garlic and the hot wine of the Peninsula had attacked its health, and Dorset, in dudgeon, brought back his men to England, to Henry's grievous disappointment. Nor were our maritime efforts much more successful. An indecisive battle was fought off the coast of Brittany, where, though the great French ship the "Cordelier" of Brest was burnt, the "Regent," the largest British ship, perished with it, while the French fleet made good its retreat into Brest. In Italy, where, under the fiery guidance of the young Gaston de Foix, they had at first carried all before them, before the year was over the French had been entirely worsted. A victory they had won at Ravenna had cost them dear; they had there lost their intrepid commander, and had since that time been continu-

English army
in South of
France.
1512.

ally driven backward before the Swiss in the Pope's pay, till Julius could boast that he had indeed freed Italy from the foreigner. He died, however, early the following year, and was succeeded by Leo X., a man of literary and artistic tastes, and of a more pacific disposition. The strength of the coalition was thus somewhat relaxed, but Henry refused to think of peace, and arranged a combined attack with Maximilian, to be directed on this occasion along the usual line

of assault from Flanders. The King, with Lords Shrewsbury and Herbert for his generals, crossed the sea with 25,000 men. Maximilian met him with a considerable body of horse, and refusing all command, flattered him by an offer to serve under him as a volunteer. His wisdom and experience were very necessary to the young English King. The combined army formed the siege of Terouenne. Once it was revictualled by a gallant dash of 800 men, each carrying across his saddle a sack of powder and a piece of bacon. They threw their burdens down at the gate, and made good their retreat through the English. A second great attempt was made to victual and relieve it. Maximilian, with his

cavalry, moved forward to check the advancing enemy, while the main army was formed in support. The French soldiery, veterans from Italy, were seized with one of those panics to which the soldiers of that nation seem subject, and ten thousand of them fled headlong before the advance of a very inferior body of the allies, while their officers, striving to rally them, were taken prisoners. This curious panic the French christened "the Battle of the Spurs." This victory brought with it the fall of Terouenne, and subsequently the English captured the important town of Tournay.

While the English King was before Terouenne, he had received an embassy from the King of Scotland, James IV., who, it will be remembered, was his brother-in-law. French intrigues, and the long-standing alliance between the nations, had induced James to entertain the idea of a breach with England. Causes of complaint were not wanting. There was a legacy due from Henry VII.; Sir Robert Ker, the Scotch Warden of the Marches, had been killed by a Heron of Ford, and the murderer found refuge in England; Andrew Barton, who, licensed with letters of marque against the Portuguese in revenge for the death of his father, had extended his reprisals to general piracy, had been captured and slain by Lord Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, and the Scotch King demanded justice for the death of his captain. To these questions, which had been long unsettled, an answer was now imperiously de-

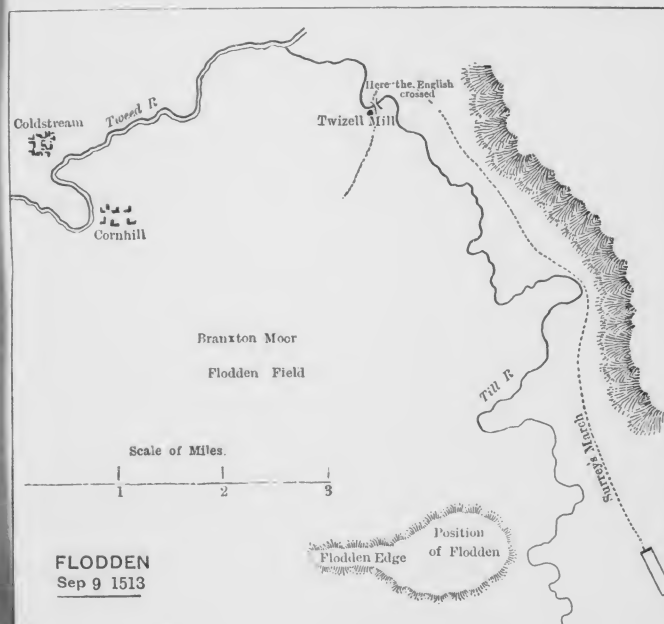
The English
attack France
by Flanders.
1513.

Battle of Spurs.
Aug. 16.

Difficulties with
Scotland.

manded. Henry replied with scorn, and the Scotch King declared war. The safety of England had been intrusted to the Earl of Surrey, who, when James crossed the border, was lying at Pontefract. Without delay, he pushed forward northward, and challenging James to meet him on the Friday next following, came up with him when strongly posted on the hill of

England
invaded.
Aug. 1513.



Flodden, with one flank covered by the river Till, the other by an impassable morass, and his front rendered impregnable by the massing of his artillery. Ashamed, after his challenge, to avoid the combat, Surrey moved suddenly northward, as though bound for Scotland, but soon marching round to the left, he crossed the Till near its junction with the Tweed, and thus turned James's position. The Scots were thus compelled to fight. On the English right, the

PER. MON.

b

sons of Surrey with difficulty held their own. In the centre, where
 Battle of
 Flodden.
 Sept. 9.
 Surrey himself was assaulted by the Scotch King and
 his choicest troops, the battle inclined against the Eng-
 lish; but upon the English left the Highlanders were
 swept away by the archers, and Stanley, who had the command in
 that wing, fell on the rear of the successful Scotch centre, and deter-
 mined the fortune of the day. The slaughter of the Scotch was
 enormous, and among the number of the slain was James himself,
 with all his chief nobility.

During the last year (1513) the war had thus gone decidedly
 against Louis XII. and his allies, and renewed incursions upon the
 French coast induced him to think of accommodation. Nor was the
 time unfavourable. The warrior Pope Julius had been succeeded by
 Leo X., a man of intrigue and of the arts of peace, while
 Ferdinand had already secured in Navarre the object for
 which he joined the League. Louis found no difficulty
 in appeasing Leo when he withdrew his countenance from the
 Bentivoglii, who were the Pope's chief enemies, and broke up the
 schismatic council which had been called at Pisa. Ferdinand, satis-
 fied with his gains, had already concluded a truce. Henry had hoped
 that Maximilian would still stand by him, but the offer of Milan, as
 a dowry to Renée, the daughter of Louis, upon her marriage with
 Charles of Spain, Maximilian's grandson and heir, gave Maximilian
 what he entered the League to win, and—never very rich—he was
 willing enough to withdraw from the struggle.

Thus left to himself, Henry thought it well to make as good a bar-
 gain as he could, and consented to a peace in exchange
 for large payments of money (amounting to 100,000
 crowns), which represented certain sums already due from former
 treaties, and ratified it by giving Louis his sister Mary in marriage.
 In fact, as far as his political object was concerned, he had succeeded.
 France, checked in Italy, no longer for the time threatened the Euro-
 pean balance.

Scotland, Henry's sole remaining enemy, was in no plight to con-
 tinue the war. In the hope of pacifying the English,
 the Queen-Dowager, Margaret, Henry's sister, who in
 some degree represented the English interest in that country, was
 made regent. She seems, however, to have had the same turn for
 marrying as her brother, and on allying herself with the Earl of
 Angus, head of the Douglasses, became so unpopular, that the French
 party, who still kept up their intrigues with France, contrived that the

regency should be taken from her, and given to the Duke of Albany
 (1515).¹ This Prince came over from France, where he was natural-
 ized, and succeeded in getting the late King's children into his hands.
 Margaret sought refuge in England, where, after a time, Angus, who
 had been kidnapped and carried to France, joined her. They thus
 supplied Henry with an instrument by which he could carry on his
 intrigues in Scotland. The ill-fated marriage, which led to the mis-
 fortunes of Mary Queen of Scots, was the union of the two families of
 Margaret by her respective husbands, James and Angus.²

This attempt of the French to re-establish that influence in Scot-
 land which the policy both of Henry and his father had
 been directed to destroy, naturally attracted the atten-
 tion of Henry, and was made a cause of complaint at the
 French Court, with which, though the treaty still existed, there had
 already ceased to be cordiality. The gay and beautiful young English
 Princess had led her husband, always a valetudinarian, to change his
 habit of life. His dinner-hour had been moved from eight to twelve in
 the morning; his bed-time, usually six, had been sometimes advanced
 even till midnight. His health yielded to this change of life, and he
 died three months after his marriage. With him passed
 away the real strength of the treaty. His widow almost
 immediately married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk,
 the King's favourite companion and her own old lover,
 braving the royal anger, which seems on this occasion to have been
 slight, and afterwards founding a family with some claim to the throne.

The new King of France, Francis I.,³ who at his accession had been

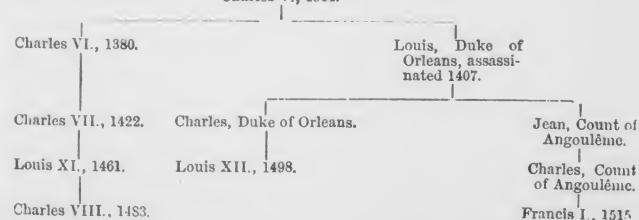
French Inter-
 ference in Scot-
 land.

Death of Louis
 XII. weakens
 the treaty
 between the
 nations.

¹ John, Duke of Albany, Admiral of France, was the son of Robert, Duke of Albany, the younger brother of James III., who had retired to France to escape from his brother, whom he had been opposing, in the year 1479. He was welcomed and assisted by Louis XI.

² Mary was daughter of James V., Margaret's son by James IV. Darnley was son of Earl of Lennox, by Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret by Angus.

³ Charles V., 1504.



Count of Angoulême, a descendant of the younger son of Louis of Orleans, assassinated in 1407, as Louis XII. had been a descendant of the elder son, was a knight of that new chivalrous school which had taken the place of the real chivalry of the earlier middle ages, and which, while it inculcated the love of adventure and recklessness of its predecessor, did not exclude the slyness and self-seeking of Italian diplomacy. It seemed to him, therefore, as only consistent with his knighthood to reconquer the Milanese from Maximilian Sforza; so he assembled an army secretly at Lyons, without much scruple as to the means he employed for raising the requisite money, turned the position of the Swiss (at that time the most dreaded mercenaries in Europe), who were then lying at Susa, and poured his army by more southern passes into the plains of Piedmont. The Swiss had fallen back to cover Milan, but were defeated at the battle of Marignano (Sept. 13, 1515), which Trivulzio,¹ the veteran commander of the French army, spoke of as "the battle of the Giants," after which Milan was at once occupied by the French. This sudden restitution of French influence in Italy excited the attention of all Europe, yet Henry did not think that the capture of the Milanese alone compromised the relations of the European powers sufficiently to authorize him in plunging heartily into a war. He therefore contented himself with subsidizing the Emperor and the Swiss, and refrained from active participation in the war, although great efforts were made to secure his assistance. To gain the support of Wolsey, who had now become Henry's chief adviser, the Pope raised him to the rank of Cardinal; while, in the following year, Maximilian is said to have made a most extraordinary proposition. He offered to resign the Empire in favour of Henry, and, if the authorities are to be believed, made every arrangement for his coronation, and for a subsequent joint attack upon France. The wisdom of Henry and his advisers rejected this proposal, and Francis, having secured his object, was willing to make peace. A threatened advance of the Turks gave the required opportunity. This people, under Selim, had conquered Egypt and Syria, and was threatening Europe. Under cover of a peace for the purpose of opposing the Mahomedans,

¹ Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, a Milanese noble attached to the interests of France, and a marshal of that kingdom. He died in 1518 in disgrace, pleading in vain that he had fought eighteen battles for Francis I. and his predecessors. His tomb bears the inscription, "J. J. Trivultius, Antonii filius qui nunquam quiescit—face."

in the year 1518 a confederacy was made between England, France and Spain, by which they bound themselves to mutual support against any aggressor, though the aggressor were one of themselves; and thus the long and costly wars which had followed the League of Cambrai were closed by a treaty which left Europe nearly in the same position as before they began.

Peace, and confederacy between England, France, Spain, 1518.

While these wars had been occupying the attention of Europe, the position of chief adviser to the Crown in England had fallen to Thomas Wolsey. Of no high extraction, this able and ambitious man had sought to rise through the Church, which held out hopes of success even to the lowest born. He was educated at Oxford, became a Fellow of Magdalen, tutor to the children of the Marquis of Dorset, incumbent of Lymington, and in the earlier part of the century was made chaplain to Henry VII. Early introduced to public life by the Bishop of Winchester, he was employed, and did good service, in the negotiations which Henry entered upon with regard to a second marriage. He was rewarded with the Deanery of Lincoln, and his ability being appreciated by Henry VIII., he was shortly sworn of the Privy Council. The management of the war had fallen chiefly into his hands, and his rise became exceedingly rapid. On the capture of Tournay, he received the bishopric of that city. In 1514 he was made Archbishop of York, and in the following year, when Warham, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury, withdrew from the chancellorship on occasion of some difference in the Council, the vacant office was given to Wolsey. In 1515, Leo attempted to secure his services by making him a Cardinal, and the following year he reached the summit of ecclesiastical ambition, short of the Papacy itself, by being appointed Legate, with full powers, in England. This list of offices does not exhibit all his sources of wealth. He was in receipt of yearly payments both from Francis and from Charles of Spain. He held also the Bishopric of Bath, which he afterwards changed for the richer one of Durham.

Wolsey.

Made Legate.

It seems probable that this statesman had acquired his influence over Henry partly by similarity of tastes, and partly by industriously sparing him trouble. His great ability and untiring energy enabled him to do all that was necessary for the government of the country, freeing Henry from the restraint which the Privy Council might have exercised upon his

His means of securing his power.

actions, and leaving him at leisure to indulge himself in those splendid amusements and pageantries in which he found his chief delight during the earlier part of his reign. Having once secured his position, however, Wolsey was by no means a minister without a policy. Of all classes in England the Church had been the least weakened by the long civil wars. The house of Lancaster

had always favoured its interests, and during the reign of Henry VII. the chief offices in the ministry had been confided to Churchmen, who were the best educated men in England, and the instruments best fitted for carrying on the pacific policy of the King. To uphold this supremacy of the Church was Wolsey's primary object. It was for this that he lent himself to an ostentatious display of wealth and authority which would have been almost ridiculous had it had no object. His biographer is very full of his vast household of five hundred dependants, of his silver pillars and silver crosses; and an absurd description is given, on excellent authority, of how, when the Pope sent him his Cardinal's hat packed in the wallet of his ordinary courier, Wolsey provided the man with robes of rich material, and sent him back to Dover, to bring the hat up with all due ceremony, while trains of knights and bishops were sent to meet and welcome it. But he saw more clearly than most men the approach of the struggle which was to convulse Europe for the next hundred years. He was besides far too great a lover of justice and far too good a governor to wish to tolerate the abominable abuses which found their home in the monasteries. He was therefore bent upon forestalling the coming storm; but his desire was that the reform should be from within, and not from without the Church. To carry out these reforms was the main wish of his life, and it was to enable him to do so that he hazarded the breach of the well-known statute of *Præmunire*, and accepted the legatine authority which could alone give him power to act with effect against the monasteries, which were independent of the bishops. But besides being a Churchman, Wolsey was essentially an Englishman, and some of the apparent inconsistencies in his policy can be explained by the conflict of these interests. He was also undoubtedly ambitious, and eagerly sought the Papacy. But it is not improbable that his chief object in this pursuit too was the hope of carrying out on a grander scale the reforms which he had planned in England. Where the interests of the Church were not touched, his views, like those of most able

His policy.

governors who feel themselves superior to the men around them, were very arbitrary; and he lent himself willingly to the views of Henry on this point, like him detesting disorder and anarchy, and like him thinking that the best form of government was that under which the ignorant should be coerced for their own advantage. Such a man was inevitably opposed to the interests of the nobles, whose party was represented in the Council by the Duke of Norfolk. Equally inevitably would he be disliked by the commonalty, and the literature of the time is full of the sharpest satires directed against him. The strength of his position was the favour of the King and the success of his policy. Should either of these fail his fall was inevitable. He had now entered fully upon an arbitrary career. From the year 1515 to 1523 no Parliament was called. The money which was constantly wanted for the wars was collected by forced loans and benevolences.

Arbitrary rule.

It was under the guidance of this minister that England entered into the new phase of European politics which followed upon the death of Maximilian in the year 1519. Ferdinand of Spain had died three years before, and had been succeeded in that country by his grandson Charles. This young prince, the son of the Archduke Philip, was thus already in possession of Spain and of the Netherlands, with some sort of hereditary claim to be elected Emperor of Germany. But Francis I. did not desire so powerful a rival, and determined to dispute with him the imperial crown. Henry, somewhat puffed up by the offer Maximilian had made him a few years previously, determined that he too would enter the lists, although there was probably never the remotest chance of his success. When the election came on, finding the success of his own employer impossible, the English ambassador threw the weight of his influence wholly into the German side of the balance, and Charles was elected Emperor; and thus Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and the Empire were all in the hands of one prince. This contest somewhat slackened the ties of friendship between Henry and Francis; while, on the other hand, the help he had received led Charles to hope that he might secure the alliance of Henry. The friendship of England had become of paramount importance to these rival claimants for the supremacy of Europe; and as it was not yet apparently firmly secured by either of them, Francis determined, if possible, to attach

Death of
Maximilian.
1519.

Henry a candi-
date for the
Empire.
Charles V.
elected.

English alliance
sought by both
Charles and
Francis.

it to himself. He demanded therefore a personal meeting with Henry, in accordance with a clause in the treaty of 1518. This proposition ripened in 1520 into the magnificent meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The two Kings, vain of their persons and their acquirements, permitted and encouraged the most lavish expense on the part of their followers, and Francis had reason to believe that he had gained the friendship of Henry. But Wolsey's interest was already pledged. Just before Henry left England for his meeting with Francis, it had been contrived that Charles should forestall him, and have a private meeting at Canterbury. Nor was this all. No sooner were the festivities in the plain of Ardres over, than Henry visited his nephew Charles at Gravelines, and returned with him to Calais.

Field of Cloth
of Gold.
1520.

Henry prefers
alliance with
Charles.

There the outlines of a great alliance were sketched, destined to bear fruit afterwards. In this matter Wolsey had completely succeeded in his schemes. It was to the interest of Charles, and not that of Francis, that England found itself pledged. Nor was an opportunity long wanting to prove this. The rivalry of Francis and the Emperor soon led to a breach of the peace between them, and Francis, taking advantage of the disaffection of parts of Spain, pushed his army across the Pyrenees. At once, in virtue of the great treaty of 1518, it became Henry's duty to side with the aggrieved party. To settle which that might be a court of arbitration was established at Calais, where Wolsey, with great pomp, examined into the quarrel with apparent fairness. He took an opportunity, however, of visiting the Emperor at Bruges, and, almost immediately after, his judgment was pronounced against the French, and Henry found himself, as he had intended, bound to help the Emperor.

It was Wolsey's belief in the superior efficacy of the support which the Emperor appears to have distinctly promised him at Bruges, in the event of a new election to the Papacy, to that of Francis, which induced him to attach himself so definitely to the Emperor's interests. But he could have had no difficulty in persuading Henry, jealous of the French King's fame as knight and gentleman, or the people whose woollen trade depended in a very large degree on their friendship with Flanders, to prefer an alliance with Charles. The Emperor was to marry the Princess Mary, and the two nations were to make common cause against Francis. In all directions the new allies

were successful. Even the Milanese was won from the French, while Parma and Placentia fell before the Papal troops. The Pope lived just long enough to see the success of his schemes, and died, it is said, from a fever produced by excessive joy. Wolsey saw the object of his ambition within his reach; but in the conclave, as neither he nor his rival, the Cardinal de Medici, had an overwhelming majority, the parties united to elect a third candidate, and Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's tutor, a learned and studious man, was raised to the Papal chair.

To paralyse the strength of England, Francis, who, on Venice joining the confederacy against him, found himself absolutely alone, attempted to excite disaffection in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, where disaffection was chronic, and where the insurrection was to depend on a French army which never arrived, no great change was effected. In Scotland, since Albany's retirement in 1516, and the return of Angus and the Queen, there had been a stormy period, chiefly occupied by the feuds of the Douglasses and Hamiltons. Angus had, however, on the whole, kept his leading position. To destroy his influence, which was favourable to England, the French King induced Albany to return with a large army and threaten the Scotch borders. He was, however, hoodwinked by Lord Dacre, the English Warden, who, though he had scarcely any troops at his disposal, so imposed upon the invaders by the high tone which he assumed, that they were glad to accept a month's armistice at the hands of a man who was entirely in their power. An invasion, repeated in the following year, was defeated by the Earl of Surrey without any severe fighting. "Undoubtedly," writes the commander, "there was never man departed with more shame or more fear than the Duke has done to-day." It was Albany's last appearance in Scotland. Unable to secure the regency, he retired from the country, where Angus ultimately succeeded, with the assistance of Henry, in establishing himself as Regent. The consequence was a peace of eighteen years between the countries.

Francis tries
to excite
Ireland and
Scotland.
1522.

Albany being
worsted, peace
for eighteen
years is made
1523.

In both 1522 and 1523, under the command respectively of Surrey and of Suffolk, expeditions had been undertaken by the English in conjunction with the Imperialist forces. Suffolk's expedition reached as far as Mondidier, and it was expected that the combined armies would press on to the capital; for an opening had offered by which Henry thought it not improbable that

Expeditions
against France.

he might succeed in making good the old English claims upon France. Francis had quarrelled with the Constable of Bourbon, the most important of his subjects, who had declared his intention of seating Henry on the throne, and believed it certain that a large number of the French would join him. About the same time (September 1523) Adrian VI. died, and it seemed as if the plans both of Wolsey and Henry would at length be realized. But the discovery of his treachery compelled Bourbon to take to flight, and it was alone, without any of the party he had expected to assist him, that he fled from the French Court and took service under Charles. At the same time the election to the Papacy had not been managed as Wolsey had hoped. Julius de Medici, Clement VII., had been elected, and Wolsey, enraged at the disappointment of his hopes, grew suddenly lukewarm in the war. The English troops, already weakened by sickness, withdrew from Mondidier, and were disbanded; nor did England during the next year take any active part in the war. Wolsey, indeed, in his disappointment, entered into relations with the Court of France, and a peace between the countries was virtually established. Meanwhile, even the withdrawal of the English failed to check the course of French disaster. Although the army entered the Milanese territory, it could not succeed in holding its ground beyond the Ticino. The following year (1524) brought upon it the whole forces of the Imperialists. It was defeated near Romagnano, where Bayard lost his life. It was compelled to evacuate Italy, and the triumphant Constable, with his fellow-commander Pescara, pushed into France as far as Marseilles. To revenge this insult, Francis again, for the third time, poured his army over Mont Cenis. Again was Milan captured. The new Pope, Clement VII., even sided with him, and in October the siege of Pavia was formed. To relieve it, early in the following year the united armies of Pescara and Bourbon marched from Lodi. The battle fought before its walls was a decisive one. The defeat of the French was signal, their career in Italy was for a time closed. Francis himself fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Francis defeated at Pavia. 1525.

This victory was the signal for a complete reversal in the state of politics in Europe, and brought to light the change in Wolsey's views which had followed the election of Pope Clement. In London it was at first hailed with unqualified joy, and Henry thought for a moment that the hour had come for him to re-vindicate the English claims to the French crown, so much so that he wrote

to Charles by the hand of Wolsey, and proposed a scheme for the invasion of France, of which the crown was to fall to him, and to pass afterwards by means of his daughter and heiress Mary, betrothed to the Emperor, to Charles V. himself, or his descendants, who would thus become monarchs of the whole of Europe. But such a total subversion of the European balance did not suit Charles, who was also induced by other causes to hold aloof from too close an alliance with England. Several incidents had produced a coldness between him and his uncle. He found that his betrothed bride, Mary, had been offered to more than one crowned head besides himself, while her youth, for she was only ten years of age, rendered the whole scheme distant and problematical. By some awkward mistake his ambassador's letters had been opened in England. He knew the French envoy to be constantly resident there. Moreover he felt himself strong enough to do without Henry's help. He therefore entirely declined the English proposal. On the other hand, Henry, when once his plans were coldly received, saw more than one reason for changing his alliance. He was in want of money; an alliance with France held out hopes of a goodly sum. According to his theory of the balance of power, it was time to check the overwhelming superiority of the Empire. Perhaps, more than all, he had Wolsey at his elbow, whose views, since his own rejection for the Papacy (on the death of Adrian, when Clement VII. was elected), and since the alliance of the Papacy with France, had undergone considerable change. It was ambition, partly personal, partly of a nobler sort and aiming at the reform of Christendom, which had rendered Wolsey so anxious for the Papacy. Though, as far as he was concerned, that hope was gone, he was still true to the cause of the Church, and when, in the years following the battle of Pavia, he saw the Imperial arms turned against Rome, till in the year 1527 the sacred city itself was stormed and sacked by the German and Lutheran landsknechts of Bourbon, it was difficult not to believe that the cause of Charles was the cause of the enemies of the Church; and that to join with Francis in upholding the Pope was the right policy for the true Catholic. With this mistaken view England entered into a close alliance with Francis, but it was not till the year 1528 that war was declared against Charles.

Sack of Rome. 1527.

Consequent change of English policy. Alliance with France.

Events had taken place in that period which were to revolutionize England. In carrying on negotiations with France one means of

uniting the kingdoms which had been suggested was a marriage between the royal houses. The Princess Mary, it was thought, might marry one of the sons of the French King. This treaty was set on

Legitimacy of
Henry's mar-
riage with
Catherine
questioned.

foot at the close of 1526, and early in its progress the Bishop of Tarbès had raised a question as to the Princess's legitimacy. From the first Henry had not much liked the marriage with Catherine. It was only at the urgent desire of his councillors, and after his father's death, that he consented to marry her. Nor had the marriage been a very successful one. Several children had been born, but one only, the Princess Mary, had lived; and probably the domestic relations between the King and Queen were not of the happiest. The continuation of the dynasty was naturally one of Henry's chief wishes, and to the councillors by whom he was surrounded, who had found their safety and greatness in the support of the reigning line, and who longed before all things for a permanent rest for England after the troubles of the late wars, it was a matter of the last importance that the succession should, if possible, be undisputed. But had the King died without male issue, there was a cloud of pretenders who could hardly have settled their respective claims without an appeal to the sword. Henry had, indeed, rid himself of two of them. Richard de la Pole, surnamed the White Rose, had died at Pavia. His brother had been beheaded by Henry. Buckingham had also suffered death in 1521, charged with some apparently slight matters, intercourse with astrologers, or hasty words, which may have covered some deeper plan. But in the place of Pole the head of the true Plantagenets was now the Countess of Salisbury, the sister of the Earl of Warwick, who had been put to death by Henry VII.; and Buckingham had bequeathed his claims to the Duke of Norfolk with his daughter. The Marquis of Exeter might raise claims to the throne as the grandson of Edward IV; the Duke of Suffolk was Henry's own brother-in-law, while the King of Scotland was the son of Henry's sister. Reasons of state, therefore, combined with Henry's own wishes to excite in his mind a conscientious scruple as to the legitimacy of a marriage, the dissolution of which might give him at once a more agreeable wife and an heir to his throne. Nor were reasons of foreign policy wanting. In an age when marriage was so constantly the tie of national connection, Catherine, whose marriage with Henry had at first been the pledge of the alliance with Spain, stood in Wolsey's way now that he was bent upon using all his efforts against the Emperor. Those therefore who were desirous for the sake of the succession that

The state of
the succession.

a divorce should take place, found a willing assistant in the minister. For Wolsey thought he saw in the King's wish for a divorce a means of carrying out his own policy; not only would it enable him to break more thoroughly with the Emperor, but it exactly suited his views with regard to England.

Disaffection towards the Church of Rome had been of long standing in England. The reckless use of the power which the weakness of John had placed in the Pope's hand had early excited the anger of the English. Wicliffe's reform had been only the greatest of several efforts in the same direction, and, though his doctrinal reform had been premature, the laity had shown every disposition to appropriate his feelings of dislike to the hierarchy; and motions were even made in Parliament for the confiscation of Church property for national purposes. The Lancastrian princes had been throughout consistent supporters of the Papacy. Some writers even assert that Henry V.'s expedition was undertaken for the purpose of diverting popular attention to other objects. The Wars of the Roses had stopped all thoughts of reform, and, as we have seen, the Church was never so prominent as in the reign of Henry VII., and in the first years of his successor.

Progress of the
Reformation
in Europe.

Nevertheless, the undercurrent of lay feeling never ceased to flow. The same causes had been more or less extant throughout Europe. Encroachments on the temporal authority of princes, zeal in demanding dues, combined with laxity of morals, and the change which had come over the Papacy, as the head of the Catholic Church degraded himself by degrees to the position of an intriguing Italian prince, had shaken the hold of Rome upon men's minds. The great schism had afforded opportunity for the Church to declare its independence, and the supremacy of councils over the Pope. The skill of the Roman Pontiffs had rendered the declaration nugatory, but the idea was still prevalent in Europe. The Council of Pisa had been but an effort to carry it into effect; and the general spirit of opposition to the Papacy had lately found expression throughout the whole North of Europe. It was in 1517 that Tetzl, a Dominican Friar, was appointed under the Elector of Mayence to sell indulgences through Saxony. The object for which the money was raised was the completion of St. Peter's at Rome. At that time, Luther, a young Augustinian, was Professor at the Elector of Saxony's new University of Wittenberg. Filled with anger at this crying abuse, he drew up ninety-five theses on the nature of indulgences, and fixed them on the great door of the Church of Wittenberg. The controversy at once be-

came bitter. Luther was defended by Frederick of Saxony, who valued him highly, and could ill spare him from his University. The circumstances of Germany, more especially the unfortunate connection between lay and spiritual jurisdiction in the persons of the great ecclesiastical Electors, tended to dispose men's minds to the new doctrines. The invention of printing, and the revival of Greek literature, which had doubtless fostered among the Humanists, as they were called, or followers of humane letters, a certain freedom of thought, were also favourable to it. It became imperative for the Pope, not without some tincture of humanism himself, to pronounce upon the matter, and, in 1520, Leo X. published a bull against Luther by name, pronouncing him excommunicated if he did not retract in six days. Luther assembled the inhabitants of Wittenberg, and burnt the bull outside the walls. In 1521, at the Diet of Worms, efforts were made to move Luther to retract, but they were vain. He was ordered to quit the city, with a three weeks' safe conduct, and on his way home was captured by the order of his friend the Elector of Saxony, and detained for his own security in the Wartburg. Since then his views, or those like them, had been constantly spreading. Zwinglius had established the reform in Switzerland, and Munzer, carrying Protestant doctrines to their extreme political consequences, had excited the Thuringian peasants to a terrible outbreak.

It is not to be supposed that such a movement would have been kindly looked on by either Henry or Wolsey. Henry had himself written against Luther, and received from the Pope the title of Defender of the Faith. With Wolsey the preservation of the old religion became the chief object to which his policy was directed. Conscious of the abuses, of which the English Church was full, he saw that there was no hope of withstanding the flood of the Reformation without internal reform. Twice in the previous reign something had been done in the way of inspecting the monasteries, but on neither occasion effectually. It was to secure power for the more effectual carrying out of this object that he had sought the legatine authority. He had even suppressed a certain number of the smaller monasteries, employing their revenues for his great Cardinal's College at Oxford, and his school at Ipswich; and the prosecution of these reforms was very near his heart. When his credit was leaving him, he expressed his willingness to retire from the world, if only he could see the manners and customs of the country reformed.¹ Again it was with the intention

Wolsey's
policy.

¹ Legrand, vol. iii. p. 165.

of upholding the Papacy that he had changed the whole policy of England, and was now working as hard and as anxiously to unite France, England and the Pope, as he had been seven years before to unite England and Germany. He thought an opportunity had arisen to attach Henry for ever to the Papal See by the strongest ties of gratitude. He never for a moment dreamed that the Pope would refuse a divorce. He seems almost to have pledged himself to Henry that it should be secured. But he was treading on dangerous ground, and indeed his sagacity was on this occasion misled. He could not think of Charles, the sacker of Rome, the gaoler of the Pope, in any other light than as the enemy of the Church. He did not recollect the effect that so present a terror might have upon the Pope's conduct. But the Pope was in fact scarcely a free agent. The French influence in Italy was absolutely gone;¹ and Charles bravely upheld the cause of his aunt Catherine. The Pope, in spite of his dangerous position, had gone so far as to send Cardinal Campeggio to open in company with Wolsey a commission of inquiry into the King's marriage with Catherine. He had promised that the commission should not be revoked, but that sentence should be pronounced. The timely discovery of a paper, probably forged, which seemed exactly to suit and make good a supposed flaw in the dispensation of Pope Julius, which had been made the legal ground on which the divorce was to rest, saved the Pope from the completion of his promise. The cause was summoned back to Rome, and Campeggio returned from England, leaving the question unsettled.

Favours the idea
of a divorce.

Indeed, before this final step was taken, Wolsey had discovered his error. For him the divorce meant a marriage alliance with the French. But the King's mind had already turned in quite a different direction. The object of his attachment was Anne Boleyn, one of the Queen's maids of honour. She had gone to the Court of France with Mary, Henry's sister, and had remained there with different Princesses till after the battle of Pavia. Her beauty, and her French airs and graces, made her the reigning belle of Henry's Court. Now the family of this lady, whose grandfather had been a rich citizen of London, had since been closely connected with the Howards, who, as the head of the lay nobility of England, looked with hatred at the powerful position which Wolsey had won. The triumph of Anne Boleyn would in

Its failure
causes Wolsey's
fall.
1529.

¹ The French General Lautrec had indeed again attempted to secure Naples, but his army had faded away before the malaria and plague.

fact have been the complete victory of Wolsey's rivals in the Council; it was impossible that he could desire such a step. The departure of Campeggio was the signal for Wolsey's fall. Danger was closing him in on all sides. His plan had crumbled in his hand; it had given an opening for his lay opponents in the Council; he had failed to please the King; and he had no popularity on which to fall back. His government indeed could scarcely have failed to make him unpopular.

It had been a time of almost incessant war, and war invariably means heavy taxes. But in this case the taxes had not even been legal. From the year 1515 to the year 1523 no Parliament was called. Between 1523 and 1528 there had again been no Parliament. During the whole of that time, with the exception of the year 1523, money had been collected by means of forced loans and benevolences; and an idea may be gained of how these impositions were managed by what took place in 1522. In that year an invasion of France was contemplated, and money had to be raised. Commissioners were sent to find out the annual rent of all lands and houses, and the value of all moveables. From London £20,000 was exacted as a temporary loan, and the citizens were afterwards required to certify on oath the real value of their property. This sort of inquisition was most distasteful to mercantile men, who urged that their credit was often better than their capital, and Wolsey consented to take their returns secretly. The obnoxious character of this tax was somewhat lessened by the promise that the proceeds, which amounted to about a tenth from the laity and a

His heavy
taxation.

fourth from the clergy, should be paid from the next subsidy granted by Parliament.¹ The difficulty found in collecting it rendered a Parliament necessary the following year. Sir Thomas More was elected Speaker. Wolsey demanded in the House no less than a fifth part of every man's goods and lands, setting the value at £800,000. The discussions which followed show at once the great ignorance which existed as to the real condition of England, and the courage which marked even then the behaviour of the Commons with regard to their privileges; while at the same time we see how Government influence was brought to bear, and how little of real independence existed. It was held that there were forty thousand parishes in England, but in reality there were not fifteen thousand. The Cardinal was therefore urged to diminish his demands. He would not yield, and tried to overawe the House with

¹ Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 645.

all his ecclesiastical pomp. "It should not in my mind," said the Speaker, "be amisse to receave him with all his pompe, his maces, his pillers, his poleaxes, his crosse, his belt, and the great seale too."¹ His attempt was unsuccessful. After much argument, Wolsey was surprised at receiving no answer, and was met by the assertion that, according to their ancient liberties, they were not bound to give an answer; and More, on his knees, explained and proved to him that he had better withdraw. An eyewitness says that after this it was debated for sixteen days together. The resistance was so great that the House was like to be dissevered. "Thus hanging this matter, yesterday the more part being the King's servants, gentlemen, were there assembled; and so they being the more part, willed and gave two shillings of the pound of goods and lands. . . . I have heard no man in my life that can remember that ever there was given to any one of the King's ancestors half so much at one grant. . . . I beseech Almighty God it may be well and peaceably levied, and surely paid unto the King's Grace without grudge."² The mention here of the compact body of nominees and place-holders voting according to order goes far to explain the harmony which generally existed during the reign between the Parliament and the King.

Though this tax was collected with great strictness, and fell upon every person taking even weekly wages to the amount of twenty shillings a year, there does not seem to have been any formidable opposition; but such was not the case when, two years afterwards, an attempt was made to raise money without the consent of Parliament. The battle of Pavia had just been fought, and the opportunity seemed open to re-establish the obsolete claims of England upon France. For this purpose large sums were necessary, but both Wolsey and the King after their last experience shrunk from calling a Parliament. An illegal subsidy of a sixth was therefore demanded; but "the people sore grudgeth and murmureth," said the Archbishop of Canterbury, "and speaketh cursedly among themselves, saying they shall never have rest of payments as long as some liveth. . . . They fear not to speak that they be continually beguiled, and no promises kept unto them." The people in Suffolk "began to rage and assemble themselves in companies."³ The Duke of Suffolk was for strong measures; but finding the gentry unwilling to assist him, he had to call in the assistance of Norfolk, who entered into intercourse with the insurgents, whose leader answered him: "Sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty; he and his cousin Necess-

¹ More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, c. xi. pp. 51, 52.

² Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 221.

³ Hall.

sity have brought us to this doing." He then explained how the heavy tax, by depriving the wealthy men of their capital, had really fallen upon the artisans. Their complaints were so reasonable, that the Duke procured a relaxation of the tax. Henry threw the whole blame on Wolsey, and pleaded ignorance of its severity. The money was raised by way of benevolence.

It was natural that such arbitrary dealing as this should render Wolsey very unpopular. His sudden change of policy in 1525, when he seemed to be throwing over the Emperor, and destroying the market for English woollens in Flanders, and to be connecting the country with its natural enemy the French, increased his unpopularity. But not only was he unpopular; there was, as we have seen, a strong lay party in the Council strongly opposed to him. Thus, when the failure of his policy with regard to the divorce drew the King's displeasure upon him, when in fact, for almost the first time in his reign, Henry VIII. began to look seriously at what was going on around him, there was no lack of advisers to point out the shortcomings of the great minister; and when it was determined that he should be removed from his position, something analogous to a great change of ministry at present took place, only that the fall of the defeated minister was greater, the subversion of his policy and plans more complete. In fact, the turning-point of the reign was reached. Henry awoke to the fact that he need no longer trust to the Church for his counsellors, and fell back on the support of the nobility, who had been hitherto almost excluded from power.

Thus when, in 1529, on the 17th of October, Wolsey surrendered the Great Seal, Norfolk rose for a time to the position of Prime Minister, and set on foot what may be considered as a national and English policy. The Parliament was at once called, and attempts were made in it to bring the conduct of Wolsey under the head of high treason. Stripped of all his wealth, dependent for the little that he had on the bounty of Henry, Wolsey found among his servants Thomas Cromwell, who, as a member of the Lower House, was both able and willing to defend him. The charge of treason, resting entirely upon ecclesiastical assumptions, fell to the ground; but the Statute of Præmunire, to which Wolsey had made himself obnoxious by receiving the legatine authority, was allowed to have its course, and all his property was forfeited to the Crown.¹ The efforts of Cromwell were not unrewarded. Henry appreciated his honest ability, and at once took him into his service: and during the seven

¹ Wolsey subsequently withdrew to his Archbishopric, where his liberality and good administration were rendering him popular, when the charge of treason was again suddenly renewed, he was summoned to London, and died on the journey.

years that followed—the most momentous in some respects of English history—whatever office he may happen to have held, he was always the representative of Government in the Lower House of Parliament, the leader and moving spirit of that body which was to establish the ecclesiastical freedom of the country.

Wolsey's efforts at staving off the Reformation had done nothing but render its advance more certain. The deep dissatisfaction with the Church, which had long been smouldering in England, broke forth. Its voice was no longer checked by the royal authority. But the royal authority had of late been the only support on which the Church could rely. In dread of threatened attacks from the nation, it had voluntarily allied itself closely with the Crown. When that support failed it, its power was gone. The King having now objects of his own which rendered him the friend of all who would assault the Church, allowed the national feeling free course. He even put himself at the head of the national party, who desired first the retrenchment of the power of the national Church, and, secondly, the independence of the country in matters ecclesiastical of the supremacy of the Roman See. The problem as yet had assumed but these two sides. A change of doctrine was hardly thought of. As was natural, it was the reform of the national Church, the abuses of which touched more nearly every man's life and home, which first occupied the attention of the Commons. At the very beginning of their session they presented a petition, in which, after complaining of the spread of heresy, they traced it to the errors of the Church, which they proceeded to denounce at length. Their chief complaints were directed against the independent legislation claimed by the Convocation, the number of officers, and the exorbitant fees of the ecclesiastical courts, the refusal of the Sacrament till certain sums had been first paid, the extravagant probate duties, the granting of benefices to children unfit to hold them, illegal imprisonment by bishops, and other irregularities. Upon this petition were based statutes, originating from Sir Thomas More, who had succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor, against excessive probate duties and mortuaries (or fees upon burial), against the clergy following any trade except their own, and to enforce residence and forbid pluralities. There was much opposition in the House of Lords, the Bishops being very loth to consent, but at length, after many discussions between committees of the two Houses, the King intervened, and insisted on the passing of the Bill. After this triumph, which, though it left the great question of the freedom of ecclesiastical jurisdiction unsettled,

Rise of
Cromwell.

The Reformation
in England.

yet struck a heavy blow at the ill-gotten wealth and irregular habits of the clergy, Parliament separated (December 1529).

Meanwhile the question of the divorce had entered a new phase. No longer content with resting his claims on a technical irregularity in Pope Julius's dispensation, Henry now questioned the right of that Pope to give a dispensation at all between such near relatives. It is said to have been Thomas Cranmer who suggested this point, and who thus attracted to himself the attention and favour of the King. The advantage to be gained by this new question was, that it would of necessity, inasmuch as it had reference to his own power, pass out of the Pope's hands into that of a council. Henry was thus appealing to the world against the Pope's hesitation, and this line of conduct was continued,—again it is believed at Cranmer's suggestion,—when it was determined to collect the opinions of all the universities of Europe. This process was carried out with abundance of bribery and intimidation on the side both of the English King and of the Emperor, who was now his open opponent. It resulted in an uncertain decision, about half the universities giving their opinion in Henry's favour. Curiously enough the Lutherans, who might have been expected to support him—recollecting perhaps his early feats of theology,—gave their opinions against him.

Before the Parliament again met, in January 1531, Convocation was informed that, by acknowledging the legatine authority of Wolsey, the whole clergy had laid itself open to the penalties of *Præmunire*, and that consequently all their property was at the King's disposal. From this awkward position they were offered, however, an opportunity of extricating themselves. As, no doubt, Wolsey's tyranny had been unpopular with the clergy, it must have seemed to them very hard that they should be involved in his ruin; and that so sharp a blow could be struck shows the great want of sympathy which existed between the clergy and the laity. So palpable an act of oppression could scarcely have been tolerated had it not been popular. The alternative offered to the clergy was a payment of £118,000,—a vast sum if we remember that we may safely multiply the money of that day by ten to bring it to its present value. Nor was this all. In the preamble of the Bill by which the subsidy was to be granted, they were obliged to give the King the title of Head of the Church; not that Henry had as yet determined to break with Rome, but that, as head of the national party, he was determined that the civil power should be superior to the ecclesiastical.

Question of
the divorce
renewed.

Attack on the
Church in
Convocation.

The Parliament, which had held its second session in the beginning of the year 1531, had done little beyond strengthening the King's hands in his struggle with the clergy. It was prorogued with a speech from Sir Thomas More, declaring the opinions of the universities with regard to Henry's divorce. This ^{and in} Parliament seems to have been the first time that he brought the matter before Parliament, but he now thought it well to set himself right in the eyes of the people, especially as the nation was in great excitement, and the clergy everywhere uttering the strongest denunciations against his conduct. The Nun of Kent, of whom more will be said afterwards, had already begun her prophetic impostures, and the superstitious feelings of the whole people were deeply moved. The separation of the King and Catherine gave a centre round which these vague feelings could collect, and a dangerous discontented party began to be formed. Early the following year (1532) the Parliament, in their third session, continued their war with the clergy. Benefit of clergy had come to be an intolerable nuisance. Any one who could read was held by that talent to have proved his connection with the clergy, and could be withdrawn from the hand of justice, to be treated with ridiculous leniency by the ecclesiastical courts; so that, as the Act to limit it asserts, "continually, manifest thieves and murderers, found guilty by good and substantial inquests, . . . were speedily and hastily delivered and set at large by the ministers of the ordinaries, for corruption and lucre." An Act was passed forbidding any one under the degree of subdeacon to plead the privilege of his clergy if proved guilty of felony. The Court of Arches was also reformed. The Mortmain Act had forbidden corporations to hold property left to them by will. But this prohibition had been constantly evaded; testators had left property to support a priest to pray for their souls in perpetuity. This evasion, by which property had passed, though indirectly, into the hands of the Church, was now checked, and no will of this description was to hold good for more than twenty years, which was supposed to be long enough for the purpose.

While these reforms of the national Church were being carried out, that Church itself set on foot the second stage of reform by an attack upon the power of Rome. However much the clergy may have pillaged the laity, and however much they may have derived assistance in so doing from their connection with Rome, they had themselves, as the natural and submissive subjects of the Pope, been unmercifully pillaged in their turn. They now suggested the abolition of *annates*, the payment, that is,

The Church be-
comes national.

of the first year's income of benefice or see to Rome. This would have cut off a large source of income from the Pope. Less hasty than the clergy, the Commons passed a Bill for the abolition of annates, but only conditionally. It was held *in terrorem* over the Pope. The clergy went a step further. They at length surrendered that independent position for which they had struggled from the time of Anselm, and acknowledged that they could not legislate without the consent of Parliament. Thus, though without any direct assumption of the name, Henry had become Head of the Church. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ecclesiastical legislation were both subordinated to the temporal power, and the Church, although retaining the Catholic doctrine, had become a national or Anglican Church. Unable to see such a change without protesting, Sir Thomas More resigned the chancellorship, and was followed out of office by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who very shortly afterwards died. His office was given to Cranmer.

But although the King had not completed the Annates Act, nor determined to proceed to extremities with Rome, he had been taking steps which rendered the final breach inevitable. On Queen Catherine's withdrawal, and indeed before, he had openly entertained Anne Boleyn in his palace; and now he was determined that she should be accepted into the circle of crowned heads. He wished to show the Pope, too, that his views were shared by the French King, and that he did not stand alone. A pompous meeting was therefore arranged to take place at Calais, to which Henry was to take Anne Boleyn with all the state of a Queen, and where they were to be met and entertained, not by Francis alone, but by his sister, the Queen of Navarre, for the express purpose apparently of showing that the relation between him and Anne Boleyn was recognized. The meeting took place, but without such effects as Henry had desired and

Marriage with
Anne Boleyn.

expected; for Francis was persuaded, after all, to side with the Pope, and Henry found himself unsupported in his quarrel. He resolved, however, that he would no longer be cajoled, and, in January 1533, was secretly married to Anne Boleyn. This act was followed by the publication on the church doors of Flanders of a threat of excommunication from the Pope. In presence of this threat, and having now completed his marriage, the King could do nothing but proceed to the completion of his business. In the next session of Parliament an Act, called the Act of Appeals, was passed, declaring the sufficiency of the English Church to settle its own spiritual questions, and

Separation
from Rome.

forbidding all appeal, in spite of spiritual penalties, to any court higher than the Archbishop's. This was intended chiefly to bar Queen Catherine's appeal from her English judges to the Court of Rome. The King acted upon it at once. Cranmer was authorized to proceed with the divorce. He held a Court at Dunstable, whither the Queen refused to go, denying the jurisdiction of the Court. Therefore the sentence of divorce was passed against her, as being contumacious, and the new Queen was admitted publicly to her royal rights by a splendid ceremony in London. Queen Catherine's conduct was throughout vigorous and noble, mingled with, perhaps, a little too much of passion. To Cranmer and to some counsellors, who were sent to tell her that she must relinquish the title of Queen, she showed herself firm and queen-like, refusing in any way to acknowledge a verdict which would not only rob her of the character of wife, but render her child illegitimate. It was not to be supposed that the Pope and Emperor would accept Cranmer's sentence. The divorce was at once declared illegal. This consistent opposition to the royal will produced fresh measures against the Pope in Parliament (1534). The Annates Bill was declared completed. All other forms of tribute to Rome were abolished; the election of Bishops was arranged without the interference of the Pope; and, finally, if he did not consent to the King's wishes within three months, the whole of his authority was transferred to the Crown.

But Cromwell, who was the leading spirit in all those measures, and who was hurrying both King and Parliament faster probably than they knew or wished, had not produced these sweeping changes without causing much dissatisfaction. Queen Catherine had become a centre round which all reactionary elements gathered, and these elements were very powerful. There was still Catholic and dynastic opposition. a strong party connected with the royal House of York, consisting of Nevilles, Courtenays, and the descendants of the Duke of Clarence, who were not without hopes of undermining the vigorous usurper; while in all directions the Church was willing, by fair means and foul, to excite and forward any plans which should check the career of its heretical conqueror. The dangerous uneasiness which pervaded England was disclosed to Cromwell by means of innumerable spies, with whom he had flooded the country; and suspicions of even more than general uneasiness were excited, and began to point towards the Nun of Kent as the centre of a reactionary movement. This woman had been a

The Nun
of Kent.

servant in the family of a Kentish clergyman, in the neighbourhood of Addington. She had been subject to epileptic fits; and having been well taught in the rudiments of religion, during her paroxysms gave utterance to many moral observations. Such utterances could not come from the Devil; her fits must be connected with Divine agency. She was admitted to her master's table. Other churchmen were called to examine and approve of the miracle. They proceeded to turn it to their own advantage. Her natural fits ceased, but she was able to counterfeit them, and, carefully instructed beforehand by her spiritual guides, issued her prophecies during her hours of sham inspiration. These prophecies were collected in a book. Her fame was spread in all directions. As her words were all directed towards supporting the old Church, they were readily received by its well-wishers, and many names of great weight were numbered among her believers. She corresponded with Catherine and with the Emperor, and became, in fact, a dangerous power in England. It was thought necessary to apprehend her. She had prophesied the death of the King, and had declared him to be in the condition of rejected Saul. It was so plain that, although there was no overt act of treason, the tendency of all this was treasonable, and if treasonable, the ramifications of the treason were so wide, that Cromwell and the Council were thoroughly alarmed. The Nun and her accomplices were executed; the Nevilles and the Countess of Salisbury were examined, but though they appeared to be slightly implicated with the Nun, they were left uninjured for the present. Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who were known to be friends of the old state of affairs, were also declared guilty of the misprision of treason. More, upon apologizing, was pardoned, but Fisher, obstinately refusing to do so, was attainted and imprisoned.

The fear which these disclosures had excited, and the hopes evidently existing in the Yorkist party, rendered the security of the succession of paramount importance; and as Anne Boleyn had lately given birth to a daughter (afterwards Queen Elizabeth), it was determined that the succession should be established by Parliament. An Act was therefore introduced (called the Succession Act), which declared the marriage with Catherine absolutely invalid, and the second marriage "true, sincere and perfect," and settled the succession upon the fruit of the second marriage. Whoever did anything to the prejudice of the Queen's marriage should be held guilty of high treason; whoever spoke against it of misprision of treason. The Act, once passed, became an instru-

The Act of
Succession.

ment for testing the loyalty of the nation. Commissioners were authorized to administer, at the pleasure of the King, an oath to accept and support the new statute,—a step rendered the more necessary as the Pope had at length given sentence in favour of Catherine, and in consequence Henry had been excommunicated, and the execution of the excommunication had been placed in the hand of the Emperor. The peril of the King would be great if this foreign assault was supported by domestic treason. Among others More and Fisher were called upon to accept the oath. The statute they could accept; they were willing to promise to be true to the children of Anne Boleyn, but to the preamble declaring the nullity of the first marriage, and consequently denying the Papal authority, they had conscientious objections. Cranmer pleaded that they should be allowed to swear to the statute only, but Henry and Cromwell were inexorable, and they were sent to the Tower (April 15, 1534).

Imprisonment
of More and
Fisher.

Immediately after this the conditional abolition of the Papal authority was made absolute, and the King assumed the title of Head of the Church. It was not, however, enough merely to assume this title. Danger from the reactionists at home and abroad was becoming so pressing that some means of repression was necessary. The Act of Supremacy was therefore passed, which conferred upon the King the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, coupled with another which rendered it high treason to question that title. This tyrannical Bill was worked in a tyrannical manner. No overt act was necessary; the refusal to answer questions when officially examined was held to be sufficient. The state of affairs was no doubt revolutionary; the Government was trying to carry out its reforms in the teeth of an unwilling nation, and there was danger of its whole work being undone; the House of Commons consisted too, no doubt, largely of place-men and followers of the Court; still, bearing all this in mind, it is difficult to understand how any Parliament could be brought to sanction so inquisitorial an Act. Its fruits were speedily apparent. The Monks of the Charterhouse, led by their prior, Houghton, when asked by their penitents in confession, declared their continued adherence to the Papal supremacy. They were selected as an example. The prior and many others of the monks were examined before the Council, charged upon the evidence there collected before an ordinary jury, and, as was the invariable consequence in this reign, convicted. Their society was entirely taken up, the greater part of its members

Act of
Supremacy.

Consequent
persecutions.

perishing either on the scaffold or in prison. The next victims were still more important. Fisher and More had been in prison since they declined to swear to the Act of Succession. They were now required to accept the still more stringent Supremacy Act. The new Pope, Paul III., had sent Fisher in his prison the Cardinal's hat. This aroused the King's anger more particularly against him. He was at once brought to trial, and, declining to submit, was condemned and executed. Sir Thomas More's trial and execution followed immediately after. He was charged principally upon letters written to Fisher, and upon some conversations in which Rich, the Solicitor-General, had meanly engaged him. He refused in any way to move from his position; displayed during his trial much calmness and humour. When told, as a special instance of the King's mercy, that the coarser part of punishment for treason would be omitted: "God forbid," he answered, "that the King should show any more such mercy to any of my friends, and God bless all my posterity from such pardons." The short remainder of his life was marked by a pathetic meeting with his daughter, Margaret Roper, as he returned from his trial, and enlivened by a mixture of grave resignation and quiet humour almost as pathetic. In obedience to the King's commands, he abstained from speaking much on the scaffold. But even at the last moment, as he passed through the crowd, with his long beard, his lean, pale face, and carrying in his hand a red cross, he could not keep himself from his jest. "See me safe up," he said to the Governor of the Tower, as the scaffold ladder tottered, "in my coming down I can shift for myself." And even as his head was on the block, he moved aside his beard, muttering, "Pity that should be cut; that has not committed treason."

The Bull of
deposition.
1536.

The death of a man so high in rank, and so well known for his learning, excited the anger of all Europe. Even Francis of France wrote a remonstrance to Henry. By the Pope the execution was answered by the publication of a Bull of deposition, bringing to its full completion the separation which had been working itself out for the last seven years.

The last session of the seven years' Parliament had now arrived, and Cromwell, who had been its moving spirit, and had reached the position of the King's Vicegerent in all ecclesiastical matters, passed on to the completion of his work. He determined to strike a blow at what was at once the weakest and most dangerous part of the organization of the Church. While the monasteries were only too open to attack on the score of morality, they supplied most of those preachers and con-

fessors whose denunciations in the confessional excited and kept alive opposition to the new measures. In 1535, a com-
mission had been issued to visit the lesser monasteries.
There can be no doubt that the three Doctors, Legh, Le ton and Aprice, carried out their duties very effectively, very coarsely, and probably with a considerable amount of prejudice. It is, however, equally certain that there was an immense quantity of wickedness and immorality prevalent in the lesser monastic establishments which were free from the influence of public opinion. In the preceding reign visitations had been more than once attempted, and Walsey had risked the consequences of Præmunire chiefly for the purpose of being in a position to reform the monasteries effectively. The authority placed in the hands of the commissioners on the present occasion was almost boundless. They discharged from their vows all the young monks and nuns, and, after making searching inquiries into the condition of the community, laid down a few simple strict reforms which were to be maintained; as, for instance, that the common table should be kept up; that the inmates should be instructed in the rule under which they were living; that valiant beggars should not be supported, and so on. In 1536, their report was ready. It was destroyed in the reign of Queen Mary, so that its exact particulars are not known; but it declared the existence of such wickedness in two-thirds of the monasteries and abbeys in England, that, after some debate, it seemed hopeless that a sufficient reform should be introduced, and the Act for the dissolution of the smaller houses was passed. The property of all monasteries having incomes of less than £200 a year passed to the Crown. The monks were either pensioned off or distributed among the greater monasteries.

Having performed this work, the Parliament was dissolved. In its seven years of activity it had worked out a complete revolution. The whole position of the Church with regard to the laity was changed. Neither in its capacity of national Church, nor as a branch of the great Roman organization, could it longer tyrannize over men's minds and bodies. The Parliament had begun by laying hands on the unjustifiable extortions of the national Church. It had subordinated it to the royal authority, and, carried onward by the King's quarrel with the Roman See, it had withdrawn England from what was in fact a foreign thralldom, and had consummated its work by the destruction of that idle and debauched population which, by means of preaching and the confessional, had become, to

the disgust of all right thinking men, the chief spiritual guides of the nation. The power which had been withdrawn from the Church was now centred in the Crown. The absolute position of the monarch was thus completed. The work begun by Edward IV. and carried on by Henry VII. was brought to consummation. The unity of the nation was perfected, and in both temporal and ecclesiastical matters its authority was vested in the Crown. Although Henry had not intended any doctrinal changes, and though none had as yet been authoritatively made, the spirit of the Reformation, by the very necessity of the position of the kingdom, had begun to act in England. Engaged in a similar work, though in a different direction, Henry had been driven more or less into intercourse with the Protestant Princes of Germany; and many of the more learned men of the time, numbering among them a considerable portion of the new Bishops, were strongly tinctured with German learning and with German Protestantism. Though the Reformation in England had been legal and political, while that of Germany was popular and conscientious, both had been compelled to find their standing ground in the authority of the Bible, as contrasted with the authority of the Pope. The approximation between the two was intended to be forwarded by a convocation held in 1536, in which, with the approbation of the King, ten articles were accepted, some of which were drawn directly from the Augsburg Confession,¹ and which declared that the Bible and the three Creeds were the sole authority in matters of faith, and that three Sacraments only were necessary. At the same time the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments were ordered to be learnt in English.

It was not long before another Parliament was called, whose sad duty it was to ratify the judgment which had been passed upon that Queen whose interest had been so indissolubly connected with the growth of the Reformation in the preceding Parliament. Queen Catherine died on the 29th of January, and Anne Boleyn's triumph appeared complete. In the following month Queen Anne was disappointed in her expectations of a son. This may well have increased a coolness which seems to have been growing up between her and her husband for nearly a year. However this may be, in April a Committee of the Privy Council was examining carefully, but with perfect secrecy, some stories which seemed to implicate the Queen; and before the close of the month, Brereton, a gentleman of the household, and Mark Smeton, a musician, had been apprehended. The public explosion of the

New Parliament.
1536.

¹ The profession of faith of the Protestant Lutheran Church, presented to Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg, June 1530.

storm took place at Greenwich on the 1st of May, where the Court was holding its customary holiday. Lord Rochford, the Queen's brother, and Sir Henry Norris, who were both afterwards executed, were among the tilers. The King rose suddenly and broke up the sports. There is a popular story, which relates that Anne dropped a handkerchief which was caught by Norris, an action which roused the King's anger.

Trial and execution of Anne Boleyn.

However this may be, the King took Norris with him to London, and on the following day the Queen was apprehended, as was also Sir Francis Weston. On examination, Smeton confessed to adultery, Norris was inveigled into a confession which he afterwards withdrew. Meanwhile, the Queen was taken to her own lodgings in the Tower, where she consistently maintained her innocence, although much distressed and indeed hysterical. Lady Boleyn, her aunt, whom she disliked, and a Mistress Cousins were put in the room with her, and reported every word she said. If their reports were true, she confessed in conversation to certain flirtations with all of the accused gentlemen, with the exception of her brother, but probably to such flirtations only as might be expected from a lively young woman of French education at a not over-refined court. From her prison the Queen wrote a most touching letter to the King, declaring her perfect loyalty, but at the same time she says, "I never at any time so far forgot myself in my exaltation or received queenship but that I always looked for an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to withdraw that fancy to another object."¹ She also demanded a fair trial, pointing out that, if condemned, Henry would be free to follow "his affection already settled on that party for whose sake she was now as she was, whose name," she continues, "I could somewhere since have pointed unto, your Grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein." A trial was granted her in the completest form, but held within the Tower. The commoners were tried by a commission, among whom were Norfolk, Suffolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, the Queen's father, Cromwell, and all the judges. Grand juries, consisting apparently of respectable men, found true bills both at Westminster and at Deptford. The indictment, for there was much more than hearsay evidence, accurately laid down the dates and circumstances of the crimes. Of course the commoners were found guilty. Indeed, the trial by the petty jury was in this reign little more than a

¹ The authenticity of this letter is not quite certain.

form. The Queen and Lord Rochfort were tried by twenty-six Peers, presided over by the Duke of Norfolk. They were both found guilty. The Queen was sentenced to be beheaded or burnt at the King's pleasure. Before she was executed, she had to undergo a final trial before Cranmer, and was by him declared divorced, apparently on the ground of a pre-contract which she is said to have mentioned to Cranmer in confession. The Earl of Northumberland, who is usually said to be the person with whom she was contracted, absolutely denied it. As her execution for high treason depended for its legality on her being the King's wife, and if she were not so became a mere act of revenge, it is probable that she made the confession hoping to avoid death. The history altogether is a difficult one, for it is hard to conceive that any counsellors, some of whom were of the highest position and renown, could have stooped so low as to forge the whole story. If this supposition can be held, the blame must probably fall on the King and on Cromwell, whose character in all parts of his life seems to have been that of an extremely faithful and extremely unscrupulous servant. Granted the creation of the story, the constant subserviency of Council, courtiers, and jurymen in this reign would explain its further progress.

Anne might well write that she could perhaps point unto a new object of the King's love. She died on the 19th of May, on the 20th the King married Jane Seymour, and the Parliament which met on the 8th of June—apparently for the express purpose of making a new law of succession—proceeded to do its work. "The King was conscious," said Audley, the Chancellor, "that he was obnoxious to infirmities, and even death itself," and that therefore it was desirable to arrange the succession. The offspring of Catherine had been already declared illegitimate; those of Queen Anne were henceforward to be so too. It was therefore enacted that an oath should be taken to uphold in the succession the offspring of the King's present marriage; to assert the lawfulness of the former marriages was high treason. At the same time, considering the uncertainty of issue, the King was allowed to name his successor by will—another of those extraordinary acts of servility to the Crown which makes this reign so remarkable. The immediate object was to enable the King to nominate his illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond; a youth, as we may gather from Surrey's poems,¹ of great

¹ "Prisoned in Windsor, he recounteth his pleasure there passed."—*Earl of Surrey's Poems*, p. 17

promise, and of whom the King was exceedingly fond. He, however, died almost immediately.

This bill completed the triumph of Henry's policy in England itself. He was now unquestioned head of Church and State. He was largely enriched by the property of the suppressed ^{Henry's dangerous position.} monasteries; allowed to name his successor, he was sure of being able to perpetuate in some way or other his dynasty; and he had gathered round him a circle of new men of undoubted ability, bound to himself by all ties of interest as well as gratitude. But this hour of triumph was in fact the hour of danger. The stirring events which had taken place in England had had their effect throughout Europe. With Francis I. Henry had continued to keep up as firm a connection as was possible with a king whose policy was so unfixed and selfish. But there was hanging over England the standing threat of an invasion by the Emperor, who, naturally attached to the interests of his aunt, Queen Catherine, had now become the champion of Christendom against the advancing Turks, and would have been glad to have united Europe in an assault upon heresy. Any attack from this quarter would have been ten times more dangerous if seconded by domestic insurrection, and in the winter of 1535-6 the peril of Henry's position was considerable. But the dissatisfaction which was widely spread in England, and the hopes of any descendants of the House of York, who after the late Act must have felt themselves excluded from all chance of regular succession, displayed themselves, fortunately for Henry, in disjointed outbreaks, which he could successfully combat.

The first which he had to meet was in Ireland, where Richard, Duke of York, had left behind him a most favourable impression, and where both the pretended Princes of his house had ^{Insurrection in Ireland.} in the last reign met with support. The condition of the country was then, as has so frequently been the case, a disgrace to the English Government. The children of the Norman conquerors had by a most unusual degeneration assimilated themselves to the conquered people. The English Pale, as that part was called where the King's writ ran, and which had originally been fenced off, as it were, by a string of strongholds, instead of including, as was once the case, a strip of some fifty or sixty miles in breadth from Dundalk to Waterford, was reduced to a tract about twenty miles wide, terminating on the coast just below the Wicklow mountains. Beyond these narrow limits, in spite of the frequently repeated efforts of the English Government, the Norman-English settlers had rapidly degenerated,

had assumed the dress and wild disorderly manners of the native Irish, and were governed by the unwritten Irish laws known as the Brehon Laws. These, like other semi-barbarous laws, among other things allowed the commutation of murder for money payments. Naturally, districts where they prevailed were in a most disorderly condition. The most important of the great Norman nobles, who ruled beyond the Pale over great clans of degenerate Englishry, were the two great branches of the Fitzgeralds, headed by the Earl of Desmond in the South, and the Earl of Kildare nearer the English Pale; the De Burghs, who had even given up their noble Norman name, and now called themselves Burkes, in Galway and the West; and the Butlers, headed by Ormond, in the neighbourhood of Tipperary and Carlow. The native Irish, who after the Conquest had been driven to the hills, had during the Wars of the Roses found means again to push themselves forward, and O'Neills, O'Connors, O'Donnells, and O'Briens were pressing close up to the limits of the Pale. The whole of the English-Irish and Irish part of the country was a scene of the wildest anarchy. "There be sixty counties inhabited by the King's Irish enemies, where reigneth more than sixty chief captains, whereof some calleth themselves kings, some kings' peers in their language, some princes, some dukes, that liveth only by the sword, and obeyeth to no temporal person save only to himself that is strong. . . . Also, in every of the said regions there be divers petty captains, and every one of them maketh war and peace for himself without license of his chief captain, . . . and there be thirty of the English noble folk that followeth the same order, and keepeth the same rule."¹

It is plain that to keep such a nation in order a very strong hand and an efficient standing army would be necessary, and it was a constant question with the English Government whether money enough could be spared for the purpose. Now and then, when things got very bad indeed, an efficient deputy was sent over, but usually a plan preferred was to attempt to govern this mass of disorder by the influence of some great Irish chief, who might be presumed to forget his disloyalty when acting as the King's viceroy. The office of Deputy had become almost hereditary in the hands of the Earls of Kildare. They were indeed almost the only chiefs in a position to occupy the office. Their rivals, the Butlers, might have been expected to have had the better claim, as they were the consistent friends of the English, and had constantly tried to check the advancing tide of barbarism, but the districts occupied by their clan were cut off

¹ Report of 1515, quoted in Froude.

from Dublin by the territory of their enemy, the Fitzgeralds, and the Earls of Kildare contrived to make their tenure of the viceroyalty impossible by immediately organizing a revolt on their appointment. This policy they carried out indeed whenever anybody but themselves received the office. This audacity gained its object. Though they joined both the great Yorkist insurrections in the preceding reign,—though they were more than once summoned to England for their conduct, they invariably returned with renewed power and increased influence.

In 1520 the confusion had been at its height. Lord Surrey was sent over, and Kildare summoned to England. Surrey, hampered by temporizing policy, was ordered to try and bring the people to reason. But as usual his presence was a signal for universal outbreak. He urged the King to stricter measures, stating that with an army of 6000 men he could complete the work of conquest, but that that must be backed up by a large immigration of English colonists; if this was not allowed him, he begged to be recalled. He was recalled, and before three years were over, after an interlude of insurrection because Ormond was made Deputy, Kildare was reinstated in all his old offices. The wars in which England was engaged, at first with France and afterwards with the Empire, afforded opportunities for fresh treasons. His relative of the other branch, the Earl of Desmond, intrigued both with Francis and with Charles, and Kildare used his power to remove all the military stores and artillery from Dublin Castle to his own castle at Maynooth. Again was Kildare summoned to London. Again there was a fierce insurrection; Sir William Skeffington acted as adviser to the young Duke of Richmond, who was sent over as Viceroy, but he had been directed to act only on the approbation of the Earl of Kildare, who was thus again restored to power. There were left, however, Archbishop Allen, and another Allen, Master of the Rolls, clear-sighted statesmen, who were attached to the English interest.

The completion of the divorce had, as has been already mentioned, placed in the hands of Charles V. the duty of carrying out the Papal excommunication. An invasion of England had become by no means improbable. Again did the Fitzgeralds open an intrigue with him. The danger was too great to be overlooked. Kildare was summoned again to London, had the audacity to go, and was at once thrown into the Tower; but he still found means to instruct his son, Lord Thomas, whom he had left as Deputy, to carry out his old tactics. He rode in arms to the Council, renounced his allegiance, and called upon the country to rise. Dublin Castle was besieged by his followers, and Archbishop Allen murdered in his presence, as he sought to cross to England.

Skeffington was intrusted with the duty of re-establishing the King's authority. But he was old and slow; and had it not been for Ormond the English dominion would have been lost. Ormond held the Fitzgeralds in check till, in October, Skeffington reached Dublin. But his conduct even then was slow and dilatory. No great blow was struck. His army began to lose discipline, and it almost seemed as if the old weak system was to be pursued. At length, however, the Deputy was stirred to action, and in the beginning of 1535 Maynooth Castle was taken. Of thirty-seven prisoners, twenty-six were at once hanged. The effect of this vigorous action, which was called the "Pardon of Maynooth," was instantaneous. The rebellion was in fact at an end. But Lord Thomas Fitzgerald still refused to surrender, and held out in O'Connor's castle, in King's County. Lord Leonard Grey, who had come to take the command of the army, contrived an interview with him, and he surrendered. It is not clear how far he was allured by promises. At all events he surrendered, and was treated as though he had given himself up unconditionally. He was kept some short time in prison, and in the following year (1536) was hanged with five of his uncles at Tyburn.

With the death of Catherine some of the dangers which threatened England disappeared. It was no longer impossible that insurrection in the North. Charles should be reconciled to his uncle. As the year therefore passed, the chances of an insurrection in England became less, and the real opportunity for successful action on the part of the reactionary party was gone. But, perhaps because they felt that time was thus passing away, or because accidental circumstances led the way to an outbreak, the discontented party, before the year was out, were in arms throughout the whole North of England. Nor did this party consist of one class alone. For one reason or another, nearly every nobleman of distinction, and nearly every Northern peasant, alike joined in the movement. The causes which touched the interests of so many different classes were of course various. There was indeed one tie which united them all. All, gentle and simple, were alike deeply attached to the Roman Church, and saw with detestation the beginning of the Reformation in the late Ten Articles, and the havoc which Cromwell and his agents were making among the monasteries. In fact, the coarseness with which the reforms were carried out were very revolting. Stories were current of how the visitors' followers had ridden from abbey to abbey clad in the sacred vestments of the priesthood, how the church plate had been hammered into dagger hilts. The Church had been always more powerful in the North, and the dislike to the reforms was

proportionately violent. But, apart from this general conservative feeling, each class had a special grievance of its own. The clergy, it is needless to mention—they were exasperated to the last degree.

The nobles—always a wilder and more independent race than those of the South—saw with disgust the upstart Crom- Discontent of the nobles. well the chief adviser of the Crown. They had borne the tyranny of Wolsey, but in Wolsey they could at least reverence the Prince of the Church. They had even triumphed over Wolsey, and had probably believed that the older nobility would have regained some of their ancient influence. They had been disappointed. Cromwell, a man of absolutely unknown origin, and with something at least of the downright roughness of a self-made man, was carrying all before him. The gentry, besides that they were largely connected with the superior clergy, and suffered with their suffering, were at the present smarting under a change in the law, which deprived them of the power of providing for their younger children. By the common law it was not allowed to leave landed property otherwise than to the eldest son or representative. To evade this it had been customary to employ what are called *uses*:—that is, property was left to the eldest son, saddled with the duty of paying a portion, or sometimes the whole, of the rent to the *use* of the younger son. A long continuance of this practice had produced inextricable confusion. There were frequently *uses* on *uses*, till at length it was often difficult to say to whom the property really belonged. This difficulty had been met by the "Statute of Uses" in the preceding year, by which the holder of the *use* was declared to be the owner of the property, and for his benefit a Parliamentary title was created. At the same time, to prevent a repetition of the difficulty, *uses* were forbidden. Till, therefore, the law was altered a few years afterwards, the old common law held good, and, *uses* being impossible, gentry with much land and little money were deprived of all power of helping their younger children.

The lower orders were suffering principally from a change in the condition of agriculture in England, for which the Government could not be held responsible. There was a strong tendency Discontent of the poor. to convert arable land into pasture. Complaints on this head are constant. Mercantile men also had begun to find that possession of land gave them influence irrespective of birth. Bringing the mercantile spirit with them to the country, they had worked their properties to the best advantage, regardless of the feelings of their tenants and labourers. The consequence was, that where in the old days there had been thriving villages, there were now in many

instances barren sheep-walks, supporting only two or three men. The rest of the old inhabitants, uprooted from their connection with the soil, thronged the towns, or of necessity became dependent upon charity. They were suffering very deeply, and as usual attributed their sufferings to their governors.

The insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire, at Louth. Thither Heneage, one of the clerical commissioners, and the Bishop of Lincoln's chancellor were going on their business on the 1st of October. It was rumoured that they intended to rob the treasury of the church. A crowd collected under the leading of a man who called himself Captain Cobler. The church was locked and guarded, the great cross fetched out by way of standard, and the whole township marched to raise the neighbouring towns and villages. The insurrection in Lincoln was essentially a popular one. It was on compulsion that the gentry joined it. There was a strong party for murdering them. They were in fact besieged by the populace in the Close at Lincoln, and quickly threw their weight upon the side of the Government. At Lincoln, during this quarrel between gentry and people, was a young lawyer, Robert Aske, who had been stopped by the insurgents, as he said, returning to his work in London. However this may be, he at once imbibed the spirit of the insurrection, and hurried off into Yorkshire, where he had interest, and where a rebellion of quite a different sort from that in Lincoln was quickly organized. The Lincolnshire rebels never came to open fighting. They sent a petition to the King from Horncastle, begging that religious houses should be restored, the late subsidy remitted, the "Statute of Uses" be repealed, the villein blood removed from the Privy Council, and the heretic bishops deprived.

The arrival of troops under Sir John Russell and the Duke of Suffolk was sufficient to cool the rebel ardour, and though they watched his progress sulkily, they did not absolutely oppose him. The ringleaders were given up and the insurrection dissolved. Suffolk had brought with him the King's very firm answer to their petition: "How presumptuous," he says, "are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm and of least experience, to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's law, to rule your Prince, whom ye are bound to obey and serve." He refused every request.

It was the duty of the great nobles in each county, under such circumstances, to call out the military force of the county to repress the insurrection. Lord Hussey, in Lincolnshire, had timorously

held aloof and left the country. Lord Shrewsbury had gallantly taken his position at Nottingham. In Yorkshire this duty would have devolved on Lord Darcy of Templehurst, an old and tried soldier of both the late and the present King. His sympathies were, however, wholly with the movement, and, though Henry wrote to him to urge him to instant action, he threw himself with only twelve followers into Pontefract Castle, and there awaited the arrival of the rebels. These had rendezvoused on Weighton Common, and having elected Aske general, and having despatched a force to Hull, moved towards York. On the way they were joined by the Percies, with the exception of the Earl of Northumberland himself. York surrendered to them. They then advanced to Pontefract, which was unable to hold out against them, and Lord Darcy and the Archbishop of York speedily took the oath which was exacted of all whom the rebels met in their march. Lord Darcy henceforward became the leader of the movement, second only to Aske. Of opposition in the North there was scarcely any. Hull was taken, and the army of insurgents, kept under rigid discipline, moved onwards till they reached the river Don. Their army consisted of 30,000 men, "as tall men, well-horsed and well-appointed, as any men could be;" and they had with them all the nobility and gentry of the North. At Doncaster they found themselves face to face with Shrewsbury and Norfolk, well chosen agents for the purpose the Government had in view; for the rebels, claiming to uphold the rights of the old nobility and the old Church, here found themselves opposed by two nobles of the oldest blood and the strongest Catholic convictions in England. The rebels determined to treat, principally on the recommendation of Aske, who seems to have been really patriotic, and to have wished to avoid civil war. It was agreed that a conference should be held upon the bridge of Doncaster, and there a petition was intrusted to Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Elleskar to carry to the King, Norfolk agreeing to accompany them. Meanwhile, the rebel forces were disbanded. The King contrived to win over these emissaries to his party, but Aske continued his organizations; and when no satisfactory answer had been given by the close of November, he recalled his army to his standards, and again advanced to the Don. At Norfolk's earnest intercession the King at last agreed, against his own judgment, to grant a general pardon, and to call a Parliament, to be held almost immediately, at York. A conference between Norfolk and Aske was held at Doncaster, and Aske on his knees accepted the conditions, and threw aside the badge of the five

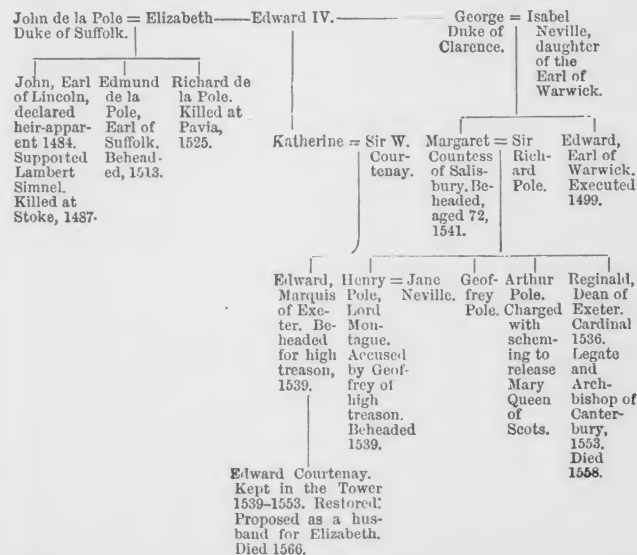
wounds of Christ which had been assumed by the rebels. It seems certain that the rebels at the time believed that the whole of their petitions had been granted. It is possible that Norfolk, who had much sympathy with them, held out larger promises than Henry intended. The King's views at all events were not what the rebels supposed. He at once proceeded to organize the North, to establish fortified posts, and secure the ordnance stores. Norfolk was sent to Pontefract to make preparations for the coming Parliament. All this looked very unlike a favourable answer to the insurgents' petition. Still more were they disappointed when they found that, instead of a general amnesty, each individual had to petition for his own pardon, and received it only in exchange for the oath of allegiance. There was much natural disappointment and smouldering discontent. A man of little influence, called Sir Francis Bigod, contrived a disorderly rising in opposition to the old chiefs. This afforded opportunity for Norfolk to establish martial law, and seventy-four persons were hanged. Perhaps some new treasonable correspondence was discovered, and perhaps the opportunity for vengeance had now arrived, but without any very clear renewal of their offences, the three leaders of the old insurrection—Aske, Darcy, and Constable—were arrested (March). Discontented words could no doubt be proved against them, and on this the charges against them were chiefly based. They were all condemned and executed, as were also many others of the prominent gentry of the North. Nineteen of the Lincolnshire rebels were executed (July 1537). Of the three leaders, by far the most interesting is Aske. His popularity and influence were enormous, his power of organization seems to have been great, and there is visible in his whole career a genuine desire for the objects of the insurrection, apart from his own aggrandizement, which, coupled with his marked moderation and uprightness, renders him a very remarkable character.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, as the Northern insurrection was called, and its consequences, had not been over for three months when the event occurred which was to complete the edifice of Henry's success, to set at rest the vexed question of the succession, and enable his projects to be perpetuated. On October 12th, the Queen Jane gave birth to a son; but with this piece of good fortune was linked a great grief. Ten days after the birth of the prince, the Queen died. She had not been dead a day before the Privy Council begged the King to proceed to a new marriage, a request to which he yielded. "His tender zeal," says Cromwell, "to his subjects hath already overcome his Grace's disposition."

Birth of
Edward VI.

The birth of an heir, by apparently excluding all hopes of a natural succession to the throne on the part of any remnants of the family of York, seems to have excited them to more immediate action. There was a large family connection in the West of England, at the head of which was the Marquis of Exeter, the head of the Courtenays, and the grandson of Edward IV.

Lady Salisbury, the daughter of the Duke of Clarence, and mother of Lord Montague and of Reginald Pole, who was constantly intriguing on the Continent in Papal interests, was closely allied to the Marquis; while, on the other hand, she was closely connected with the Nevilles, the family of the great Earl of Warwick. Exeter, though he had joined in the suppression of the Northern insurrection, was a bitter enemy of Cromwell's, and that minister, when he found some traces of intercourse between the Marquis and Reginald Pole, was not slack in pursuing the clue. It seems that in Cornwall, at St. Kevern's, a banner had been ordered bearing the suspicious emblem of the wounds of Christ. The name



of the Marquis was connected with this affair. It seemed to be intended to declare Exeter heir-apparent to the throne. There was another brother of the Pole family called Sir Geoffrey. Frightened at the turn affairs were taking, and implicated himself in whatever conspiracy there was, he denounced his brother and friends. On his witness, the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Montague, Sir Edward Neville, and Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, were apprehended, and, after examination by the Council, executed for treason. In every instance the charge was based solely upon language used. Anything more different from the usual requirements for a charge of treason can hardly be conceived. Lady Salisbury was for the present spared. This closed the treasonable efforts of this reign. The King, aided by the secret system of Cromwell, had proved too much for all conspirators, and there remained scarcely any one of sufficient importance to threaten the succession of his son.

Almost contemporaneously with the Ten Articles, which animosity to the Papacy and political necessity had induced Henry to publish in 1536, each church had been supplied with a copy of the English Bible, a step indeed almost necessary when the Bible was regarded as the rule of faith. Up to this time the publication of English Bibles had been carefully forbidden. In 1526 Tyndale had completed the translation of the New Testament, which had been rapidly distributed in England among that class of which the Reformation had begun to take hold. Since that time the whole Bible had been translated and published. The Bishops were much set against it, but the King told them they had better make a more perfect translation themselves. In vain did Cranmer try to get this plan carried out, he ultimately had to employ Miles Coverdale to correct and arrange Tyndale's work, and a translation was published by authority. It was this edition which was ordered to be used in churches. Tyndale, whose work was the basis of our present magnificent translation, fell a victim to his religion, and was burnt at Augsburg, at the demand of the English Government.

The dissolution of the greater abbeys and monasteries had at length followed that of the lesser. Although confessedly not in the immoral condition of the smaller suppressed monasteries, there could not but be, inasmuch as they were strongholds of the old religion, much irritation amongst their inmates; while it was thus desirable that they should be destroyed, they were not open to the same violent attacks as the lesser monasteries had been. But it was found possible

Reformation
continued.

Its very
moderate
character.

Dissolution of
the greater
monasteries.

to put such pressure upon them as to produce voluntary surrenders, which increased extraordinarily in number now that the insurrections had failed, and the Government found itself stronger. In 1536-37 there were but 3 such surrenders; in the following year 24; in the next 174; in the next 76. The great popular relics and shrines were also destroyed. It was the usual habit to give to each abbot and monk of a surrendered house a certain income. These, however, were very far from absorbing the whole income of the abbey. The residue passed into the hands of the Crown. The work was completed in the Parliament of 1539, by an Act confirming the surrenders up to that time, and allowing the King to extend the Act to all monasteries yet remaining. Large property thus passed into the hands of the King, who issued a noble project for the employment of it for great ecclesiastical and educational objects. No less than twenty-one new bishoprics were to be founded, with cathedrals and chapters. They dwindled practically, however, to six, and the wealth was employed in the King's wars, and in his extravagant household, and the lands given or sold at low rates to the new rising nobility.

Though Cromwell and Cranmer had been thus far successful, they were now to meet with a severe check. The chief life and vigour of the Reformation resided undoubtedly in the poorer educated classes. It was among them that the Bible had met with its ready sale, and it was the exception for men of the wealthier classes to be otherwise than complacent in their religion. It was not therefore to be expected that the growth of the new religion should be free from eccentricities and coarseness. The disclosure of priestly deceptions, and the claim to a perpetual miraculous power in the Church, might easily excite derision, which would again easily sink to ribaldry. There were indeed frequent exhibitions of such a temper. The Sacrament was laughed at, and scurrilous jests made upon it and upon other parts of the old organization. This disorder was very repugnant to the King's disposition. Indeed, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, he had allowed the Reformers to go further than he really approved. The separation from the Church of Rome, the absorption by the Crown of the powers of the Papacy, the unity of authority over both Church and State centred in himself, had been his objects. In doctrinal matters he clung to the Church of which he had once been the champion. He had gained his objects because he had the feeling of the nation with him. In his eagerness he had even countenanced some steps of doctrinal reform. But circumstances had changed; he was, in the first place, no longer in danger from Charles;

The Reforma-
tion checked.

and secondly, the national feeling was no longer unanimous; thus much he had learnt from the Pilgrimage of Grace, and to that portion of the nation which desired no change belonged almost all the nobility. Without detriment to his position he could follow his natural inclinations. He listened therefore to the advice of the reactionary party, of which Norfolk was the head. They were full of bitterness against the upstart Cromwell, and longed to overthrow him as they had overthrown Wolsey. The first step in their triumph was the Bill of the Six Articles, carried in the Parliament of 1539. These laid down

and fenced round with extraordinary severity the chief points of the Catholic religion at that time questioned by the Protestants. The Bill enacted, *first*, "that the natural body and blood of Jesus Christ were present in the Blessed Sacrament," and that "after consecration there remained no substance of bread and wine, nor any other but the substance of Christ;" whoever, by word or writing, denied this Article was a heretic, and to be burned. *Secondly*, the Communion in both kinds was not necessary, both body and blood being present in each element; *thirdly*, priests might not marry; *fourthly*, vows of chastity by man or woman ought to be observed; *fifthly*, private masses ought to be continued; *sixthly*, auricular confession must be retained. Whoever wrote or spoke against these five Articles, on the first offence his property was forfeited; on the second offence he was a felon, and was to be put to death. Under this "whip with six strings" the kingdom continued for the rest of the reign. The Bishops at first made wild work with it. Five hundred persons are said to have been arrested in a fortnight; the King had twice to interfere and grant pardons. It is believed that only twenty-eight persons actually suffered death under it.

All this time, almost two years, the King had remained unmarried, and each party was eager to secure for a representative of its own interests the position of Queen. Cromwell's eager spirit of party got the better of his prudence, secured the triumph of his rivals, and was the cause of his own destruction. He had been intrusted with the duty of seeking a new consort for the King. Approaches towards friendship with the Emperor had been made for some time previously; the first lady thought of was the Duchess of Milan, his niece; but when a treaty was concluded at Nice between Charles and Francis, with the approbation of the Pope, in which Henry was not mentioned, this scheme was broken up once for all. Room was thus left for Cromwell to carry out his own wishes by connecting Henry with the Protestant Princes of Germany. He pitched

upon the daughter of the Duke of Cleves, and, though warned of her want of beauty, he wilfully deceived the King upon that point, and went so far as to employ Holbein to paint a falsely flattering picture. The marriage was arranged, and the Princess brought with great pomp to England. Her homely German habits somewhat scandalized the admiral who was bringing her over, when she insisted on his bringing some friends with him to dine with her. "She much wished," she said, "to see how Englishman ate." She was brought to Rochester on New Year's Eve. The King, who had heard much praise of her beauty, and wished to do something lover-like, came there incognito with his Master of the Horse to see her. Sir Anthony Browne went to warn her that the King would visit her. He was never, he said, "more dismayed in his life" than when he saw her. The King followed close upon him. He was so shocked with her appearance that he could not bring himself to remain with her more than twenty minutes, and forgot to take the present he had prepared for her out of his pocket. It is true that there were some drawbacks to intimacy, as neither knew a word of the other's language. Henry was much hurt at the trick, for he considered it nothing else, that Cromwell had played upon him. He felt sure that he could never bring himself to live comfortably with his wife, and he at once tried all methods of getting rid of her. He listened with eagerness to a whisper of a pre-engagement, but her assertions on this head rendered that plea hopeless. He did not venture to repudiate her at once, and it was this which rendered Cromwell's share in the affair so odious to him. It would not do to offend the Protestant Germans, and throw them into the arms of Charles. He therefore, full of anger, consented to the completion of the marriage.

Cromwell took his opportunity and set on foot a treaty with the Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Cleves, and the Landgrave of Hesse. He asked Francis to join it, which would have rendered it too strong for the Emperor. Francis disclosed the plan to Charles, who thus became still more hostile, and being acquainted with the plans of England, could tamper with and withdraw from the treaty the German Princes. Cromwell's plan, for which he had risked Henry's displeasure, fell to pieces, and Henry was uselessly linked to his ugly wife. The minister's position was one of great difficulty. In his reforming career he had quarrelled hopelessly with the Peers; a new and self-made man, he had lorded over them without restraint. He was somewhat ostentatious of his

Marriage with
Anne of Cleves.
1540.

Consequent fall
of Cromwell.

wealth, and was brusque and rude in his manner of dealing with them. His preponderance had become almost unbearable. His religious tendencies were well known. The passing of the Bill of the Six Articles was a distinct triumph over him. It was easy to make the King believe that in spite of it he would move forward in his old direction. Henry's jealousy was always easily stirred, and when, as now, he was thoroughly irritated with his minister on other grounds, it was probably enough to hint that he was inclined to be a rebel against the royal authority. The conspiracy answered. Cromwell was arrested at the very Council table. He was charged with taking upon himself to set at liberty people convicted of treason, with having issued commissions on his own authority, and as a heretic with having dispersed heretical books, with having released heretics from prison, with having supported them by force, and with having rebuked their accusers; with having despised the nobles, and made a fortune by bribes. In his present temper these were just the charges to irritate Henry. Usurpation of his authority, and an attempt to override his laws of heresy, could not fail to rouse his anger. Cromwell was not brought to trial, but was condemned by a Bill of Attainder, and executed. It is very probable that the charges against him were true, and that he had in some instances exceeded his power. Still there is something exceedingly base in the manner in which Henry, as soon as Cromwell's plans ceased to please him, lent his ear to the first whispers of the reactionary party that he had trenched on the prerogative, and suffered to be destroyed by legal niceties a man who had served him as few kings are served, and with the general tenor of whose government and opinions he must have been perfectly acquainted.

Before Cromwell had died, a divorce had been contrived from the obnoxious Anne of Cleves, who had been quite satisfied with a handsome pension; and the triumph of the party opposed to Cromwell was completed when the King married immediately Catherine Howard, the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, and niece of the Duke of Norfolk.

The history of the remaining years of the reign turns chiefly upon the affairs of Scotland. The struggle which had succeeded the battle of Flodden, in which the parties of France and of England had alternately risen to influence, had closed in the year 1525 in a compromise, by which the government of Scotland was placed in the hands of a Council of Eight. In this both

Marriage with
Catherine
Howard.
Triumph of the
reactionary
party.

Affairs in
Scotland.

parties were represented. Under these circumstances, Henry had brought forward a proposition which he had much at heart for the union of the two crowns—a marriage between the young King James and one of the English Princesses. Anarchy, however, shortly regained its sway. Angus, at the head of the English party, contrived to keep some appearance of power; but in the year 1528 he was overpowered and driven into exile. Under the care of his immoral mother, the King had been taught to regard the English party as his enemies, and attached himself to the Papacy. He had besides the usual prejudices of Scotchmen against England. Henry used all his influence to win him to his views. He promised even to create him Duke of York, and put him in the line of inheritance, but the influence of the clergy was too strong, and in 1537 he united himself with the enemies of England by marrying Magdalen de Valois, and accepting from the Pope a consecrated hat and sword as the champion of orthodoxy. His wife did not live long, but in June 1538 the French influence received fresh strength when James married as a second wife Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville. Her influence was rendered still stronger by the command gained over the King by David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Henceforward Scotland could be reckoned only among the enemies of Henry. His final effort at reconciliation produced a promise of a personal meeting to be held at York, whither the King journeyed with his young wife in 1540. Beaton had influence enough to make James break his promise and absent himself from the meeting. Henry returned home angry and bent on war.

The news that met him on his return was not likely to cheer him. The ill fortune which accompanied all his efforts at matrimony had again pursued him. During his absence the Council had been examining certain charges against his young Queen, whose company he had been thoroughly enjoying during his Northern journey. There seems no doubt that before her marriage she had misconducted herself grossly, and that even during the late progress, Denham, one of her former lovers, had been in her household, and by the connivance of Lady Rochfort had been admitted to her room. Both the Queen and Lady Rochfort were executed. Parliament passed a stringent Act making it high treason for any lady whom the King sought to marry to hide from his knowledge any questionable circumstances in her past life, and the King secured domestic peace by marrying Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer.

Execution of
Catherine
Howard.
1542.

Marriage of
Catherine Parr.
1543.

Henry was not wrong in supposing that a war with Scotland was imminent. It was a necessary consequence of the state of affairs in Europe, where the rivalry between Francis and Charles was again to involve England in its complications. Francis was now in close alliance with the Pope, who had quarrelled with Charles, and had allied himself, to the horror of Christendom, with the Turks. As such conduct would naturally incline England to join the opposite party, and ally itself to Germany, Francis continued energetically the traditionary policy of friendship with Scotland, hoping thus to keep Henry in check. In October the Scotch began a war, and at Halidon Rig captured Sir Robert Bowes, who commanded on the English frontier. A war on a larger scale at once followed. The Duke of Norfolk marched across the Tweed, ravaging in the usual manner, and James assembled his nobles to meet him. But he was unable to induce them to follow him; the affection he had shown for the Church, his attachment to favourites, and the banishment of the Douglasses had made him unpopular among the nobility. A second army, collected by Church influence, marched into Cumberland. At first no leader was appointed; but on reaching England Oliver Sinclair, a personal favourite of the King's, was raised to the command over the head of all the nobles present. Anarchy and mismanagement were the consequence. An

Battle of
Solway Moss.
Nov. 25, 1542.

attack from a few hundred borderers was thought to be an assault from Norfolk's army, which was in fact thirty miles distant, and the whole expedition took to flight and was utterly ruined in Solway Moss, which has given its name to this flight. The loss was very great, and the disgrace affected James so much that he died, leaving behind him his wife, who had just presented him with a daughter—the well-known Mary Stuart. Scotland was once again plunged into anarchy. Cardinal Beaton, anxious to preserve the power he had exerted over the late King, had contrived to get from him on his deathbed, perhaps even after his death, a paper declaring himself Regent. But the forgery was too palpable, and the Earl of Arran succeeded in obtaining the regency, and in throwing Beaton into prison. The possession of a certain number of noble prisoners from the flight of Solway, and this apparent change in the government of Scotland, encouraged Henry again to hope for the peaceable union of the two crowns. He liberated his prisoners on condition that they should support his interests, and he had thus a permanent party in Scotland. For three-quarters of a year (Dec. 1542—Sept. 1543) perpetual intrigues were carried on. For a time Arran

seemed inclined towards the Reformation and against the clerical party, but Beaton was so much the abler man of the two, that by persuasion, or by threats of ecclesiastical censure, he at last completely mastered Arran. He got possession of the Queen; he drew assistance from France, although the French fleet was speedily defeated; he seems to have played upon the national prejudices even of the returned prisoners; till at last, although a Parliament had already accepted Henry's terms, all hope of a peaceful solution of the question ceased, the rival parties were reconciled, the infant Queen was crowned, and Scotland was united in its enmity to England.

Triumph of the
anti-English
party.

Meanwhile, England had no longer been able to keep clear of European difficulties. Henry was, in fact, urgent that Charles V., who had now quarrelled with the Pope, should follow his example, and declare the supremacy of the civil power, and should join with him in demanding a free council to settle religious difficulties. He, moreover, was determined not to be excluded from any general effort which might be necessary to beat back the advancing Turks. Being thus joined by similarity of interests, he formed an alliance with the Empire, and as a matter of course found himself at war with France. It was agreed between the two powers that they would invade France jointly the following year—the one from the Upper Rhine, the other from Calais. Their armies were to meet at Paris. This expedition was to take place in June.

War with
France.

In the interval Henry took the opportunity of carrying on war against Scotland. An English fleet was sent to Leith, carrying with it an army of 10,000 men under Lord Hertford, the brother of Jane Seymour, whilst 4000 horse marched from Berwick, but not before the King had been informed of and given his approbation to an easier method of bringing the Scotch to reason. An offer was made, which the King approved, by Sir James Kirkaldy, Norman Leslie, and others to assassinate Cardinal Beaton. The conspirators were even promised money. They were unable to act immediately, and Hertford's invasion took place. Leith and Edinburgh were taken and sacked. Both the towns were partially burnt (May 5, 1544), and the country for seven miles round laid waste. Hertford and his army passed over to Calais for the French expedition; but the war, with all the horrors which at that time attended border warfare, continued, and Scotland was mercilessly ravaged.

In spite of Henry's representations, urging the inexpediency of a

general advance on Paris, the programme arranged the preceding year was carried out by Charles, who marched forward beyond the Marne. Henry meanwhile contented himself with an attack upon Boulogne, which did not surrender before September. During the whole of this invasion emissaries from the French Court had been pressing both the Emperor and Henry to accept separate terms of peace, and now that Charles had somewhat imprudently pressed beyond a safe distance from his base of operations, and found himself unsupported by the English army, he no longer refused them. He sent indeed to consult Henry previously, but probably with no intention of taking a refusal; and on the 19th of September a separate peace was signed at Cr py.

Peace of Cr py.
1544.

The English were indignant at being thus, as they considered it, deserted, and it was so necessary for England to uphold her position in Europe, and not to show a weak front to the Roman Catholic powers, that it was determined, come what would, to continue the war single-handed. Charles refused in any way to assist them, in spite of the previous treaty. The reason for Charles's withdrawal was soon evident when the Council of Trent was called (1545), at which he had promised to be present, and from which he hoped for that settlement of Christendom which was his chief political object. If any general measure was to be taken, it would not do for the two great Catholic powers of Europe to be at war. Between England and France the war continued, and also between England and Scotland. One little success at Ancrum Moor was all of which the Scotch could boast. Men of all parties had joined on that occasion, alarmed by the reports of an intended annexation of Scotland. But though Hertford was sent to the borders, and the usual ruthless war was carried on, Henry's

England alone
in Europe.

hands were too full for any such project. England stood alone in Europe. It had quarrelled with the Emperor, and France intended to revenge its losses of the preceding year by an invasion. Large preparations for the defence of England were made. Troops were raised and distributed through the country to the number of 120,000, and a fleet, under Lord Lisle, took up its position at Portsmouth. The French actually landed in the Isle of Wight; skirmishes were fought in the island, but it was thought imprudent to attack Portsmouth, and, after some indecisive actions, the plague attacked the French ships, and they were obliged to return to France.

Peace of
Boulogne.
June 1546.

Their efforts to retake Boulogne were not more successful. In the beginning of 1546 Surrey indeed was defeated in the neighbourhood of that town; but Hertford, who

superseded him, soon set matters right, and a peace was made. France bound itself to pay two millions of crowns, being debts due to England, within the next eight years, a pension to the King for life of 100,000 crowns, and 50,000 as a perpetual pension to England. Boulogne was to be left in English hands as security for the payment of these sums. Scotland was included in the peace. In that country the French and Papal party had been quite triumphant, when suddenly they were deprived of their leader by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton in his castle of St. Andrews. The castle was entered by Norman Leslie and others of the Protestant party, who had long since plotted his death, and who were roused to energy by the persecution and execution of Wishart the Reformer.

The end of the reign was close at hand. Ever since the reaction which had produced the Act of the Six Articles, there had been a silent struggle going on. Both parties had been afraid to declare themselves openly, but twice the Anglicans, with Gardiner at their head, had tried to ruin Cranmer, and twice the King had saved him. Henry had lost something of his old vigour. The redundant strength of his youth had changed to unwieldy bulk. He is said to have required machines to move his limbs; he suffered constantly from a very painful ulcer in his leg. It was plain that he could not last much longer. In such a condition it was natural that he should no longer wish for innovation, but that at the same time he should surround himself with those trusty friends whose fortunes he had made, and who understood and shared his views. Thus, while the reactionary party seemed to be keeping things in their own hands, it was really the new men who were trusted, and who exerted the chief influence on the King's actions. Even in religious matters they were able to do something. A Liturgy, consisting of the Litany, Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and Morning and Evening Service, was ordered to be read in English in place of the Breviary. The dissolution of ecclesiastical foundations was completed by the destruction of the Chantries. They were not powerful enough, however, to prevent persecution. The Queen was certainly on their side, and the influence she had gained over Henry by her faithful care of him rendered any attack upon her hopeless. Anne Askew, however, a lady of her household, was accused and found guilty of questioning the Real Presence in the Sacrament. Wriothesley, the Chancellor, himself is said to have assisted in the application of torture to wring from her the names of others who shared her views. His efforts

Strife of parties
at the close
of the reign.

were vain. She refused to speak, and died with perfect constancy at the stake, in the presence of her triumphant enemies.

But while on ecclesiastical questions parties were thus tolerably balanced, the real struggle was carried on in the King's Council, where each party strove to strengthen itself in expectation of the speedy death of Henry, with the view of securing the upper hand during the inevitable minority of his son. As was natural, it was the young King's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, who took the lead of the new and reforming party, and his influence, backed by that of the Queen, seems to have been gradually on the increase. It was he who had led the victorious army into Scotland; it was he who had been brought thence to complete the operations before Boulogne, where Surrey had committed some blunders. The Howards, on their side, had evidently their intrigues also. During the late war Norfolk had been in close intercourse with the French ambassador, and now, with the view apparently of raising claims to the regency or to the guardianship of the young King, Surrey assumed a change in his coat of arms which implied a close connection with royalty. His rival was strong enough to make the jealous King regard this as a threatened act of treason; and Surrey and his father, in the beginning of December 1546, were suddenly apprehended upon a charge of treason. The usual useless formalities were gone through. Surrey was tried by jury, and on the 19th of January beheaded. The 28th was to have seen the execution of Henry's old servant the Duke of Norfolk, but early that morning the King died, and the members of the Council thought it more prudent not to commit themselves to so important an act as the execution of the Duke till the tendency of the new reign should be more clearly determined.

Historians have differed much in their estimate of the deceased King. The brutal, selfish, and licentious tyrant of one General character of the reign. has been the wise and energetic and paternal ruler of the other. His character has been represented, and like other great men's characters will always be represented, in accordance with the general views of the writer. While the lover of liberty will shrink with horror from acts of violence, and a constant effort at a personal monopoly of power, which are visible in every line of his history, the lover of order will point with pride to the iron hand which compelled the most refractory to obedience, which suppressed anarchy and rebellion, and held the jarring elements of the revolutionary period in subjection.

Final triumph
of Hertford.

The King dies.
1547.

In his first youth Henry was undoubtedly a most highly-gifted and popular King, with beauty, strength, intelligence and education beyond most of those who surrounded him. In the first period of his reign, when his exuberant manhood found exercise in European wars, he raised England from the position of a third-rate power, which it had held during his father's reign, when Spanish influence was predominant, to that of a nation which could bid defiance to either of the great powers of Europe, and in some sort hold the balance between them. It was the pre-eminent administrative ability of Wolsey, coupled with the undoubted excellence of the English as soldiers, which enabled him to produce this great change. The question of the divorce and the fall of his first great minister awoke him from dreams of personal or national aggrandisement, and called his attention to the deeper movements which were agitating Europe. From that time till the end of his reign, however much he may have employed able ministers and made use of their ability, it was himself who was the true governor of the kingdom, and it is impossible to deny that he managed the government with great capacity. The secret of his success was the tact with which he at once perceived the national feeling. Absolute though he was, it is plain that on more than one occasion he yielded to the national will, and thus in a time of revolutionary excitement, in the midst of insurrections, dynastic, social and religious, he was enabled to pursue a distinct line of policy, and to prevent either party from becoming absolutely predominant. And when we read the history of the two next reigns, during which the rulers became partisans rather than the representatives of the national will, we become conscious of the great talent which guided the nation with comparative safety through so difficult a crisis. At the same time there can be no question as to the tyrannical character of his government; it is under him that the personal rule reached its full development. In him were centred all the forces of the Government. And when we add to this the undoubted coarseness and cruelty of his character, his extraordinary indelicacy with regard to women and to the relation of marriage, and the craving, which all personal governors must have, for a successor to carry on their plans, we understand how a reign which, in many respects, may be regarded as the most glorious of our history has become in the eyes of more modern civilization a period merely detestable for its cruelty, licentiousness and want of liberty.

EDWARD VI.

1547—1553.

Born 1537.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.
Mary, 1542.

France.
Henry II., 1547.

Germany and Spain.
Charles V., 1519.

POPES.—Paul III., 1534. Julius III., 1550.

Archbishop.
Thomas Cranmer, 1533

Chancellors.
Sir William Paulet, 1547.
Richard Rich, 1547.
Thomas Goodrich, 1552.

HENRY'S wishes for a successor had been partially fulfilled, and the nation, which had been taught to rest absolutely on the will and guidance of its head, found itself nominally governed by a child of tender years, and really in the hands of a body of unprincipled statesmen, such as are the constant product of personal government,—men of great ability, but trained in habits of dependence and with no higher moral aim than their own aggrandisement. There was one exception to this general censure :—the Earl of Hertford was a patriot, but was without that statesmanlike balance which was so striking a characteristic of Henry. He had espoused one side in the great conflict, could see no excellence in any other, and that side was the revolutionary and innovating one. He panted for the opportunity of carrying out his reforms. In the gallery outside the room where the King was still lying dead, he induced Paget, the ablest of the late King's servants, to support him in a scheme for setting aside the King's will. Paget

Regency of
Somerset.
1547.

1547]

REGENCY OF SOMERSET

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warned him of his danger, but consented to help him. Henry had hoped, by a judicious selection from the rival parties, to have surrounded his son with a neutral Council, who would have carried on his own views till Edward came of age. He had left the crown by will, as he was authorized to do by an Act of Parliament ; and in accordance with this personal view of the royal power, the Council of Sixteen¹ were called executors. There was a second Council of Twelve, who could be summoned on any emergency. Although with the Norfolks the party of the old nobility had for the time fallen, and the executors were all new men, on religious matters they were not unanimous ; and Wriothesley, the Chancellor, a vehement Anglo-Catholic, headed the opposition to Lord Hertford. In his hurry to secure leisure for political struggles, he appointed a commission under the Great Seal to transact his judicial business. His opponents at once took advantage of his error. It was held illegal to use the Great Seal for this purpose, and Wriothesley was removed from office. The triumph of Hertford, now become Duke of Somerset, was complete. He was raised not only to the Presidency of the Executive Council, but to the Protectorship of England, and the executors in time were merged in the General Council.

Before this they had made Somerset's brother Lord Seymour of Sudeley, Lord Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Lisle (Dudley), Earl of Warwick, and Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.

It was no easy place which Somerset was called to fill. He had to continue Henry's policy in various directions, but Henry, as has been said, was his own minister, and the faults of this great centralization of powers in himself were now apparent. It was almost impossible for one plunged suddenly into the midst of so many lines of policy to grasp or carry out the late King's intentions. The main questions to be at once considered were the relations between England and Scotland, between England and France, between England and the German Protestants, between the reactionary Roman or Anglo-Catholics and the constantly increasing party of reform, between the poorer classes and their wealthy superiors, and, lastly, the financial difficulties which the late wars and the great rise in prices had introduced. To every one of these, at one and the same time, did Somerset address himself. Full of revolutionary energy, full of

He attempts
everything
at once.

¹ Cranmer, Wriothesley, Lord St. John (Paulet), Lord Russell, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Lisle, Bishop of Durham, Anthony Browne, William Paget, North, Montague, Denny and Herbert.

schemes of universal philanthropy, and with a confident and overweening reliance upon his own ability to carry out his good intentions, nothing seemed too difficult for him. The golden age was to begin. Gentleness, and quick justice, and popular liberality were to take the place of the stern repressive rule of the last reign.

At once the Reformation began to be pushed forward—no longer in a restrained or temperate manner, but with destructive violence. Images of saints were pulled down in the churches, whitewash covered their painted walls. Ridley preached violent sermons at Paul's Cross. A general injunction was ordered for the purification of churches. Picture and window and statue were alike forbidden. A royal commission was issued to see that the directions of the late reign were fully carried out, and the English Liturgy used. The Book of Homilies was issued under Cranmer's directions, and many old customs and holydays were to be suppressed.

The writer of the Grey Friars' Chronicle mentions with bitterness these destructive measures; he says:—"Item, also at that same time was pullyd downe thorrow all the kynges domynyon in every churche alle Roddes with alle images, and every precher preached in their sermons agayne alle images. . . . Also this same time was moche spekyng agayne the sacrament of the auter, that some callyd it Jacke of the boxe, with divers other shamfulle names. . . . And at this tyme was moche prechyng agayne the masse. And the sacrament of the auter pullyd downe in dyvers placys thorrow the realme. Item, after Ester beganne the servis in Ynglyche at Powles . . . and also in dyvers other pariche churches. . . . Item, also this yere was Barkynge chappylle at the Towre hylle pullyd downe, and sent Martyns at the chambulles end, sent Nicolas in the chambulles, and sent Ewyns, and within the gatte of Newgate those were put unto the churche that some tyme was the Gray Freres; and also Strand churche also pullyd downe to make the protector Duke of Somerset's place larger."

But though the Protector thus carried on the Reformation in England, he was unable to throw himself into the European war on the Protestant side. The opening of the Council of Trent had been shortly followed by the breaking out of a religious war in Germany. Henry VIII. had made offers of assistance to the Protestant Princes, but his offers had been declined; and subsequent events having given a more political character to the war, he had

been disinclined to mix in it. On his death the Government was again pressed to give assistance to the Protestants; but however much Somerset may have desired it, he thought himself compelled to limit his assistance to a small sum of money. The relations both with France and Scotland were too threatening to admit of any more efficacious help. The battle of Muhlberg terminated for the present all hopes of Protestant success in Germany.

The arms which might have averted this disaster were turned against Scotland. Henry's plans had always tended towards a peaceful solution of the question between the two countries, but even he, in the later years of his reign, had been reduced to employ force. The death of Cardinal Beaton had, however, for a time recalled to life the English and Reforming party. If the castle of St. Andrews could be succoured, and Norman Leslie and his friends saved, there seemed yet a chance of their party gaining the upper hand. But Somerset allowed assistance to come to the Catholics from France, and the castle of St. Andrews fell. The friends of England were thus taught that they could put no great reliance upon Somerset. The impatience of his character indeed rendered him unfit for the tedious processes of party intrigue. He determined at once to cut the knot; the Scotch should be compelled to carry out what their Parliament had once promised. An army was collected at Berwick, with all necessary supplies. A fleet was to follow it round the coast as it marched upon Edinburgh. If the fall of St. Andrews had weakened the confidence of the Protestants, the threat of invasion united as usual all parties in Scotland, and war from henceforth was alone to be expected. The Protector marched rapidly northward.

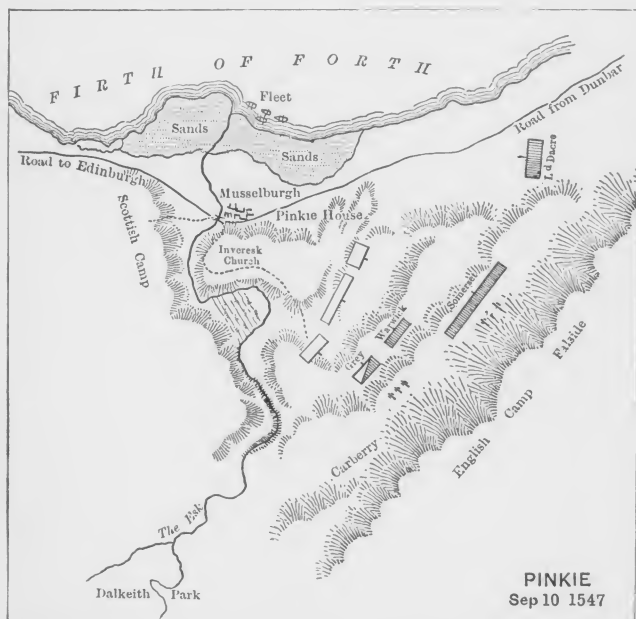
He neglected the fortresses on the way, and pushed straight on to the Frith of Forth. The Scotch were collected in great numbers near Musselburgh, and when the English came upon them, they occupied a position of great strength on the westward bank of the little river Esk. On their left was the sea, on the right an impassable morass, while in front a river ran in a deep bed, which could be crossed by cavalry at one bridge only. The Scots committed an error which had more than once proved ruinous to them. Strong in numbers, they believed that the English would refuse the fight and try to escape them. To prevent this, they deserted their unassailable position. Somerset's advance from the hills of Falside and Carberry, where he had been encamped, towards Inveresk church, which partially commanded the Scotch

The Reformation.

War with Scotland.

Battle of Pinkie, Sept. 10, 1547.

position, seems to have been mistaken for an attempt to reach the fleet, which was anchored outside Musselburgh. They crossed the river by Musselburgh bridge, passed to the west of Inveresk church, and occupied the back of the hill, between which and the sloping terraces of Falside there was a depression. They also advanced southward, as though to attempt to occupy the end of the ridge which the English were leaving, and thus enclose the English army between



themselves and the river. This movement brought on the battle. The charge of the English cavalry upon the advancing right wing of the Scotch was repelled by the pikemen. But they were unable to follow up their success, and covering his movement with his artillery, Somerset brought the whole of his army upon the Scotch, somewhat disordered by their change of position, and shaken by the discharge of archers, musketry and artillery. Their broken troops were charged

by the English cavalry, and the battle became a rout. But little quarter was given, and the slaughter was enormous. 1500 prisoners were taken; 10,000 men are said to have been slain. The loss of the English was only a few hundreds. This battle of Pinkie, which was the last before the junction of the thrones, marked as it was by needless cruelty, completed the alienation of the Scotch, and the marriage question was settled once for all by the young Queen Mary being sent to France, where, in the August of 1548, she was solemnly contracted to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II.

Having thus triumphantly ruined Henry's plan with regard to Scotland, Somerset found it necessary to take in hand ^{War with} the English difficulties with France. Henry had left ^{France.} England at peace with that country. The Peace of Boulogne had been a satisfactory and honourable one, and as long as Francis I. lived, the relations between the countries were fairly cordial. But only three months after Henry's death, Francis died also (March 22, 1547), and his son, Henry II., who had always been the leader of the anti-English party, came to the throne. It was by French troops that St. Andrews had been taken. In the following year, a French army was sent to assist the conquered Scotch. Boulogne, which was to be held by the English for eight years, was threatened, and finally, in the year 1548, constant skirmishing around Boulogne and upon the sea produced all the circumstances of war, although no war was declared. This uneasy condition continued for more than a year. The English were perpetually worsted, and lost fort after fort of the defences which surrounded Boulogne, till at length (1549) the Protector was obliged to declare war, so that here too he had failed in perpetuating Henry's policy.

Meanwhile, the visitors under the new ecclesiastical commission had been going on with their work in England. They had met with no great opposition from the people, but had come in ^{Reversal of the} contact with both Bonner and Gardiner, both of whom ^{arbitrary policy} were imprisoned. His chief opponents being thus removed, Somerset was able on his return to England to carry through Parliament a Bill which swept away all treasons created since 25 Edward III., thus completely reversing Henry's home policy. This Bill repealed the Acts of Richard II., Henry V., and Henry VIII., against the Lollards; the Act of the Six Articles, and those depending on it; the Act of the thirty-fifth year of his reign, prohibiting

¹ 5 Rich. II., stat. 1. c. 6; 2 Hen. V., c. 7; 25 Hen. VIII., c. 14; 31 Hen. VIII., c. 14; 34 Hen. VIII., c. 1.

the reading of the English Scriptures in churches and to the poor, and all other Acts or sentences regarding doctrine or religion. It repealed also statutes passed in Henry VIII.'s reign, making new felonies, and those giving the authority of law to the King's proclamation.¹ To the treasons of the statute of Edward were added two—a proved public attack in words three times repeated against the King's supremacy, and a similar attack in writing, printing, or by overt act. It was added that two witnesses were necessary in cases of treason. The preamble to this statute explains exceedingly well the change of plan which Somerset advocated. It acknowledges the occasional necessity of severity, "but," it continues, "as in tempest or winter one course and garment is convenient, in calm or warm weather a more liberal case or lighter garment both may and ought to be followed and used, so we have seen divers strait and sore laws made in one Parliament, in a more calm and quiet reign of another Prince repealed and taken away, the which most high clemency and royal example of his Majesty's most noble progenitors, the King's Highness, of his tender and godly nature most given to mercy and love of his subjects willing to follow, . . . and minding further to provoke his said subjects with great indulgency and clemency, showed on his Highness' behalf to more love and kindness toward his Majesty, and upon trust that they will not abuse the same, but rather be encouraged thereby more faithfully and with more diligence and care for his Majesty to serve His Highness now in this his tender age, is contented and pleased that the severity of certain laws be mitigated and remitted." At the same time that this Act was passed, all the remaining property of ecclesiastical corporations was intrusted to the Crown, with the exception of the Universities, Winchester, Eton, St. George's, Windsor, and the Cathedral Chapters, and the collation to bishoprics was placed entirely in the King's hands. Together with this completion of the work of the Reformation was passed a Bill which was intended to put a finishing stroke to the legislation of the last reign with regard to vagrants and able-bodied paupers. The Government had not yet been brought to understand that men cannot be forced to work unless there is work to give them, and that natural laws were in operation which, till fresh sources of industry were opened, could not but throw large masses of unemployed labour upon the market. It was now ordered that any determinately idle and able-bodied vagrant might be adjudged by two magistrates to any one wanting him as a slave, branded with the letter V, and to be

Vagrant Act.

¹ 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8. 35 Hen. VIII., c. 23.

kept in slavery for two years. If he refused still to work, he might be made a slave for life, or finally punished as a felon. Two years later, it was found necessary to repeal this severe Act.

Now that they had gained the upper hand, the Protestants pushed their advantage vigorously, and their teachers spread through England, preaching with rude and destructive vehemence against the doctrines of the Roman Church, which were still cherished by the mass of the people, who saw too these noisy innovators supported by those who were laying their hand right and left on the property of the old Church, and treating with scorn all that had been held holy. Somerset himself was seen appropriating mass after mass of ecclesiastical property, and thinking it no harm to pull down parish churches and chapels to supply room and material for his new palace of Somerset House.

The social difficulty which the last Parliament had tried to deal with, and the unrestrained triumph of the reforming party, produced two insurrections, which were the immediate precursors to the fall of the Protector. Before they broke out it is necessary to mention a fresh difficulty which he found upon his hands. His brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, a man of violent temper and ambition, aspired to some share in the Protector's influence, and felt injured that, contrary to the usual precedent in such cases, both the Protectorship of the kingdom and the personal guardianship of the King should be in one man's hands. He sought to strengthen his position by marriage; the Council refused him the Princess Elizabeth, but he succeeded in marrying Catherine Parr, only two months after King Henry's death. He obtained also the guardianship of both Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of the Marchioness of Dorset, niece of Henry VIII. His conduct in other respects was lawless and threatening. He rejected, although High Admiral, the command of the fleet on the occasion of the late Scotch war. He had secret correspondence with the pirates in the Channel, for whose advantage he purchased the Scilly Isles, as a convenient place of refuge. He obtained from Sir William Sharrington, master of the mint at Bristol, money for his purposes; he even established two cannon foundries. He won over several Lords to his interest, and on the death of his wife again sought the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. Everything went to show that he conceived the idea of supplanting his brother. It seems that he intrusted some of his plans to Southampton (Wriothesley), supposing that he was still Somerset's enemy. From him information reached

Religious differences.

Consequent insurrections.

Treason of Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

the Protector, who had no choice but to arrest Lord Seymour. A Bill of Attainder was brought in against him, and although no opportunity was allowed him of speaking in his own defence, he was declared guilty and executed.

The next session of the Parliament was principally devoted to religious questions. A complete English Service Book was approved, in which the critical doctrine of the Lord's Supper was left uncertain; fasting was continued, but chiefly on the ground of its advantage to the fisheries; and the first Act of Uniformity was passed. Somerset probably believed that this and his other reforming measures were acceptable to the people, and would tend to bring in that reign of peace and charity which he desired. For the same reason he turned a willing ear to the complaints of the lower orders.

The changes in agriculture had thrown adrift great numbers of the labouring class. The same spirit which had made the landlords decrease their arable land urged them to pursue a new method of obtaining pasture. The unenclosed common lands of England were very large, and much of the livelihood of the labourers was derived from them. These were now taken in and enclosed by the neighbouring landlords, and the labourer's livelihood was thus cut off at both ends; he could neither find work, nor were his common rights respected. There was naturally much discontent, more especially as prices were rising under the influence of the restricted supply of

Popular tendencies of Somerset.

corn and the depreciation of the coinage. The country was full of poverty and vagrancy and crime. Acts of violence occurred, and the destruction of enclosures became frequent. Instead of repressing them sharply, as would have been done in the last reign, Somerset, with his liberal tendencies, sympathized with the offenders. Laws had been made during the last two reigns to keep in check the growing evils of which the poor complained, and Somerset now issued a commission to see that those laws were carried out; and at the same time, thinking that the poor received scanty justice from the existing Law Courts, he established a private Court of Requests, through which they might have immediate access to him, and by means of which he did not scruple to set aside the process of law. The ills complained of and the object of the commission are well shown in a charge of Mr. Hales, one of the commissioners:—"There have been many good laws made for the maintenance of houses and husbandry and tillage, as in the fourth year of Henry VII., and in the seventh year of the reign of the

King's Majesty's father, that no man should keep upon his own lands or farms, or upon his farms only, above the number of 2000 sheep; and in the same year, that no man should have or occupy more than two houses of husbandry in one town, parish, or hamlet. . . . Yet, because the same laws were not reverently obeyed and obediently observed, we see they do little or no good. Towns, villages, and parishes do daily decay in great numbers; houses of husbandry and poor men's habitations be utterly destroyed everywhere, and in no small number. Husbandry and tillage, which is the very paunch of the Commonwealth, that is that that nourisheth the whole body of the realm, greatly abated, and finally the King's subjects wonderfully diminished; and albeit the commission extendeth to five principal points, that is for the decay of towns, villages, houses of husbandry, converting arable ground into pasture, the multitude of sheep, the heaping together of farms, the not keeping hospitality in households on the sites of the monasteries and religious houses which were dissolved by statutes made in the twenty-seventh year of the King's Majesty that dead is, and occupying of tillage on the demesnes of the same monasteries, yet doth altogether shoot but at one mark, and prick but at one prick, that is to remove the self-love that is in many men, to take away the inordinate desire of riches wherewith many be cumbered. . . . And to plant brotherly love among us, to increase love and godly charity among us, and make us know and remember that we all, poor and rich, noble and ignoble, gentlemen and husbandmen, and all other of whatsoever estate they be, be but members of one body mystical of our Saviour Christ, and of the body of the realm."

Such a commission, however noble in its intention, could not fail to raise feelings akin to socialism in the minds of the poor, and call into existence hopes which could hardly be realized. The fruit of Somerset's revolutionary and meddling disposition was now ripe. In all directions he had exhibited a feverish activity; in all directions too he had shown a sympathy with the lower orders, and with the ultra-Protestants, quite at variance with the tradition of Henry VIII.'s masterful government; and Paget, the wisest statesman of the time, who had throughout supported Somerset, could with justice write to him in such terms as these—"What seeth your Grace over the King's subjects out of all discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King, and much less for any other mean officer? And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor. . . . By and by the com-

mons must be pleased; you must take pity upon the poor men's children and of the conversation and stay of this realm: and put no more so many irons in the fire at once as you have had within this twelvemonth. War with Scotland, with France, though it be not so termed: commissions out for this matter: new laws for this, proclamation for another: one on another's neck so thick that they be not set by among the people."¹ Paget wrote these words upon the receipt of the news that the rebellion had broken out in the West. Discontent there assumed the form of opposition to the introduction of the new

Revolutionary
outbreaks
in the West.

Service Book required by the Act of Uniformity. The Liturgy was read for the first time on Whitsunday, the 1st of June. On Whit-Monday the villagers of Sampford Courtenay insisted upon the priest's resuming his old dress and reading Mass in Latin. The insurrection soon spread through Cornwall and Devonshire, and broke out at St. Mary's Clyst, near Exeter. Lord Russell was appointed to suppress the movement, but, previous to his arrival, Sir Peter Carew took some unsuccessful steps in the same direction which seemed rather to augment the flame. The demands of the Western insurgents, which were put forward in a very imperious form, asked for the restoration of the Mass and of the Six Articles, the re-establishment of images, and the abolition of the English Liturgy. They named as their leaders Humphrey Arundel, and Boyer, the Mayor of Bodmin.

In the same letter which has before been quoted, Paget urged on the Lord Protector a vigorous line of action. He begged him to act in unison with the Council, to summon his German auxiliaries from Calais, and to use all his exertions to nip the insurrection in the bud, and afterwards execute vigorous justice in every rebellious county. But affairs were now complicated by insurrections in various parts

In the East.

of England, and especially one in the Eastern Counties, which, under the command of Robert Ket of Wymondham, a tanner, was assuming a formidable aspect. The causes of complaint here, however, were not religious but social. With these, as we have seen, Somerset sympathized. He was therefore in a dilemma, feeling it wrong to act with vigour against the Eastern rebels, and being unable to repress those of the West without losing his popularity. His action was therefore vacillating. Fresh commissions and lukewarm proclamations were issued; but with regard to the East he distinctly asserted that reformation should begin with the gentlemen, and not with the commonalty. The Council took the

¹ Styrpe's *Memorials*, Repository of Originals, Letter III.

matter into its own hands. Russell, being at length re-enforced by Lord Grey from Oxfordshire, advanced to relieve Exeter, which was besieged by the rebels. A battle was fought at St. Mary's Clyst, where, after a fierce fight, the insurgents were defeated. This victory was followed up, and on the 6th of August Exeter was relieved. There was a rally of the rebels at Sampford Courtenay, where they were finally dispersed. Martial law was declared in Devonshire and Cornwall, and the rebellious counties punished with great severity. Meanwhile the Norfolk insurgents directed their attention chiefly to the destruction of enclosures. An army of 16,000 of them took up their position on Mousehold Hill, near Norwich, where Ket held a daily court of justice, in which obnoxious gentlemen were tried. Property, which was largely seized, was brought into a common stock for the use of the camp. In an oak upon the hill, called the Oak of Reformation, a pulpit was erected, where the neighbouring clergy came and preached, and the Mayor of Norwich, either voluntarily or by compulsion, sat as fellow-judge with Ket. Order and discipline were well preserved in the rebel host. A herald was sent to them with a free pardon, but Ket rejected it as unnecessary. The herald tried to arrest him, and in the consequent uproar the town of Norwich was seized by the rebels. Again Somerset's gentleness had suffered the rebellion to gain head, and the Council insisted upon sharper measures. Lord Northampton was sent against them. He was admitted into Norwich by the citizens, but a second time the rebels stormed the town, and Northampton had to fly. Some proportion of the mercenary troops of the Protector had been proceeding ^{Warwick} northward to carry on the Scotch war. They were ^{suppresses it.} commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the son of the extortioner Dudley, and who, as Lord Lisle, had distinguished himself both as soldier and admiral. To him was intrusted the duty of repairing Northampton's disaster. He again offered the insurgents a pardon. Their mistrust again induced them to decline it. They had some temporary success against Warwick, but ultimately descending from their camp on Mousehold Hill, they took up a position in the open fields, where they were entirely routed, with the loss of between three and four thousand of their number. A few of them were afterwards hanged on the Oak of Reformation, and their leaders, Ket and his brother, being executed, the rebellion was at an end.

But though peace was thus re-established in England, Boulogne was still threatened. Negotiations with the Emperor, who it was hoped might assist in withstanding the French, came to nothing, and it

seemed as if the town must shortly fall. The outlying forts around it were taken one after the other, and at last formal war was declared against France (September 1549).

Somerset's government had thus been everywhere unsuccessful. He owed his position of Protector to the choice of the Council only. He was in fact in some degree their representative. Not unreasonably, then, they thought it necessary to resume the power they had delegated, which had been so unsuccessfully used. Warwick, returning to London from his triumphant suppression of the rebellion, where his vigorous action, as well as that of Russell in the West, had been rather opposed than seconded by the Protector, became a most important person among those members of the Council who planned

Warwick and the Council try to resume their authority.

the removal of Somerset. The Protector was informed of the feeling against him, and determined to struggle for his power. He declared the London Council treasonable, persuaded the King there was a plot against him, and called upon the nation to rise to defend the Crown. This was a virtual declaration of war between himself and the Council. It was soon plain that Somerset by hasty action had put himself in the wrong. One after another of his friends joined the London Council. Smith and Paget, who remained with him, were chiefly occupied in restraining his violence. He hurried the King to Windsor, to the great injury it was thought of his health; but finding that his measures were counteracted by his rivals, that Herbert and Russell, with the armies of the West, were siding with his enemies, and influenced by his prudent friends Paget and Cranmer, he at length made his submission and acknowledged the authority of the Council. The victorious party at once betook themselves to Windsor, and put themselves into communication with the King.

Fall of Somerset.

The schism which divided the Council was thus healed, and they could again act with unquestioned authority. Toward the fallen Protector and his friends they acted leniently. Sir Thomas Smith was expelled the Council, and Somerset was sent to the Tower, where, however, he stayed but a short time, being released in February 1550, while three months afterwards most of his property was restored to him.

The fall of Somerset might very naturally have been followed by a complete change of policy, as the charge against him was the want of success of his administration. Southampton had been prominent among his enemies, and for a moment the reactionary party thought that their time was come. But Warwick was all-powerful in the Council, and he saw plainly that

Warwick continues the headlong policy of Somerset.

any reaction which should recall to influence the old nobility would be fatal to him. He therefore put himself into the hands of the Reformers, hurrying onwards even faster than Somerset had done.

Before he could proceed to any improvement on the state of affairs in England, it was necessary to complete the war with France. It was impossible to act vigorously while the constant drain on the resources of the nation caused by the war continued. How much the state of England wanted reform is shown by a few words of Paget's: "We must acknowledge what we cannot deny—the evil condition of our estate at home. . . . Ill money, whereby outward things be dearer, idleness among the people, the great courages, dispositions to imagine and invent novelties, devises to amend this and this, and a hundred mischiefs which make my heart sorry to mark—these be the fruits of war." With such a feeling among the negotiators, no great difficulty could arise with regard to terms. The French felt their superiority and pressed it; the English could but yield. The pension promised to Henry was refused. Boulogne was to be given up within six weeks, and in exchange the French were to pay four hundred thousand crowns. The large sum due from France to England was to be remitted, so that the four hundred thousand crowns was in fact all that remained of Henry VIII.'s conquest.

Loss of Boulogne.

Freed from the war with France, the Council had an opportunity of repairing some of Somerset's faults. He had indeed left them plenty to do. His revolutionary tendencies in all directions had produced a state of feeling which had become evident in the late rebellions. His conduct had been the more injudicious because he was acting during a minority, and the King on his coming of age might undo all that was done, and might reasonably have expected to have received his kingdom on the whole in the same position in which his father had left it. The Council plunged into the same revolutionary course, with this difference, that Somerset's errors had arisen from an over-estimate of his own ability, but were the fruit of high and noble feelings and aspirations; while Warwick, and his friends in the Council, the unscrupulous instruments of the late King, left without his restraining hand, were hypocrites in religion, had no object but their own aggrandizement, and in foreign policy thought only of tiding over the difficulty of the moment, and of sustaining as far as possible the balance of power.

Want of principle in the Council.

Latimer, in 1550, when preaching before the King, had accused the

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King's officers of bribery. Bribes were given to have accounts passed : —“What needeth a bribe giving except the bills be false ? . . . And here now I speak to you my master-minters, augmentationiers, receivers, surveyors, auditors, . . . ye are known well enough what ye were before ye came to your offices, what lands ye had then and what ye have purchased since, and what building ye make daily. Well, I pray ye, so build that the King's workmen may be paid. They make their moans that they can get no money, and poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-makers, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts cry out for their dues. It seems illfavouredly that ye should have enough wherewith to build superfluously and the King lack to pay his poor labourers.”

To peculation, injustice, and the misgovernment of wholly selfish rulers, was added as a fresh cause of confusion the real difficulty of the currency. Already, towards the close of the last

The currency.

reign, Henry in his want of money had had recourse to the expedient of depreciating the coinage. He had gained by this means £50,000. The expedient had been largely followed during the present reign. The numerous plans which Somerset had constantly kept on hand at the same time had been very expensive, and the debasement of the coinage was an easy source of wealth. As a natural consequence, private individuals had secured such of the coinage as was good, to be either sold abroad or re-introduced in a debased state. Sharrington, master of the Bristol mint, and the friend of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, confessed to having made a profit of £4000 by the issue of *testons* or bad shillings. On the suppression of the rebellions of 1549, and the fall of Somerset, Warwick, Herbert, Paget, and in fact most of the Lords of the Council, were allowed to reimburse themselves for the money they had spent in the suppression of the rebellions by coining large quantities of silver. Herbert's gain alone was £6709, 19s. The whole sum of base coinage thus introduced into circulation was more than £150,000. The evil went on ; vast quantities of plate, especially from the churches, was turned into base money. The natural effects followed ; the good money and the gold left the country ; the rate of exchange constantly fell. Attempts to introduce a purer coinage in smaller-sized pieces failed, as these did but disclose the real amount of depreciation which the coinage had undergone. Prices rose enormously. “If we in England should coin in six years to come so much white money as we have in six years past, of the value now going, the plentifulness of the money and the baseness thereof together should bring our Commonwealth

to that pass, that if you should give a poor man three shillings a day for his day's labour, yet you should scarce pay him such a hire as he might live thereof—which God defend should come to pass.” So high did the prices rise that violent attempts were made to fix a tariff. The outcry was too great, and the project was dropped. But at last the disorder and inconvenience reached such a pitch that the Council were driven to the necessity of reforming the coinage (Aug. 1551). The quantity of base money afloat and the lack of finances prevented an honest exchange of good money for bad. It was determined “to call down the money,” that is, to make the real and nominal value of it agree. On the whole, the amount of depreciation was about fifty per cent. The shilling was therefore to be called down to sixpence, to the loss of every individual in the country of half the value of his money. This great reduction was done at two steps. The Council, knowing the coming change of value, did not scruple to take advantage of the interval between the two to throw another £120,000 worth, with no less than three-quarters alloy, into the country. The process was not fully completed, for though good money was issued in exchange for bad, the return of the bad money to the Mint was not compulsory. There was, of course, still room for unlimited counterfeiting, and after all the prices fell but little.

As far as the Reformation was concerned, measures became more and more extreme. Gardiner and Bonner were both detained in prison, and Heath, Bishop of Worcester, joined them there. Somerset, who had regained some influence, exerted himself on Gardiner's behalf, but in vain. The new appointments were all Protestants. Ridley was made Bishop of London ; Ponet, a man of immoral life, succeeded Gardiner at Winchester ; and Hooper, after many scruples as to the legality of wearing Bishop's robes, was induced to accept the See of Gloucester. Acts were passed against images and paintings, statues and figures were to be removed from churches, and all service books except the Prayer Book to be destroyed. Along with other church property, many of the endowments at the Universities were seized, and lay proprietors appointed to livings without reference to their Bishops. However excellent in principle these changes may have been, the effect upon the morality of the country was disastrous. As we have already seen, the covetousness of the gentry was a marked characteristic of the time. The removal of religious restraints did not tend to lessen it. The destruction of the ecclesiastical courts and their discipline gave opportunity for much unbridled license. Licentiousness,

Rapid and disorderly advance of the Reformation.

murders and divorces are said to have been much increased. From the Universities the want of funds drove many of the poorer scholars, while among the wealthier young men who remained, the rapid destruction of objects which they had hitherto respected aroused the feeling of general irreverence. Parodies of the Mass, desecrations of the Sacrament, and the strongest language against the Catholics became common. Throughout the country the duties of the clergy were neglected. Lay patrons appointed themselves or some of their servants to livings. Even Bishops became large pluralists, absorbing the revenues of the parishes, and supplying the duties by means of some underpaid and ignorant monk or curate.

At last the Council, in their zeal, determined to attack the Princess Mary. The step was a hazardous one; all the interests of the reactionary party, smarting under their wrongs, and tracing all the anarchy of the kingdom to the Reformers, were centred in her. The English relations with Germany rendered the time particularly critical. Ever since the spread of the Reformation, a General Council had been looked to as the solution of the religious difficulty. The Emperor's constant rivalry with France, by making him afraid to quarrel with his Protestant subjects, had long postponed it. The Peace of Cr  py afforded the desired opportunity. The Pope wished the Council to be held in Italy. The Emperor knew that, unless held in Germany, his Lutheran subjects would not submit to its decisions. Paul III. seized the opportunity which the Peace of Cr  py afforded, and called the Council at Trent (1545), thus keeping it in Italy, while he nominally gratified the Emperor's desire by placing it in the limits of the German Empire. Charles could not reject the Council, but he expected and prepared for a religious war. Nor were his expectations deceived. In the summer of 1546, the Princes of the League of Smalkald, the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, appeared at the head of an army far superior to the Emperor's. He contrived to detach Maurice of Saxony from the Protestant cause; and though the Pope was indignant at this step, which deprived the war of its religious character and rendered it political, the Emperor justified it by the destruction of the Protestant army at M  hlberg in 1547, and the capture of both the Elector and the Landgrave. Thus, master of the situation, he summoned a Diet at Augsburg, and, in anger at the Pope's refusal to restore to its meeting-place at Trent the Council which had removed to Bologna, he established a compromise called the Interim. By this, Catholic doctrine was in the

main restored, but certain points were left open till the Council, freed from the Pope's influence, should settle them. These were the restitution of Church property, the marriage of the clergy, and Communion in both kinds. This compromise was not well received on either side, and the free towns of Germany, especially Magdeburg, held out against it. But the death of the energetic Paul III. in 1550, and the election in his place, under the title of Julius III., of Cardinal del Monti, a very weak prelate, still further increased Charles's power, and rendered the suppression of the Protestants in Germany and a Holy War against England very probable.

This was the time selected by the Council for their insults to the Princess Mary. They insisted upon her giving up the use of the Mass. This she refused entirely to do, and placed herself under the protection of Charles. He took up her cause with warmth, and war seemed inevitable. But the completeness of his triumph, which induced him to issue persecuting laws of the most stringent description against the Protestants of the Low Countries, and to form a plan for rendering the Empire hereditary, excited the jealousy of France. In that country the party of the Guises, which made the re-establishment of the Catholic Church its chief object, was very hostile to England. But Henry II. and Montmorency, his minister, now adopted the policy of Francis; and the English Lords of the Council contrived to make an alliance with France, with the stipulation for the marriage of Edward with a French Princess. With France as his enemy, again allied with the Turks, Charles found all his old difficulties arising round him; and when, seizing the opportunity, Maurice of Saxony deserted his cause, and marched with the troops of Protestant Germany so rapidly upon Innsbruck as nearly to capture the Emperor, danger from the side of Germany was removed. The Treaty of Passau, in 1552, completed Charles's discomfiture. After that he no longer attempted to struggle against the Reformation. The Confession of Augsburg was acknowledged, and the Landgrave and the Elector were freed.

It was, however, by no means the fault of the Council that the invasion of England did not take place. They had done their best to produce it by attacking the Princess Mary, just when Charles's power was greatest. It was thus plain that the government of the Council had been no improvement upon that of Somerset, that, on the contrary, their plans had been as unsuccessful, their dishonesty and peculation far greater,

III-timed attack
on Princess
Mary.

European affairs
prevent the
interference
of Charles.

Failure of the
policy of the
Council.
Somerset regains
influence.

their revolutionary tendencies still more marked, and their personal character and behaviour such that, in the place of popular love, they had won universal execration. Somerset had been gradually regaining influence, and was now thinking of re-establishing his former authority. The part he had been taking lately had been conciliatory. He had been supporting Gardiner's demand for liberation. He had united himself with the Arundels, and had held somewhat aloof from the chief Reformers. His plans were betrayed and much exaggerated by Sir Thomas Palmer, who gave a false account of a plot to kill Warwick and Northampton at a banquet. The King, who was much in Warwick's power, inclined to support him because of his affected religious zeal. In October, the chiefs of Warwick's party were all raised in the peerage. He himself became Duke of Northumberland, Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, became Marquis of Winchester, Sir William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Dorset Duke of Suffolk. Somerset at once suspected that he had been betrayed; unable to gain certain information on this head, he ventured to a meeting of the Privy Council. He was apprehended and sent to the Tower, with his wife, the Arundels, Paget, and others. He was accused of aiming at the life of Northumberland, and of having collected men for the purpose—this would have been treasonable by an Act of 3 & 4 Edward VI.,—also with having devised the death of the Lords of the Council, having intended to raise the City against them, and with having purposed to resist his arrest. On these three heads he was charged with felony. To intentions of overthrowing Northumberland he confessed. The charge of treason therefore was withdrawn. As the Tower axe was carried out of Westminster Hall, the vast sympathizing multitude believed that he was acquitted, and were wild with joy. The charges of felony,

His death
1552.

however, were pressed, and on them he was found guilty and condemned to death. The anger of the people was very great, and great precautions had to be taken to secure quiet at his execution. On the 22nd of January he was beheaded, dying calmly and nobly. The love of the people for him was very great, and those who were nearest the scaffold thrust eagerly forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood. The House of Commons, too, showed its disapprobation of the manner in which the trial had been conducted by enacting that no person should be convicted of treason except by the testimony of two witnesses, who were to be produced at the trial. For this act of independence Parliament was dissolved, and a new and carefully chosen one substituted. Somers-

set's death still further increased the hatred with which Warwick was regarded, and added fresh strength to that reaction which was so soon to get an opportunity of showing itself.

For the time, however, Northumberland thought himself all-powerful. Allied with France, sure that the Emperor could do him no injury, freed from his rival in the Council, he seemed to see his way even to higher things. It was possible that he might secure his influence for ever by a change in the late King's will. For Edward's health was now failing. He had always been of weakly constitution; the precocity of his mind, and the share in difficult public affairs which he had had to take, had not tended to strengthen him. His flight with Somerset to Windsor is said to have still further injured his lungs; it was now plain that he could not live long. On Henry VIII.'s death, of the direct descendants of Henry VII. there were three branches extant: (1) the children of Henry VIII., Edward, Mary and Elizabeth; (2) the descendants of his sister Margaret; (3) the descendants of his second sister Mary, who had married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and had two daughters, Francis and Eleanor, the former of whom had married the Marquis of Dorset, now Duke of Suffolk, and had three daughters, the eldest of whom was Lady Jane Grey.¹ By Henry's will the Crown was to devolve, first, on his son Edward; second, upon his own heir, if he had any, by Catherine Parr or other Queen; third, on Mary; fourth, on Elizabeth; fifth, on the heirs of Lady Francis; sixth, on the heirs of Lady Eleanor;—the Scotch line being passed over entirely. Northumberland married his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey; to the son of Herbert Lord Pembroke, her sister, Lady Catherine Grey, was betrothed. He contrived to persuade Edward, no doubt under pretext of upholding Protestantism, that he too had a right to devise the Crown, and in so doing to pass over his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimacy had never been publicly declared, and to substitute the next heir in his father's will, Lady Jane Grey. The will, as it exists, is full of alterations and erasures. Edward's original plan was apparently to leave his kingdom to the male heirs springing from the late marriages or to his own, for he did not at first know that he was dying. This was afterwards changed so as to leave the kingdom to Lady Jane herself. Northumberland felt that his safety depended on carrying through this plan, and thus postponing the ascendancy of the reactionary party. As he was master of the resources of the country,

Warwick, triumphant, aims at changing the succession.

¹ See page 355.

and as he had the King in his power, he was enabled to insist upon the judges drawing out letters patent such as he desired, and on having the Great Seal attached. He was also able, either by fear or persuasion, to secure the signature of a large number of very important men—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, peers and ministers, judges and merchants. Many of them signed unwillingly and under protest, and Cranmer was only induced to do so by the personal entreaty of the King. Mary heard of the plot against her, and communicated her situation to the Emperor; while the King sank rapidly, not without some natural suspicions of foul play, and Northumberland made rapid preparations for establishing the change of dynasty by force of arms. On the 6th of July the young King died.

*The King's
death.*

Although Edward's reign had been a long minority, it is not to be supposed that the lofty views of royalty which the two preceding Kings had introduced had in any way suffered. Somerset, popular though he was, had regarded himself as the representative of the Crown, and one prime cause of his fall was the absorption of all power into his own hands, and his disregard of the power of the Council. The young Edward always spoke and wrote as though his idea of royalty was as complete and as high as that of his father. All ecclesiastical changes in the reign had been carried out by lay authority. The complete supremacy and unity of the State lay at the bottom of all the transactions of the reign. But this centralized power had been employed, not as in the reign of Henry VIII. in harmony with the general wishes of the nation, but to the furtherance of the view of one section of the people only. Calvinistic doctrines had assumed the place of the earlier and more orthodox creeds. Forty-two Articles, entirely in that direction, had been promulgated; the English Liturgy had been revised and altered in a Calvinistic sense; the Bishops who had clung to the older doctrines had been removed and imprisoned, and their places occupied by Calvinists; and England had become a refuge for the persecuted Reformers of other lands, who crowded to the country for security. But now the circumstances of the succession were producing a crisis. If Northumberland's plan was allowed to succeed, the triumph of the Reforming party was secured. There was no longer any hope for those who still inclined towards the old doctrine. But with the bulk of the nation, especially with the nobility and members of the Council, the political change wrought by Henry VIII. was the real point of interest; there was no wish for a further advance in the

reformation of doctrine. The general desire of the people was to restore as far as possible the state of affairs during the later years of Henry. The chance of attaining this end seemed to depend on the preservation on the throne of his legitimate descendants. To this must be added the constant preference which the English have shown for a regular succession, and a natural dislike that the will of the King, unauthorized by Parliament, should set aside a settlement which had the sanction of the national representation. The project of Northumberland then was beset with difficulties, and if carried out would have been forced upon an unwilling nation.

MARY.

1553—1558.

Born 1515 = Philip II.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Germany.	Spain.
Mary, 1542.	Henry II., 1547.	Charles V., 1519.	Charles V., 1516. Philip II., 1556.

POPES.—Julius III., 1550. Marcellus II., 1555. Paul IV., 1555.

Archbishops.	Chancellors.
Thomas Craumer, 1533. Reginald Pole, 1556.	Stephen Gardiner, 1553. Nicholas Heath, 1556.

IN order to secure the completion of his plot, Northumberland kept the King's death a secret for some days. It was of paramount importance to him that Mary should be in his power, and soldiers were at once sent to Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, where she then was, to bring her to London. But her secret friends had given her instant information of the King's death, and she had taken flight and ridden to Keninghall on the Waveney. This castle belonged to the Howards, among whom she was in safety, while its proximity to the sea offered her an easy means of escape to the dominions of her cousin, Charles V., should flight be necessary. Meanwhile Lady Jane Grey was called before the Council at Sion House, and was there told that Edward was dead, and that she was appointed to succeed him. Young as she was, she had acquired an unusual amount of learning—Greek, Latin and Hebrew were among her accomplishments. Her letters show a remarkable degree of sense, and give us a picture of a gentle, thoughtful, pure and pious nature. To such a character the sudden news was a great shock. Understanding, however, that her right was a true one, she bravely and calmly accepted the position. She was proclaimed in London on the 10th of July, but the people could not hide from themselves that she was

1553]

LADY JANE GREY

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a creature of Northumberland's, whose real plan was to take advantage of the doubt as to whether a female sovereign was allowed in England, and get his son Lord Guildford Dudley crowned and made King. The hatred of the people for this nobleman was intense. His high-handed proceedings and absolute want of success had together secured him perfect unpopularity. People loved to speak of him as "the rugged bear," in allusion to his armorial bearings. The proclamation was therefore heard in silence, and the audience thought what an apprentice, Gilbert Potter, was brave enough to say: "Lady Mary has the better title;"—the pillory was his reward.

A force under the Earl of Warwick, Northumberland's eldest son, and another of the Dudleys, had been sent to fetch the Princess Mary, and a fleet was despatched to watch for her upon the coast. She had written to the Lords of the Council claiming the Crown, and had been told in reply to submit and behave as a good subject. Such was, however, by no means her temper. From Keninghall she moved to Framlingham, another stronghold of the Howards, and there began to gather round her the members of the older nobility, and those gentlemen whose Catholic tendencies had kept them in disgrace during the last reign. Lord Bath and Lord Sussex had joined her, Lord Mordaunt and Lord Wharton had sent their sons, and Lord Derby, the most powerful of the old Lords, had risen for her in Cheshire. Even Carew had proclaimed her in Devonshire. Warwick's attempt to seize Mary was quite unsuccessful; his own men declared against him.

It was plain that the opposition to Queen Jane would be a very strong one. In fact the heart of the nation was with Mary. Not caring for subtleties of ecclesiastical law, the nation recognized in her a true descendant of Henry VIII., and, sick of the anarchical and revolutionary government of Northumberland and his colleagues, longed for the order which would restore England to its proper condition—the only hope of which seemed to lie in a reaction. Hatred of Northumberland, and a preference for more national and patriotic views than his, had sown dissension in the Council itself; Winchester and Arundel were the secret friends of Mary. And thus, when it became necessary to collect troops to be sent into Norfolk to remedy Warwick's want of success, and when at the Queen's entreaty, Suffolk, her father, was left at home, and the troops were entrusted to Northumberland in person, Winchester and Arundel took care that they should consist largely of their own retainers, who had received orders to turn traitors. The Duke secured a commis-

The nation rallies round Mary.

Northumberland falls in Norfolk.

sion under the Great Seal to authorize his proceedings, and set out to meet his army at Newmarket. But his army refused to fight against Queen Mary, and he had to fall back to Cambridge. The fleet, too, had declared for her on the coast, and most of the Council¹ who were left in London, finding means to slip from the Tower where they had met, but where they felt under restraint, proclaimed Mary Queen. This act was received with demonstrations of delight, very different from the silence which had greeted Queen Jane's proclamation.

Paget and Arundel were at once despatched to make submission to Mary, and Arundel passed on to Cambridge, and there apprehended Northumberland, who humbly prayed him to be "good to him for the love of God, and to consider that he had done nothing but by the will of the Council."

Mary thus found herself Queen, contrary to the expectations even of her own friends at the Spanish Embassy. But the Queen's own views went much beyond those of the majority of her supporters. She looked not only to a restoration of the system of her father, but to a complete reconciliation with the Roman Church. Her position did not allow her at once to proceed to this extremity. The introduction of Bonner to the Council, and the appointment of Gardiner to the office of Chancellor, had indeed secured her strong partisans in the Government, but she could not yet dispense with that lay and national party which had raised her to the throne, while even Renard, the Ambassador of Charles, at whose advice she was forced to act, for political reasons employed himself in restraining her ardour. The political situation of Europe was critical, the rivalry between Charles and France was again at its height, and on the death of Edward there

appeared a chance that England might be secured by one side or the other. Mary naturally inclined towards Charles, while Northumberland was so closely connected with the Court of France, that he had sent for help to that country to establish Lady Jane Grey. England was in fact at present the stake for which the two parties were playing. The ambassadors of the rival powers, Renard and Noailles, were therefore of great importance and the centres of all intrigue.

Now, to Simon Renard the restoration of England to Roman Catholicism was of secondary importance, except so far as it tended to throw the country upon the Spanish

¹ Winchester, Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Cheyne, Paget, Mason, and Petre.

side of the great European contest. At the same time he was conscious that the nation as a whole did not desire reunion with Rome, especially as reconciliation probably implied repentance, and repentance restitution, and the restitution of the abbey lands was scarcely to be thought of. Any measure tending in that direction seemed for the time impossible. But while for these reasons the ambassador checked the Queen's eagerness, he was constantly urging her to severity to secure her position, which was so necessary for Charles's interests. The traitors who had tried to displace her should be executed at once, and with them all those whose claims were likely to be inconvenient—the Lady Jane, Lord Guildford Dudley, and even the Princess Elizabeth.

Though Renard's lukewarmness and political advice prevented Mary from at once restoring England to the Papacy, she proceeded rapidly to restore the old Church within the limits of her kingdom. She replaced the Bishops who had been deprived in the last reign, and sanctioned the restoration of the Mass—a measure which, except in the large towns, met with willing acceptance. The Protestant preachers and the foreign Protestants of note who were resident in England were either driven from the country by strong hints as to the danger of remaining, or summoned to London and imprisoned. Among these were Cranmer and Latimer, both of whom refused to leave the country. In August she went a step further, and although the law authorizing it had not been repealed,¹ refused to recognize the marriage of the clergy. A commission, consisting of Bonner, Gardiner, Day and Tunstall, proceeded to purify the bench of married Bishops. By this means, or on charges of treason, ten Bishops were got rid of.

Gradual restoration of the Roman Church.

The ease with which these changes were completed was perhaps partly due to the contemptible conduct of Northumberland. With the closest of his friends, his son the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, the two Gaseses and Sir Thomas Palmer, he was tried and convicted of high treason, and on the 22d of August Gates and Palmer were executed. Northumberland's meanness followed him to his death. The day before his execution he and the other prisoners consented to hear Mass, and some of the more important citizens were summoned to see the edifying spectacle. The execution had been expected on that day, "and the headsman was ready, when suddenly they were commanded to depart. At the

¹ Mary's excuse for such illegal action was the position which she held that the Acts passed during the minority of Edward were void.

same time after, was sent for my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and chiefest of the crafts of London and divers of the Council, and there was said Mass before the Duke and the rest of the prisoners." Nor was this recantation enough. It had to be repeated, perhaps under false hopes of pardon, on the scaffold itself, where the apostate declared himself to have been in reality always a Catholic. Thus, with a lie upon his lips, he passed from the world, perhaps the worst and most simply selfish statesman who had ever ruled England.

But while Renard advised Mary as a politician, her conscience was assailed by the repeated instances of Cardinal Pole, son of Margaret Plantagenet, the Duke of Clarence's daughter. He had been abroad when Henry VIII. abolished the authority of the Pope in England, and, refusing to return when summoned, had been proclaimed a traitor and attainted. Since that time he had devoted himself wholly to the interests of the Roman See. The conspiracy of his brothers in England (in 1538) had destroyed any hopes of his return. He had been one of the Presidents of the Council of Trent, and had incessantly planned and intrigued with all his energy for the restoration of the Papal authority in England. On the accession of Mary he seemed on the point of seeing his hopes realized, and, wholly regardless of the political crisis, constantly insisted upon the immediate reconciliation of the kingdom with Rome. But the Emperor could not afford to risk his influence in England, or to suffer his plans to be destroyed by the inconsiderate haste of the eager Churchman. Much against his will, Pole was compelled to postpone his triumph, while Charles tried more politic measures to attach England to himself. With this object Renard had been instructed

Proposed marriage with Philip.

to suggest to Mary that Philip, Charles's heir, would be a desirable match for her. The suggestion had been so well received that the Queen was herself willing for a time to lay some restraint upon her religious zeal. The ambassador had shown her Philip's portrait, and her solitary and forlorn heart had been seized with an overpowering passion for him, so that before everything, before even the re-establishment of orthodoxy, she desired this marriage to be arranged. Anything which could in any way prevent it was studiously to be avoided. As Pole's return and the accompanying restitution of the Abbey lands would be most distasteful to her subjects, and risk the failure of the marriage she had so much at heart, the Queen felt that it must be for the present postponed. Still the reconciliation was postponed only; every care was taken to render it at some future time possible and

easy. She cleared the way for Pole's future reception by getting her first Parliament, which assembled for a brief session early in October, to pass an Act repealing all treasons except those mentioned in the Statute of Edward III. (exempting from it however all who had been arrested before the end of the preceding month), and offences falling within the case of *Præmunire*. More than this she could not venture to do. She was obliged to allow the Parliament during its second session, later in the year, to declare her legitimate, thus acknowledging the competency of previous Parliaments which had declared the contrary. She even suffered the same Parliament to restore the Church to the position it had occupied on her father's death, and to accept the title of Supreme Head of the Church, though she evidently thus trenched upon the prerogative of the Roman See.

Extreme care was indeed necessary to avoid all fresh causes of unpopularity, for the idea of the Spanish marriage, implying as it did a close connection with the Roman Catholic powers of Europe, and the probability that it would draw England into the whirlpool of rivalry between France and Spain, had excited great anger. The Commons petitioned the Queen strongly against it, but were met with a peremptory rebuff. Her conduct to her sister also gave deep offence. The Act which had declared her legitimate had not removed the stain of illegitimacy from Elizabeth. Mary had still further shown her feelings by refusing to acknowledge Elizabeth as her heir. Lady Lennox, the daughter of Margaret of Scotland, had even been allowed to take precedence of her. The Protestants, and a large proportion of the national party, thought they saw in these two things—the marriage and her treatment of the Princess—a threat of a reactionary policy so violent as to be intolerable. They determined to take arms. The conclusion of the treaty of marriage and the arrival of Count Egmont, who was to represent the Spanish Prince at the forthcoming marriage ceremony, brought matters to a crisis. There was to be a concerted rising in Devonshire, on the borders of Wales, in the Midland counties, and in Kent. The management of these was intrusted to Sir Peter Carew, Sir James Crofts, Suffolk and Wyatt respectively. Courtenay and Elizabeth were, if possible, to be married and placed upon the throne. This young man, son of the Marquis of Exeter beheaded in the Pole conspiracy in 1539, had since that time been a prisoner in the Tower, and was thus, as was natural, ignorant of the ways of the world, and ill-fitted for a conspirator. He was in fact a silly, vain lad, who by his folly allowed Gardiner to

Unpopularity of the marriage.

Consequent risings in different parts of the country. 1554.

obtain full information of the plot. Carew, summoned to London, was driven to a premature rising, and upon his immediate failure was compelled to fly to France. This drove Wyatt into arms, while Suffolk hurried off to raise the Midland counties (Jan. 1554). He could there do little more than issue proclamations in Leicester and several other places against the Spanish marriage. He found but little sympathy, and, being compelled to hide, sought safety in a hollow oak in his own park at Astley, where he was betrayed by his keeper. Wyatt meanwhile had advanced towards Rochester, having with him a considerable body of the men of Kent. He procured cannon from the Queen's ships in the river, and was ready with a fairly equipped army before any troops had been sent against him. Indeed the Council threw great obstacles in the Queen's way, having but little favour themselves for the Spanish marriage. Five hundred Londoners were however placed under the command of Norfolk, and marched towards Rochester. The Duke, persuaded by the treacherous advice of Sir George Hopper, advanced directly upon Wyatt. In presence of the insurgents the Londoners immediately changed sides, with their commander, Brett, at their head. Thus supplied with cannon, Wyatt advanced to Dartford with a considerable force, trusting chiefly to the disaffection in London, a proof of which he had so lately seen. The crisis was becoming very dangerous. Even Renard began to think that the marriage must

Courage of
the Queen.

be given up. But the energy of the Tudor Queen rose with the difficulty. She contrived to gain some time by a futile negotiation with Wyatt. In his answer he demanded the custody of the Queen's person and the Tower of London. Armed with these arrogant demands, the Queen threw herself upon the good feeling of the Londoners. She rode in person to Guildhall, and there addressed them in a spirit-stirring speech, declaring that she would never marry except with leave of Parliament. Her bravery won the hearts of her audience. 25,000 men were enrolled the next day (Feb. 3), and before Wyatt reached London Bridge the City was prepared, under the command of the Admiral Lord William Howard, and the bridge impassable. Wyatt's opportunity was gone. Had Suffolk been able to second him things might still have gone well, but he was already a captive. To reach London Wyatt had now to go up the river as far as Kingston, to bring his troops across in boats. Time, which was enabling the Queen's party to strengthen and organize their defence, had already begun to thin his ranks. With such forces as he had he marched along what is now Piccadilly, coming down the river from Kingston. Delays occurred upon the way, and his army was broken and worn

out as it approached Hyde Park Corner. It was there cut in half by a charge of cavalry. Wyatt continued to advance with the leading portion; the other half dispersed. He went down in front of St. James's Palace, and so on to Charing Cross. The guard, with whom was Courtenay, broke and fled, and Whitehall, where the Queen was watching the fortunes of the day, was in great danger. Wyatt however passed on up the Strand; the troops opened to let him pass, and he reached Ludgate. This was the end of his march. His troops were scattered and had fallen from him, and he found himself with twenty-four men only. He fought back as far as Temple Bar, but there surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley, and his insurrection was at an end (Feb. 3).

The failure of Wyatt's insurrection sealed the fate of the prisoners in the Tower. The Queen had hitherto been mercifully inclined; she was now ready to listen to the constant advice of Gardiner and of Renard, and to rid herself of her late rival, perhaps even of her sister Elizabeth. On the 12th of February Lord Guildford Dudley was executed on Tower Hill. His young wife saw him led forth, and saw his remains brought back, and then went calmly out to suffer death herself upon the scaffold on the green within the Tower. She said briefly that she had been wrong in taking the Crown, but was guiltless in intention, and then with perfect calmness got ready for the fatal stroke. Fakenham, the Queen's confessor, had been in vain trying to shake her Protestant faith. She was even able to write a beautiful letter to strengthen her father, and thus, at the age of seventeen, passed away—a remarkable instance of precocious talent wedded to a most pure and high-minded disposition. "On that same day was made," says a contemporary diarist, "at every gate in London a new pair of gallows—two pair in Cheapside, two pair in Fleet Street, one pair in Holborn," and so on; and he continues his catalogue of the numbers hanged on each, in all some forty-eight. Stowe says that eighty were hanged in London, and twenty-two in Kent. On the 23rd the Duke of Suffolk suffered.

Thus, then, the Queen's rivals, the Greys, were disposed of, and Gardiner believed that her sister, her more formidable rival, was also within her grasp. A copy of a letter of hers had been found among some treasonable correspondence with France, and it was hoped that Wyatt might be induced by torture to implicate her in some way or other in the conspiracy. When, just before the insurrection, she had been sent for to London, she had

Execution of
Lady Jane Grey
and others.
Feb. 12.

Imprisonment
of Princess
Elizabeth.

pleaded ill-health. She was now peremptorily ordered to appear there, and ill as she was, she was brought by Lord William Howard, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, to London by easy journeys. But although every measure was taken to induce Wyatt to accuse her, and although some little evidence was gained, the Court could not venture beyond sending her to the Tower; and even in doing this, Gardiner was strongly opposed by Paget, Sussex, Hastings and others. They knew what was likely to be the end of such a committal. But Elizabeth formed a sort of centre round which was gathered the liberal part of the nation. The same division of parties as existed in England generally, existed also in the Council, and the best statesmen in that body—Paget, Sussex, Lord William Howard, Winchester, and Hastings—although Catholics, and so far reactionary as to wish to undo the revolutionary measures of the last reign, were yet in distinct opposition to Gardiner, who, with Petre, Rochester, and others, was desirous not only of establishing the Roman Catholic religion, but of establishing it by means of persecution. The moderate party, and among them chiefly Lord William Howard, whose influence as Admiral was very great, rendered it impossible to persecute Elizabeth further. The judges, too, declared that there was no case against her, and thus, in spite of the protests of Gardiner and of Renard, she was at length allowed to retire to Woodstock.

As Wyatt's witness was no longer of use, he was executed, denying with his last breath any accusation he might have made against the Princess. The liberal party of the Council were not alone in thinking that vengeance had gone far enough. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the next of the prisoners to be tried, was, after a brilliant defence of himself, acquitted. The jury which acquitted him was at once imprisoned, but the Court had learnt the lesson intended, and the remaining important prisoners escaped with their lives.

The failure of Wyatt's insurrection against the Spanish marriage of course removed all opposition to it, and in the second Parliament of the reign, which was summoned in April, the Bill necessary for the marriage was passed. Gardiner's next step, however, met with less success. He insisted upon introducing three Bills for the persecution of heretics. These were defeated with great difficulty by Paget in the Upper House, and the dispute between the different sections of the Council ran so high that an outbreak seemed imminent. Mary's mind had meanwhile begun to be shaken by the wild craving which possessed her for a

Second Parliament authorizes the Spanish marriage.

marriage with Philip. Renard had but to threaten that the Prince would not come, to obtain anything he desired. At last, however (in July), with great precautions against danger from the unruly populace, Philip actually came,—to find a wife much older than himself, without charm of any kind, whose importunate love was soon to become most irksome to him.

The first of the Queen's desires was for a time fulfilled; the second, for the restoration of the Papal power in England, was yet incomplete. Charles's opposition to Pole's return was withdrawn now that his influence in England appeared to be secured by his son's marriage; and the Queen, after a lavish expenditure of money among the chief statesmen opposed to her wishes, found it possible to advance towards the completion of her great hope. The Pope was induced so far to relax his claims as to give Pole full power to make what terms he could; and a new Parliament, elected expressly for the occasion, not without a plentiful exertion of Court influence,¹ was summoned in November. Pole's attainder was at once repealed, and the Legate, though at first in the character only of ambassador, ventured to England. At Rochester, however, he was informed that he might assume his Legatine authority, and his barge swept up (Nov. 24) with the full tide to Whitehall, with the silver cross displayed at its bow. He was received with every sign of extravagant welcome by the King and Queen. Four days afterwards, both the Houses of Parliament were summoned to Whitehall to hear an address from the Legate. In this he pointed out the merciful dealings of God with the nation in giving it a faithful Queen, and marrying her to a faithful King. He explained that he regarded himself as holding the keys—keys which could admit men to Heaven, and desired the nation to consider whether it would make use of them or not. When the House met after this address, it accepted the reconciliation offered, with one dissentient voice. On St. Andrew's Day (Nov. 30) the Houses assembled again at Whitehall, and received upon their knees absolution from the Legate. They then passed enthusiastically to the chapel in the palace, and joined in a *Te Deum*. The reconciliation, however, was after all a compromise. The possession of property of all sorts was held to rest on the statutes of the realm, and could be called in question only in lay courts,² and any one who should on any pretence

In spite of difficulties, England accepts the Papal absolution.

¹ Influential persons were required to try and secure the election of "such as were catholic, wise, grave and Catholic sort, such as indeed meant the true honour of God."

² 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, ch. viii.

of spiritual jurisdiction molest the holders of such land was to undergo the indefinite danger of the *Præmunire*. Every precaution was taken to exclude Philip as far as possible from exercising the royal power; he was declared Regent only till his child, who was now surely expected, should be of age, and only as long as he continued in the realm. With this limited success the Court party was forced to be contented.

But the restored power of the Church at once made itself felt. The persecuting statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V., which had been previously rejected, were now re-enacted; and Gardiner, backed by the power of the Legate, and acting in accordance with the law, could at once proceed to the violent measures for which he was anxious. Pole issued orders for the reception of confessions and the issue of absolutions. Of these a register was to be kept, which virtually amounted to a black-book of heretics. On the very day of the appearance of these orders, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, and other Bishops, were at work at St. Mary Overy's. Hooper and Rogers were their first victims. They were ordered to submit, and upon declining, were condemned to death. On the 4th of February, Rogers—parting as he went with his wife and nine children, and received with cheers of approbation by the onlookers—was led to the fire at Smithfield. The same night Hooper was taken to Gloucester, where his liberality had much endeared him, and suffered there. The same day and the day before, died Rowland Taylor and Laurence Sandars. This triumph of clerical revenge was very far from what the people had desired. The popular excitement did not escape the Spanish Ambassador, and, impressing Philip with the political necessities of his position, he compelled him, by the mouth of his chaplain, Alfonso a Castro, to denounce the persecution and disclaim all share in it. The effect, indeed, was such upon the people generally that a revolution seemed imminent, and Philip himself was thinking of throwing up the game and leaving the country. He was persuaded to remain till the succession had been arranged, and to bring about, if possible, a marriage between Elizabeth and Philibert of Savoy, who was wholly in the Spanish interest. The persecution, meanwhile, checked for a short time by Alfonso's sermon, was speedily renewed. Early in March, eight more victims were burnt; in all, sixteen before the end of April. The Queen was then preparing seriously for her confinement. She gave back to the Pope such abbey lands as she possessed to make her peace with God, and retired to Hampton Court, while priests and bishops sang prayers about the

Persecuting
statutes re-
enacted and put
in force.
Jan. 1555.

London streets.¹ Circulars even were written announcing the happy event. But the happy event did not come. Yet much hung on it;—in England the peaceful acceptance of Spanish influence, and abroad that consequent preponderance of the Imperial power which would produce European peace, which would in its turn enable Philip and Mary to carry out their Catholic views in England. All this was dependent upon the birth of an heir to the throne. But the child did not come; and almost worse than that, two Popes died within a few weeks of each other, and in May, Marcellus was succeeded, under the title of Paul IV., by Cardinal Caraffa, the deadly enemy of Pole, and the close friend of the French. Conscience-stricken for her too great leniency, Mary issued a letter exciting the Bishops to greater energy. Fifty new victims were the consequence. The effect was not what the Queen hoped; and the Spaniards, throwing up all hope that Philip would rule England as Regent to his son, threw the whole of their influence into the intended match between Elizabeth and Philibert, hoping thereby at least to secure a secondary interest in affairs. Philip found it no longer necessary to remain with his unloved wife. He was wanted too elsewhere; and in August he left England—having taken the opportunity of setting himself right with the Princess—
Philip leaves England.

The Queen is
disappointed
of an heir.

and went to receive the dominion which his great father, Charles V., was now abdicating. It is uncertain what his plans with regard to England were, but there is some evidence to show that arms were to establish that Spanish influence which had not come through his marriage. His departure left the Queen miserable, and almost mad. She roamed wildly about her palace, and sat grovelling on the floor in the twilight, with her knees drawn up to her face. She betook herself to the gloomy satisfaction of religious persecution, and in the three dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester and London there was but little cessation of sacrifices at the stake. Among others Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, imprisoned since the beginning of the reign, were now to be dealt with. Commissioners were sent to Oxford to try them. There was this difficulty in the way of Cranmer's condemnation, that he had received the pall from the Pope. He refused, too, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the commissioners, asserting that the Papal authority was forbidden by old English law. At the close of the proceedings, he was cited to appear at

Renewed per-
secution. Trial
and death of
Ridley and
Latimer.
Sept. 7.

¹ These exhibitions were not without their drawbacks. On one occasion Machyn tells how a "frantyk man cam and hangyd about a preest vj podynges."—MACHYN, p. 65.

Rome within eighty days, and then recommitted to his prison. A few days after, Ridley and Latimer were also tried in the Divinity Schools at Oxford. Latimer exhibited the quaint simplicity which marked his character. The old man appeared, leaning on his staff, in a threadbare gown of Bristol frieze; a handkerchief and night-cap were upon his head, and over those a burgher's cap, with broad ear-flaps. To his leathern waistband hung his Bible, and his spectacles hung by a string about his neck. The test question was applied to him with regard to the Sacrament. He could but simply answer that bread was bread, and wine was wine. Both he and Ridley were condemned to death. On the 16th of October they were brought out—passing the prison where Cranmer was still living—to the stake erected at the bottom of St. Giles's; Ridley, neatly and trimly clothed like a gentleman, with a furred black gown, and furred tippet around his neck, and Latimer, quaint as ever, clothed beneath his cloak with a new shroud. They were chained back to back to the same stake—a friend hung powder round the neck of each; the faggots were lighted. "Play the man Master Ridley," said Latimer, "we shall this day light such a candle in England as by the grace of God shall never be put out." The death of Latimer was almost instantaneous. His companion lingered longer; but at length some friend stirred the faggots at his feet, the flames shot up and caught the powder, and he died. The less-known martyrs suffered even more terribly; some at least were starved to death in the prison where they were confined.

The Archbishop's fate was rapidly approaching; but he outlived his unrelenting enemy, Gardiner, who died almost immediately after the meeting of Parliament in October—a Parliament which would only grant a subsidy under the pledge that none of it should go to Philip, and which, though it allowed the Queen to divest herself of the first-fruits, refused to suffer them to be paid to the Pope. A Parliament so little obsequious to the Crown was speedily dissolved. In December Cranmer's cause had been tried at Rome, and sentence had been passed against him in his enforced absence. In February 1556 he was degraded from his office by Thirlby and Bonner, who were intrusted with the completion of the sentence. His life was spared a little, and he was induced to write several letters of submission and humiliating confession. This was held to be a deathblow to the cause of the Reformation, and it was thought that, as that blow had been struck, there was no further object in sparing Cranmer's life. But the persecutors outwitted themselves.

Confession and
death of
Cranmer.
March 21.

On the 21st of March he was to be executed, and to put

the final stroke to his humiliation by a great public confession. It was rainy, and the sermon and recantation were held in St. Mary's Church. Cole, the Provost of Eton, preached to him, or rather on him, and concluded by an appeal to him to fulfil his promise, and to declare his confession of faith. The Archbishop knelt in prayer, addressed a few words of wise advice against the sins of the time; and then, to the astonishment of his hearers, when he passed to his confession of faith, declared that the letters which he had lately written were contrary to his true belief, vowed that the hand that had written them should first be burned, and closed by saying, "As for the Pope, I utterly refuse him as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine; and as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester." He was hustled off to the stake and burnt, fulfilling his promise that his right hand should be the first to feel the fire.

Three days before this execution, a number of young gentlemen were carried to the Tower, among them John Throgmorton and Sir Harry Peckham; and a few days after a proclamation appeared declaring Sir Harry Dudley, Christopher Aston, the two Tremaynes, and divers others, traitors. The feelings of the nation had been deeply stirred by the cruelty of the persecutions. Among younger men especially were found many who saw in the present reaction a death-blow to all their noblest hopes and aspirations. The younger part of England believed even then in progress, and regarded Elizabeth—child of the Protestant upstart Anne Boleyn—as its representative. Their plans had ripened during the session of Parliament; and now, when the time for their fulfilment was close at hand, were suddenly exploded. Sir Harry Dudley, one of the Duke of Northumberland's family, appears to have been at the bottom of the plot, and it is his name that it generally bears. In its details the scheme of Dudley and his young friends—for nearly all of them were young—was very like Wyatt's and the Duke of Suffolk's. The hope of its success rested chiefly on assistance from France. In Paris Throgmorton had been intriguing, and thither Sir Harry Dudley himself went to intrigue. French ships, armed by means of French money, and manned by discontented Englishmen, who were now very plentiful in France, were to seize the Isle of Wight, which Uvedale, the Captain of the island, had arranged to surrender to them. Thence Portsmouth was to be attacked, and secured without bloodshed, for there was a friendly party within. The possession of this port was to secure the insurrection of

The Dudley
conspiracy.
April 3.

the whole South-east of England. Meanwhile troops from Wales and the West were to march towards the capital. The balance between Spain and France on the Continent was at this time so uncertain, that Henry II. of France was not inclined either strongly to assist or wholly to discourage the conspirators. A midnight meeting was held in Paris, and assistance promised them. But this was too ostentatious a manner of conspiring not to reach the ears of Wotton, the English Ambassador; information was at once sent to England. An intended robbery of the Treasury, to the amount of £50,000, which was to supply the fund for the expedition, was also betrayed. The effect was the immediate apprehension of such of the chiefs of the conspiracy as were to be found in England, while the rest were proclaimed traitors. No mercy was shown to the offenders; neither rack nor gallows was spared, but, though some of the conspirators turned King's evidence, Throgmorton, whose knowledge was the most extensive, bore bravely up against the torture.

This conspiracy was followed by an increased vigour of persecution.

Renewed
persecution.

The diary of Machyn, a citizen of London, is little else than a dismal list of poor wretches brought to the stake, or criminals hanged wholesale; for the restoration of Church discipline seems to have had no effect upon the morals of the country. The Government had fallen into the hands of a few of the Queen's particular friends—as Rochester, Englefield and Jernyngham. The Lords of the Council, and real statesmen of England, held aloof from the wretched tyranny. The exiled gentlemen sought refuge in France, and were there welcomed by the King, from whom the complaints of Mary could obtain nothing but the most transparently false disavowal of all intentions to assist them. The very ships which were said to be sent to suppress the rovers—for the exiles had

Many young
Englishmen fly
to France.

taken to privateering—really acted as their consorts. They preyed chiefly on the trade of Spain, between which power and France war was again imminent, and whose interests were identical with Mary's. These young gentlemen had a sort of chivalrous worship of the Princess Elizabeth. On her the eyes of the younger and more stirring part of the people had been fixed throughout the reign, and now, amid the general wretchedness, all parties, except the extreme Catholics, fixed their hopes on her. The younger men conspired, and lost the national confidence by seeking the aid of France; the wise old statesmen, who saw in her something of her father's love of order, were content to wait till a few years should of necessity close the Queen's life, for her health was

quite broken; she was a prey to the dropsy, and the absence of her husband tended to increase her misery.

The French support of the English exiles was not wholly politic. For some little time there had been a truce between the French nation and Spain. But Caraffa, Paul IV., was French in all his views; he was anxious too to expel the Spaniards from Naples, and was constantly urging Henry II. to break the truce. He had now induced him to do so, and it would have been prudent to have allowed the English to hold aloof from the war, as was their anxious wish. Henry's injudicious support of the exiles did for Philip what he never could have done for himself. The Spanish King had brought himself to revisit the country and the wife he detested, for the purpose of embroiling England in his continental quarrels. This was contrary to the treaty of marriage between himself and Mary, and his visit had proved useless. But the assistance given by Henry to a wild expedition to the North of England headed by Sir Thomas Stafford, the grandson of the Duke of Buckingham whom Henry VIII. had beheaded, forced the nation into war. Stafford landed with thirty Englishmen and one Frenchman at Scarborough, but was

France supports them.
1557.

Consequent war.

shortly taken prisoner, with the whole of his followers, who, with the exception of one, were put to death. War with France was declared. As this war was chiefly in the Pope's interests, the bulk of the French army was poured into Italy under the Duke of Guise. It was there destroyed by disease, and the Pope had to make his submission to Alva, Philip's lieutenant. But the absence of the French army in the South had given Philip an opportunity, of which he had taken advantage, of striking a blow from the Netherlands. His army, under Philibert of Savoy, had advanced to St. Quentin, the garrison of which was reinforced by Coligny, who then took the command. To relieve his nephew, and to save a city which barred the road to Paris, Montmorency collected what troops he could, and hurried northward. These troops consisted mainly of the reserves of the country, nobles and their feudal followers. The French suffered a disastrous defeat. Their loss was 4000 killed; and the Constable, Montmorency himself, and many other of the chief nobles of France were among the prisoners. The English were not present, though arriving on the ground soon enough to have a share in the ruthless pillage of the town. The Duke of Guise, irritated at his want of success in Italy, thought to gratify the French people and establish his popularity by winning back Calais, the

Battle of
St. Quentin.
Aug. 10, 1557.

defences of which had been much neglected, and which the French nation ardently desired to possess. The last reign had been one of great extravagance and waste, and Northumberland and his Council,

in the midst of the financial pressure which was always

Loss of Calais.

weighing upon them in England, had neglected the supplies and the fortifications of Calais. Mary's reign had been less wasteful, but, as has been seen, she had felt it her duty to divest the Crown of a large portion of its revenue and to restore it to the Church. She too had therefore been obliged to be penurious. The Calais Pale comprised three forts—Calais itself, and the two outlying forts, Guisnes and Hammes. Of these, Guisnes was about three miles from Calais, connected by a line of fortresses; Hammes lay between the two. In these three places there were about sixteen or seventeen hundred men. Grey had a thousand of these at Guisnes, while Wentworth garrisoned Calais with some five hundred, not nearly enough to man the works thoroughly. The commanders knew well that an attack was intended. They wrote urgent letters to England for assistance, and it was resolved that they were too weak to move out of their strongholds till reinforced. Troops were hurriedly collected, and upon some rumour of the falseness of the previous report, as rapidly disbanded. Meanwhile an army of twenty thousand men was encamped at Boulogne, and thirty or forty vessels, with all the apparatus for a siege, were collected at Ambleteuse. On the 1st of January 1558, Calais, on the land side, was invested. The sea was still open, and the entrance to Calais harbour was covered by a castle on the Rysbank, the end of a line of sand mounds which fronted the sea. The other approaches to the sandhills were covered by a bulwark called the Sandgate and a fort called Newnham bridge. On the 2nd of January an attack on Newnham bridge was repulsed, but the Sandgate was captured. The country should have been put under water, but the sluices were out of order, and would have let the salt into the wells. So Wentworth wrote in haste for more assistance, but before he had well finished his letter the Rysbank was attacked from the sea and captured, and the defence of Calais was virtually over. Guisnes might perhaps have been saved, but extraordinary mismanagement prevented the reinforcements from being embarked. The Queen's ships were unseaworthy, and when a transport fleet was collected a storm scattered it; and when Philip of Spain replaced it with a fleet from the Low Countries, the army in despair had disbanded. So Guisnes went with Calais, and the English hold upon France was destroyed. The loss of Calais was a heavy

blow to England and to Mary. The nation was for the moment roused; money was rapidly voted by Parliament or borrowed abroad; but the persecution, which still continued, had shaken the loyalty of England, and the musters which were collected could not be trusted. One brief success was won by the fleet, with which Clinton had a share in securing the victory for Count Egmont at the battle of Gravelines. But the feeling was growing both in France and Spain that it was time, if the march of Protestantism was to be checked, to put an end to their internecine struggle and to join in the suppression of heresy. The death of Charles V., the old enemy of France, rendered this the more easy. To the French indeed, if they could but retain Calais, a peace brought nothing but advantage, and they offered Philip peace almost on his own terms

*Negotiations for
a European
peace.
Sept. 1558.*

if he would throw over his allies. As he still had hopes of drawing England to his side by means of the friendship of Elizabeth, even if he could not join it to his kingdom by a marriage with that Princess, he refused to desert his allies, and in the midst of the negotiations the death which had been long threatening Mary came. She died on the 14th of November.

Death of Mary.

Three days afterwards she was followed to the grave by Pole, who, by an almost grotesque turn of fate, had been removed from his position as Legate *a latere* by the present Pope upon a charge of unsoundness of doctrine. Both he and Mary proved their orthodoxy to the end by vigorous persecution.

STATE OF SOCIETY.

1485-1558.

IN order rightly to appreciate Henry VIII.'s character, and to understand the position which he occupies in history, it is necessary to understand also the character of the period in which he lived. His greatness consisted in the manner in which he guided England through a period of revolution, and is enhanced when we contrast his reign with those of his immediate successors, nor is it till his daughter Elizabeth completed his work by following in his footsteps that we again see order re-established in the distracted kingdom. The period was one of revolution. It was revolutionary in all directions—in the constitution of the nation, in the social life of the nation, in the religion of the nation.

Throughout Europe the idea of the royal power had changed. The feudal notion of the king being a suzerain among peers had given place to a more modern conception of royalty, which regarded him as the arbitrary master—in some degree the proprietor—of the nation which he ruled. In England this idea found its complete expression first in Henry VII., whose notions of the royal prerogative were so high that the quaint tale is told of him, that he had his mastiffs killed for venturing to bait their royal master the lion:—"the like he did with an excellent falcon because he feared not hand and hand to match with an eagle, saying it was not meet for any subject to offer such wrong to his lord and superior." Personal government thus became the hereditary view of the Tudor sovereigns. Its establishment implied the destruction of feudalism, and of the power and prestige of the old feudal nobility. This change was much accelerated by the bloodshed of the Wars of the Roses. The heaviest part of the destruction wrought by them had fallen on the nobility. It is plain that, though they had

Revolutionary
character of
the period.

Change in the
character
of royalty.

assisted in checking the population, they had in so doing so increased the relation of the national resources to the number of its inhabitants, that the comfort and wellbeing of the bulk of the people was rather increased by them than injured, and, as far as the commonalty was concerned, England soon recovered itself. It was not so with the great houses. The diminution which they had undergone is made sufficiently obvious by the list of temporal Peers summoned to Henry VII.'s first Parliament, who were but twenty-seven in number.¹ They were further weakened by Henry's constant policy, which was directed to destroy the influence they gained from their numerous retainers. More than one statute in the reign was directed against the practice of keeping such followers, and Lord Bacon's story of the heavy fine inflicted upon the Earl of Oxford for his too great magnificence and too numerous household when he received the King is well known.

The growth and importance of wealth also tended to the decay of the old principle that gentry depended upon lineage. Of the nobility Sir Thomas Smith, in the reign of Edward VI., says

- ¹ Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, King's uncle; title extinct 1497.
William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel; title passed to Duke of Norfolk by marriage 1579.
John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; title extinct 1702.
Edmund Grey, Earl of Kent; title extinct 1740.
William Berkeley, Earl of Nottingham; title extinct 1492.
Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire; title extinct in 1499.
Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers; title extinct in 1492.
Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby.
William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon; extinct 1486.
Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon.
Ralph Graystock, Knight; the Barony of Graystock passed to Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and thence to the Howards of Carlisle.
Richard de Beauchamp, Knight; extinct 1508.
George Neville de Bergavenny.
Reginald Gray, Knight; forfeited 1604.

This list does not represent the whole peerage of England. For political reasons some names are absent. For instance, Howard, Lord Surrey, was under attainder, and the Earls of Northumberland are not mentioned.—*Dugdale's Summons to Parliament.*

- Richard de la Warre, Knight; ancestor of the present Earl Delawarr.
Thomas Lomley de Lomley; ancestor of the present Earl of Scarborough.
John Broke de Cobham, Knight; title extinct 1619.
John Blount de Mountjoy, Knight; title extinct 1681.
John Stourton de Stourton, Knight; ancestor of the present Earl Stourton.
John Sutton de Dudley, Knight; title in abeyance.
John Denham of Caredenham, Knight; title extinct 1502.
John Arundel de Maltravers, Knight, son of the Earl of Arundel; title went to Duke of Norfolk.
Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle; title extinct in 1504.
John Grey de Powys, Knight; extinct in 1552.
Henry Clifford de Clifford, Knight; ancestor of the present house of de Clifford.
John Ratcliffe de Fitzwater; title extinct 1641.
William Beaumont, Viscount Beaumont; title extinct 1507.

that "none was created a baron who could not dispend a thousand pound per annum, or at least a thousand marks." George Neville, Duke of Bedford, was degraded by Parliament in 1477 because he was poor. The performance also of certain offices was held to make a man a gentleman. In the place therefore of the old nobility and gentry of race there arose a nobility dependent on wealth and on the favour of the Court, who became naturally pliant instruments in the hand of the King, to whom they owed their elevation.¹ On reading the list of the executors of King Henry VIII.'s will, it is at once obvious that not one of them is other than a new-made man.

Under these circumstances the change in the balance of the constitution was complete. Unchecked by its natural counterpoise, the nobility, the Crown was in effect absolute, for the Commons, who might have been expected to step into the place which the nobles had vacated, were brought face to face with the power of the Crown, and, deprived of their natural leaders, had not yet found sufficient strength among themselves to make good their position against it. The King indeed thought fit, when a dangerous or difficult step had to be taken, to support his authority by application to the Commons, and would graciously accept their advice when it chimed in with his own wish or was instigated by his own agents; but how completely they accepted their position of inferiority is shown by the statutes declaring the royal proclamations to have the power of laws,² and giving the King the right of nominating his successor by will.³

This change in the character of the nobility necessitated a change in the character of the army. It was no longer the connection between tenant and feudal chief which compelled men to take the field. For defensive purposes the whole nation was regarded as one great army. To each class and rank was appointed its proper equipment, which every individual had to keep up at his own expense; and this militia was placed under the command of the most prominent noble or nobles in the county, who, as lord-lieutenants, were the representatives of the royal power there, and whose duty it was to collect and organize the armed men of their

¹ "And if any knight should have acquired sufficient number of these fees to be able to keep up a great establishment, he may get himself created an earl by the King. Howbeit the present King Henry makes but few."—*Italian Relation*, p. 33.

² Thomas, Lord Wriothesley; William, Lord St. John; John Russell, Lord Russell; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; John Dudley, Viscount Lisle; Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; William Paget, Anthony Browne, Edward North, Edward Montague, Anthony Denny and William Herbert.

³ 31 Hen. VIII.

⁴ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

district. For foreign war the troops were raised by voluntary enlistment, receiving regular pay and rations during their service.¹ These enlistments were generally made through the medium of some nobleman or gentleman, with whom the King entered into a contract. Thus, in 1492, Henry VII. contracted with George, Earl of Kent, to provide "vj. men of arms, his owne person comprised in the same, every one of them having with him his custrell and his page; with xvj. demi-launces, xvj. archers on horsbak, and lx. archers on fote, of good and hable persons for the warre, horsed, armed, garnished and arrayed sufficiently in all peces and in every thing as after the custume of warre ought to appertayne."² It was in accordance with this view of England as an armed nation that laws were made regulating the price of bows, encouraging the importation of bow staves, and insisting upon the substitution of archery for other less useful sports. The distance even at which the butts should be placed was a matter for legislation. Two hundred and twenty yards was the minimum allowed for public practice. In spite of such enactments, however, archery gradually declined, as Latimer tells us:—"Men of England in times past, when they would exercise themselves, for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise—they were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting, but now it is turned to glossing and gulling within the house. . . . Charge them upon their allegiance that this singular benefit of God may be practised, and that it be not turned to glossing and bowling within the towns, for they be negligent in executing these laws of shooting."³ In the place of archery arose the use of firearms. This seems to have necessitated the creation of something like a standing army. There were mercenaries constantly kept at Calais, and the Protector Somerset employed a body of musketeers.⁴ At the time of the insurrection in Norfolk and Devonshire, when the state of affairs was critical, and the Government were in need of every man they could get, these troops were brought over and employed against the rebels in pursuance of the advice of Paget.⁵ The feeling against the use of mercenaries in civil contests was very strong, and those who fell into the hands of the insurgents met with no quarter:—"abhorred of our party," says Hooker, who was present, "they were nothing favoured of the other."

¹ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

² See also 7 Hen. VII. c. 1.

³ *Sixth Sermon before Edward VI.*

⁴ "They were assaulted with good courage, on the one side by our footmen, on the other by the Italian harquebutters."—*Despatch of Russell, quoted by Froude.*

⁵ "Send for your Allemayn horsemen." Paget to Protector, *Strype's Mem.* vol. iv

Pursuit of
wealth. Such a change in the principle which linked the various parts of society together as that which is implied in a change from feudalism to personal government, could not take place without affecting materially the social life of the nation. It has been said that it was no longer race, but wealth, which made the gentleman. The pursuit of wealth therefore became a much greater object than it had hitherto been, and the enjoyment and exhibition of wealth were carried much farther. The Court set the example of this display. Giustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador, in the earlier part of Henry VIII.'s reign, describes in glowing terms the splendour of the young King. He speaks of him as revelling in his conscious strength and beauty and wealth.

But the greater nobility by no means fell behind their master. The magnificence of their dress was an object of wonder to foreigners. Indeed constant sumptuary laws were made to restrain the love of dress which was at that time rife in England. Shakspeare tells us of the vast expenditure in dress at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The Duke of Buckingham wore at the marriage of Prince Arthur, in 1501, a gown "wrought of needlework and set upon cloth of tissue furred with sables, the which gown was valued at £1500"—at least £15,000, of our money. Sir Nicholas Vaux wore "a gown of purple velvet, pight with pieces of gold so thick and massy that it was valued in gold beside the silk and fur at £1000; and a collar of Esses, which weighed, as the goldsmiths reported, 800 lbs. worth of nobles."¹ Their wealth, and indeed that of the whole richer

Ostentation of
the English. part of the nation, is shown in the vast profusion of their households. The necessity for an immense quantity of food was indeed characteristic of the whole people. "I have it on the best information," says the author of the "Italian Relation," "that when the war is raging most furiously they will seek for good eating and their other comforts, without thinking what harm may befall them." An idea of the magnificence of a great establishment may be gained from the entry on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1508, in the household book of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. On that day there were fed at dinner and supper together 459 persons, and the provision would seem to have consisted of 678 loaves, 66 quarts of wine, 259 flagons of ale (each flagon containing four quarts), 36 rounds of beef, 12 carcasses of mutton, 2 calves, 4 pigs, 5 salt fishes and a salt sturgeon, 3 swans,

¹ Stowe's *Annals*.

6 geese, 10 capons, 1 lamb, 2 peacocks, 2 herons, 22 rabbits, 18 chickens, 16 woodcocks, 9 mallards, 23 widgeons, 18 teals, 20 snipes, 9 dozen of great birds, 6 dozen of little birds, 3 dozen larks, 9 quails—in all 343 birds. At such feasts there was an astonishing display of plate, which was indeed very characteristic of the English at that time. "There is no small innkeeper, however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking-cups; and no one who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of at least 100 pounds sterling is considered by the English to be a person of any consequence."¹ When Cardinal Wolsey, in 1528, entertained the French Ambassadors at Hampton Court, "there were two banquetting-rooms, in each of which a cupboard extended the whole length of the apartment, filled to the top with plate. And every guest-chamber had a basin and ewer of silver, and a great livery pot of silver, and some gilt; yea, and some chambers had two livery pots, with wine and beer, a silver candlestick, having in it two sizes; yet the cupboards in the banquetting-room were never once touched."² The richer English were also profuse in many other articles of luxury; carpets, tapestries, and silks, they were very fond of;³ and, if we may judge from the inventory of Wolsey's goods, they were in the habit of purchasing large quantities, which they kept in store. This profusion of plate and of articles of luxury, especially in connection with the existing poverty, of which more will be said hereafter, was caused principally by wealth having increased beyond the means of its employment, and by the natural channels for its employment being closed by mistaken legislative enactments. Trade had not yet been much developed, and all export of the precious metals was strictly forbidden, under that mistaken view, which lasted some centuries longer, that the wealth of a nation consisted in the amount of bullion existing in it, and that it could be secured only by the exports being larger than the imports. Thus, while trade at home was limited, there was no means of employing superfluous money in foreign countries. A still further check was given to the employment of wealth by the laws which forbade usury,⁴ and by the view that the taking of interest was a sort of moral crime. There

¹ *Italian Relation of England*, p. 29.

² Stowe's *Annals*.

³ Perlin, *Description d'Angleterre* (1552), p. 11: "Les Anglois se servent fort des tapisseries, des toiles pinctes, qui sont bien faistes, auxquelles y a force et magnifiques roses, couronnées ou il y a fleurs de Liz et Lions, car en peu de maisons vous pouvez entrer que vous ne trouviez cest tapisseries."

⁴ 11 Hen. VII. c. 8.

was no alternative therefore but to hoard wealth, and this explains the lavish expenditure which so astonished the foreign visitor.

Nor was wealth confined to the upper classes. In the earlier part of the time of the Tudors there must have been great comfort of a somewhat rough sort amongst all classes. Prices were very low. Even so late as 1508, half-a-crown appears to have been the price of a calf, little more than a shilling purchased a carcase of mutton, and a round of beef could be bought for ninepence.¹ The Duke of Northumberland's house-book gives the price of sheep at twenty-pence apiece, lean beeves eight shillings apiece; and twopence was the allowed price for a lean capon, threepence or fourpence for a pig. All sorts of food were cheap in proportion. It must not be supposed that this cheapness was accompanied by a proportionate lowness of wages. In a Statute of the year 1494,² to settle the amount of labourers' work and wages, with the object no doubt of keeping wages down—for this was the tendency of all legislation at that time—the skilled artificer is allowed fivepence-farthing a day, and the unskilled labourer from threepence to threepence-halfpenny. Two years afterwards this Act was repealed, and wages probably rose a little; sixpence being the regular soldier's pay, which may be supposed to be about the same as that of the artificer. The purchasing power of money was about twelve times what it is now, which would make the ordinary wages thirty-six shillings a week. Such was the comfortable condition of the English at the beginning of the period occupied by the reigns of the Tudors, and before the end of Elizabeth's reign the same general prosperity, or something comparable to it, appears to have again existed. The intervening time was a period of great difficulty and wretchedness. The old state of society was breaking up and seeking new forms. All the conditions of life were undergoing a change, which might almost be called a revolution; and as always

Accompanying happens under such circumstances, this change was poverty. accompanied with great suffering. In Henry VII.'s reign, and throughout those of his two successors, the crying evil of English society was vagabondage and pauperism. Repeated statutes³ were made to restrain this evil, each one more severe than the last, till the

¹ Duke of Buckingham's household-book.

² 11 Hen. VII. c. 22.

³ 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12: "If any do beg without license, he shall be whipped, or else set in the stocks for three days and three nights, with bread and water only." 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15: "Every sturdy vagabond to be kept in continual labour. . . . A valiant beggar shall at the first time be whipped, . . . and if he continue his rogish life, he shall have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut off, and if he be found after that wandering in idleness, etc., he shall be adjudged and executed as a felon."

severity culminated in Somerset's Statute,¹ reducing able-bodied vagabonds to slavery. As a natural concomitant of vagabondage, came a great amount of crimes of violence and theft. No severity was sufficient to check them. In Henry VII.'s reign, the Venetian narrator observes that it is very easy to get a man apprehended Consequent crime. in England: "Such severe measures against criminals ought to keep the English in check, but for all this there is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers in it as in England;" and again, "People are taken up every day by dozens, like birds in a covey, and especially in London; yet for all this they never cease to rob and murder in the streets:" while Perlin, writing of the beginning of Mary's reign, remarks that the justice in England is very cruel, that a man who would in France be whipped would in England be condemned to death; "in truth, there are but two sorts of punishments, to wit, to be hanged or to be beheaded, and thus evildoers gain as much by doing little evil as great;" and yet he speaks of them as a most turbulent and deceitful people.

There were many causes at work which tended to produce this deplorable state of things. The spirit of feudalism had been giving place to the mercantile spirit of modern times. Edward IV. had himself engaged largely in Causes of poverty and crime. mercantile speculations. Henry VII. had not thought it undignified to belong to the corporation of Taylors, henceforward called Merchant Taylors. In his reign, a commercial treaty, called the Great Intercourse, had been made between England and the Low Countries. The discoveries of Columbus, Vasco di Gama, Sebastian Cabot, and others, had increased the spirit of adventure, and opened new fields of traffic, although they were as yet but little used. The spirit of enterprise had, however, taken hold of the traders of London, of whom it is said that "they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits that they do not fear to make contracts on usury."² They had thus accumulated considerable wealth, and wealth was now, as feudal influence gave way to that of money, the road to gentility and importance. But that importance was not yet separable from Mercantile landowners. the possession of land. Men of wealth, therefore, tried to acquire land, and the destruction of the nobility during the Wars of the Roses, together with the very numerous forfeitures which attended them, had thrown the land of England largely into new hands, and often into those of the wealthy middle class. The

¹ 1 Ed. VI. c. 3.

² *It. Rel.* p. 23.

tone of the whole age was likewise very mercenary;¹ and the new possessors of land, whether mercantile or of the new Court nobility, no longer felt the same interest as their predecessors in the number and wellbeing of their tenants. A numerous following of feudal tenants was no longer an object, but the power of wealth was every day increasing. In the eyes of the new holders the land was to be treated like any other investment, so as to produce the best return.

With the exception perhaps of tin, the greatest and most lucrative trade of England was wool. It paid better to feed sheep than to plough the land. It was no doubt better political economy, and in the long run more advantageous to England, thus to employ the land. But at the time the injury inflicted on the poor was very great. Tenants and labourers were driven from their farms and cottages, and the land given up to pasture,² so that a couple of men could manage a whole farm which had once supported its full supply of ploughmen, labourers, and the like. "For whereas," says Latimer, "have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog."³ This change affected two classes of men, the yeoman farmers and the labourers. Proprietors found no difficulty in taking pasture farms into their own hands, and added farm to farm. Statutes were made to restrain this practice, but were constantly broken, and the quantity of sheep held in single men's hands became so enormous, that they too had to be restricted by statute.⁴ The yeoman farmer thus found himself ousted from his tenancy. The labourer suffered still more. The complete separation from the land which was and still is the marked characteristic of the English labourer, enabled his master to turn him from his employment without difficulty. As the greed for pasture-land increased, his case became still worse. Much of his subsistence was drawn from his rights over common land. His

Diminution of
agricultural
labour.

¹ "Having no hope of their paternal inheritance, they all become so greedy of gain, that they feel no shame in asking, almost for the love of God, the smallest sum of money, and to this it may be attributed that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders which may not be atoned for by money."—*It. Rel.* p. 26. See also the description of the mercenary marriages contracted by the English.

² "This town [Bittesby] is long since depopulated, not one house remaining, and converted into sheep pastures."

"Stornesworth hath been an ancient town, but now altogether decayed and converted into sheep pastures."—BURTON'S *Leicestershire*.

³ *First Sermon, before Ed. VI.*

⁴ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13: "No man to have above two thousand sheep." The *Italian Relation* mentions as many as twenty thousand.

richer neighbours began to enclose this land, and throw it into pasture.¹ His means of subsistence was thus cut off in both directions. He was deprived of his employment, and he lost his private means of life. It was this enclosing of common lands which was the great grievance of the Eastern rebels, and which formed the topic of some of Latimer's most vigorous sermons: "But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the Commonwealth, as touching commoners and encloses, many meetings and sessions, but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth;"² and Somerset's sympathy with the complaints of those who had lost their common rights, and the commission he issued to inquire into enclosures, have been already mentioned as the causes of his fall. In time the increasing manufactures and other forms of commerce absorbed these hands, and the improvement of agriculture restored the proper balance between arable and pasture. But while the process was going on, as in the case of all economic changes, the suffering was great. To these causes of pauperism must be added the number of discharged retainers whom the decrease of feudal military households threw upon the world, and after the destruction of the monasteries, the discharged monks and numerous agricultural servants of the abbey.

Decrease of
dependants.

The stringent laws directed against vagabonds were useless. There was for the time a real want of work. Sir Thomas More saw this, and writes, "They be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."³ That such a mass of unemployed workmen should take to crimes and violence was but natural, more especially as during much of the period any church afforded sanctuary for the evildoer for forty days, besides the great licensed sanctuaries.⁴

To add to the misery of the people, there was an extremely rapid rise in prices. The chief cause of this was perhaps the depreciation of the coinage. The natural rise in the value of commodities in comparison

¹ "This lordship hath been long enclosed, affording large sheep-walks."—BURTON'S *Leicestershire*.

² *First Sermon, before Ed. VI.*

³ *Utopia*.

⁴ "Loke me now, how few sanctuarie men there be, whom any favourable necessitie compelled to go thither, and then see what a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious haynous traitors there be commonly therein."—MORE'S *Life of Edward V.*

After the Reformation sanctuaries fell into disrepute, but continued to exist. In 1697, an Act was passed for the suppression of the most notorious, and they were finally abolished in the reign of George I., when the Sanctuary of St. Peter's, Westminster, was pulled down. This, and that of St. Martin le Grand, were the two principal in London.

with silver, caused by the introduction of precious metals from America. But besides that, it may be traced to the depreciation of the coinage which was going on during the latter years of Henry VIII. and through most of the reign of Edward. The country was flooded with testons or bad shillings, and private individuals took advantage of the opportunity. Thus Sharington, Master of the Mint at Bristol, coined no less than £12,000 of false money.

Increasing habits of luxury among the wealthy, and that covetousness which has been already mentioned, and which caused a universal raising of the rents, had also much to do with the misery of the people. The Reformation seems to have produced a directly injurious effect upon the morality of the time. Freed from the restraints of the discipline of the Catholic Church, without any very sure belief in the new doctrines, which indeed had been thrust somewhat unceremoniously on the mass of the nation, rich men were inclined to take advantage of the license of the new creeds without accepting their stricter and more spiritual morality. That there was a deterioration is plain:—"In times

Lax morality of Protestantism. past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity. . . Now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor. And in those days what did they when they helped the scholars? marry, they maintained and gave them livings that were very Papists and professed the Pope's doctrine: and now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them."¹ And again:—"I full certify you extortioners, violent oppressors, engrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the King's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed—they be those which speak against the honour of the King." It was this covetousness and overweening desire for and admiration of wealth which was the crying sin of the time. The honesty even of the Bench was sullied by it:—"The saying is now, that money is heard everywhere; if he be rich he shall soon have an end of his matter."² "Now-a-days the judges be afraid to hear a poor man against the rich: insomuch they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man's suit, that he shall not be able to go through with it."³ Consequently all proprietors sought to get as much as possible from their land, and the tenant farmers found their rents enormously enhanced. Latimer gives the story of his father's farm, which well shows this increase: "My father was a

¹ Latimer's *Sermon of the Plough*.

² Latimer's *Second Sermon before the King*.

³ *Third Sermon before the King*.

yeoman and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went into Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece. . . . He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did off the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor." Of course, under such circumstances, the prices of agricultural products rose so that "poor men which live of their labour cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, chickens, capons, eggs, etc. These things, with others, are so unreasonably enhanced; and I think verily that if it thus continue we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound."¹

The same principles which were producing this change in agricultural products were acting on other branches of trade. There too the wholesale dealer was rising, and in both sermons and statutes the evil is pointed out, that poor men should be unable to purchase small quantities, a wholesale seller being able to keep his stock till he could sell advantageously. Efforts were even made to settle compulsory prices, but this was found quite impossible, as was indeed seen by Mason, one of the ablest statesmen of the time, who writes in 1550 to Cecil:—"Never shall you drive Nature to consent that a pennyworth shall be sold for a farthing."

No doubt this growing tendency to wholesale dealing was in accordance with the rules of political economy. The land was more profitably farmed as pasture than as ploughland. The wool which was thus grown gave employment sooner or later to the manufactures, which would absorb the surplus agricultural population, and capital which was before hoarded found a profitable investment in land. So too the wholesale dealer in other goods was enabled to purchase in cheap markets, and to keep his goods till he could sell them well, thus increasing the national wealth and equalizing prices. But the commencement of the system which is now accepted uni-

¹ Latimer's *First Sermon before Edward VI.*

versally, but which then seemed merely the triumph of selfishness, and which could not work fully because attended by many erroneous notions which laid restrictions on the freedom of trade, could not fail to be attended with much misery.

But however great the revolution in the constitution of society and in the economical condition of the kingdom may have been, the Great Revolution, which indeed gives its name to the period, is the change in the position of the Church.

In the reign of Henry VII. a foreigner could say, and probably truly, "the clergy are they who have the supreme sway over the country, both in peace and war."¹ The amount of their property was enormous. The same author states that of 96,230 knights' fees, 28,015 belonged to the Church. The number of monasteries was very great. At the time of the dissolution there were 645, and the revenues which are

Change in the position of the Church.
its greatness under Henry VII.
said to have passed into the hands of the Crown are computed at £1,600,000. In addition to this the Church had the advantage of being almost the sole repository of learning. It is true there were some few exceptions. But so completely was it the case that the mere power of reading was regarded as a proof of being in orders, that a criminal, charged with even the gravest offences, might, if he could read, claim to be removed for trial to the ecclesiastical courts. This privilege they had enjoyed since the twenty-fifth year of Edward III., and it did not receive any check till the year 1487, when it was enacted that no layman should be allowed benefit of clergy more than once. He was branded for the first offence, and on any future conviction was punished as a layman. Their superior education naturally threw the chief offices in the administration of the kingdom into the hands of Churchmen. The most trusted ministers of Henry VII. were Morton, eventually Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Warham, who succeeded Morton, was Chancellor of England; but it was Wolsey, a protégé of Fox, who carried the power of the Church to the highest pitch. Under him it rose to authority and splendour scarcely second to that of the King. Nor was it only by their wealth and learning that Churchmen acquired influence. They had the majority of seats in the Upper House. The decayed state of the temporal peerage has been mentioned. The only class which had not suffered in the civil wars was the clergy. The full number of Bishops (nineteen, and two Archbishops) of course still remained, but besides these, mitred Abbots, to

¹ *Italian Relation of England*, p. 34.

the number of twenty-nine, and two or three Priors,¹ had seats in the Upper House. The number of spiritual Lords was thus nearly double that of the temporal. In addition to this the Church had a very large portion of the justice of the country in its hands. It could, as we have seen, draw from the King's courts into its own jurisdiction all criminals who could read. It had, moreover, a complete arrangement of courts holding jurisdiction over moral offences, and all the apparatus necessary for exacting dues upon many of the common events of life, such as the making and execution of wills and the burial of the dead.

Nor were these privileges used with a sparing hand. There are several statutes limiting the right of clergy, which show distinctly that it had been much abused. They complain that, contrary to promise, no regular agreement had been entered into as to the penalties to be inflicted upon criminals thus taken from the King's justice, and assert that consequently such criminals were constantly discharged by the ordinary, after merely nominal imprisonment, on the payment of bribes; while the first step of what can be spoken of as Reformation was the Act limiting exorbitant fees upon wills, and the abuse of mortuaries, or presents for the dead. It is in fact true that in the domestic government, by means of their majority in the House; in foreign affairs, because they alone were, generally speaking, fitted for diplomacy; even in war, because of their ability as organizers; in every branch of social life by their wealth, their judicial power, their rights with regard to the common and necessary events of life, and most generally by their claim to spiritual dominion by the confessional, penance and absolution, it is true to say that the Churchmen at the close of the fifteenth century were by far the most influential class in the kingdom.

The case was different when, on the passing of the first Act of Uniformity (1548), not only had the management of temporal affairs passed from their hands, but points of doctrine and religious faith were discussed in Parliament and settled by the laity of England. This great change had taken place in the short period which had elapsed since the fall of Wolsey. He had himself been somewhat answerable for it. He was too great and far-seeing a man to admire or tolerate great abuses or great ignorance, and, stickler though he was for the authority of the Church, he did not scruple to form plans of reformation to attempt to improve the general

¹ The number of Abbots and Priors somewhat varied, but there were never less than twenty-five Abbots and two Priors.

education of the country, or to employ largely able laymen in the service of the State. In fact, the great statesmen who managed the affairs of England, both at home and abroad, till the close of Elizabeth's reign, may be said to have sprung from his school.

It was impossible that with regard to learning, at all events, the Church should uphold its monopoly. The revival of literature in Europe had been wholly secular. Greek poetry, Greek philosophy, and Greek morality had been regarded as dangerous by the Church, and although there were some eminent exceptions, scholarship had passed chiefly into the hands of the laity, and the Humanists, as they were called, were looked at but coldly by the stricter moralists of the Church. It was not without difficulty that the study of Greek had been admitted at the English Universities. Here again Wolsey had sided with the Reformers. His appreciation of the necessity of learning was great. He founded a school at his native town, Ipswich, and began a gigantic project for the formation of a great College, called the Cardinal's College, at Oxford, of which Christ Church is all that remains, but which would, if it had been completed, have incorporated several other colleges. Upon the suppression of monasteries it was intended that much of their revenue should be given to education; and though Latimer could still complain of the unfitness of the nobility for the duties of statesmen, and of the necessity of employing Churchmen for the purpose, the very fact that he mentions it proves that a change had taken place. The list of the Privy Council in 1552 contains but two clerical names, and the well-known statesmen and diplomatists, such as Paget, Mason, Cheyne, Sadler, Cecil, and others, were all of them laymen of the middle class.¹ The best-known

Popularization
of learning.

¹ List of the Privy Council, 1551-2:—

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Bishop of Ely—Lord Chancellor.
Lord Winchester—Lord Treasurer.
The Duke of Northumberland—Lord Great Master.
The Lord Russell—Lord Privy Seal.
The Duke of Suffolk.
The Marquess of Northampton—Lord Great Chamberlain.
The Earl of Shrewsbury.
The Earl of Westmoreland.
The Earl of Huntingdon.
The Earl of Pembroke.
The Viscount Hereford.
The Lord Clinton—Lord Admiral.
Thomas Lord D'Arcy—Lord Chamberlain.
The Lord Cobham.

The Lord Rich.
Sir Anthony Winkfield, K.G.—Mr. Comptroller.
Sir Thomas Cheyne, K.C.—Mr. Treasurer.
Mr. Secretary Petre.
Mr. Secretary Cecil.
Sir Philip Hobbey.
Sir Robert Bowes.
Sir John Gage.
Sir John Mason.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir John Baker.
Judge Bromley.
Judge Montague.
Mr. Wotton.
Mr. North.

names, however, among the English scholars, are Sir Thomas More and Roger Ascham. The first of these, a lawyer, and Chancellor of England after the fall of Wolsey, was a man whose probity and high and simple character, joined with his learning, gave him a European reputation. It was chiefly to visit him that Erasmus, the great scholar of the age, came to England, and his death, under the ruthless sentence of Henry VIII., caused a thrill of emotion throughout Europe. His influence upon learning was however chiefly indirect. The whole man is so interesting, his political life so consistent, his character, though instances of religious persecution can be brought against him, on the whole so liberal and generous, the description of his household at Chelsea given us by his son-in-law and by his friend Erasmus so attractive, and his death-scene so dignified and touching, that it is probably as a man rather than as a scholar that he plays so large a part in the memories of Henry VIII.'s reign. Of his works some historical fragments, and his "Utopia," or modern republic, are the only ones much esteemed now. Roger Ascham was a very different man; an amiable and careless scholar, he was at one time Professor of Greek at Cambridge, several times employed as secretary to foreign ambassadors, but is better known as the tutor and Latin Secretary to both the Queens, Mary and Elizabeth. His principal works are "Toxophilus," an essay on shooting, expressly intended to improve English prose, and "The Schoolmaster" which is full of learning and good sense. But more important than any individual scholars to prove the diffusion of learning, are the facts which are known about the education of so many of the prominent people (especially ladies) of that time. The instructions of Thomas Cromwell to the tutor of his son are still extant. They are almost too onerous. The boy is to be trained in physical exercises as well as intellectual, but when occasion occurs, the two are to be combined, and the conversation, even when riding to the meet, is to be adroitly led to classical and instructive subjects. Such over-zealous care did not produce the desired effect, any more than the similar anxiety of Lord Chesterfield; but the fact that a shrewd man like Cromwell insisted upon such a training for his son, speaks largely for the general feeling on the subject. The precocious ability of Edward VI., the classical and other varied attainments of Lady Jane Grey and of Queen Elizabeth, although it is true that these instances are only drawn from the very highest rank, point to the same fact. The establishment of great schools bears even stronger witness in the same direction. By a strange contradiction of circumstances, while the support of learning at the Universities was decreasing,

while poor scholars were unable to obtain their usual assistance, and the number of the students was therefore rapidly decreasing, some few individuals began to establish foundation schools. Certain portions of the monastic revenues were devoted to the same purpose; and so much was this the fashion, that the name of Edward VI. is indissolubly connected with our Grammar Schools, though more frequently on account of the grants being completed with his sanction than on account of liberality of his own. Dean Colet's School of St. Paul's, and Christ Church Hospital, in the old Monastery of Grey Friars, are the best known of such establishments.

Against this general diffusion of knowledge it was impossible that the Church should have continued long the hold which superstition gave it upon the multitude. Erasmus describes in his Colloquies, in a thoroughly sceptical spirit, the relics that he saw at Walsingham, when he visited it, accompanied by Aldrich, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. His disbelief in the authenticity of the relics excited the fury of the official: "What need to ask such questions," he said, "when you have the authenticated inscription?" Erasmus also visited Canterbury, in company with Colet—on this occasion it was the Englishman who was the most sceptical. A dirty rag, said to have belonged to St. Thomas, was offered to him; he, not sufficiently grateful, drew it together with his fingers, not without some expression of disgust, and disdainfully replaced it. He was asked in the neighbourhood to kiss a piece of a shoe with a glass jewel, said to be the shoe of St. Thomas. "What," said he, "do these brutes imagine we must kiss every good man's shoe?" The amount of superstition which had to be overthrown, on the other hand, was very great. England was full of places of pilgrimage, where wonder-working relics were kept and exhibited in the interest of the monks who possessed them.¹ Among the duties of the Commissioners for the dissolution of monasteries, a very important one was the examination of these relics. For instance, we hear at one time of the great wooden Christ, called "Dderfel-Gadern," which was brought from Wales, and burnt under the unfortunate Friar Forest, who was hung in

¹ As a single instance, Leyton the Commissioner says of Maiden Bradley: "By this bringar, my servant, I send yowe relyquis, fyrste, two flowres wrappede in white and blake sarcenet that one Christynmas evyn will spring and burgen and bere blossoms, quod expertum esse, saith the prior of Maiden Bradley: ye shall also receive a bage of relyquis, wherein ye shall se straingels thynges, as shall appere by the scripture, as, Godes cote, Oure lades smoke, Parte of Godes supper in cena domini," etc.—WRIGHT'S *Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, p. 58.

chains above it. At another time, it is a phial of blood in the village of Hales in Worcestershire, the influence of which even Henry VIII. was not able to withstand;¹ or an image of the Virgin in a priory at Cardigan, with a taper which did not waste for nine years, and was then extinguished by a perjurer;² or the Rood at Boxley, which moved its eyes and head, which is the subject of investigation, and of which the imposture is disclosed.

But it was neither in its political nor its learned pre-eminence, nor indeed in the superstitious influence which it exercised, that the great revolution in the Church took place. It was the loss of its wealth and social pre-eminence, by the destruction of the monasteries, which chiefly changed its position. These institutions were at the very summit of their importance. Their splendour rivalled, nay surpassed, that of the greatest nobles. When the Abbot of St. Albans dined, his table was raised fifteen steps above the rest of the hall, and the monks who waited on him sung a hymn at every fifth step. He sat alone in the middle of his table, and guests even of the highest rank were only allowed to sit at the end. Their hospitality was vast also; not only were there daily distributions of fragments to the poor about the gates, but travellers and pilgrims were sure to find a welcome. At St. Thomas's of Canterbury, as at other monasteries, there was a vast hall regularly set and attended every day. They had no difficulty in affording this, for their wealth was enormous. The revenue of the Abbey of Glastonbury is estimated at £3500, or about £35,000 of our money. And this was not quite the richest among them.

It is not probable that in the larger abbeys much disorder reigned beyond what is inseparable from an idle community with considerable wealth at its command and an exemption from the common duties of citizenship. But in the smaller monasteries, where men of lower rank and education constituted the body of monks, and towards which the eye of the public was not often directed, iniquities of the vilest nature were rife. The proof of this is indisputable. Cromwell, no doubt, employed coarse and eager instruments, but the stories given of proved immorality, and of abbots and monks surprised with the evidences of loose life about them, are too circumstantial to be doubted.³ Not only did profound immorality, but also

¹ *Seventh Sermon before Edward VI.*

² *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 188.

³ This is amply proved by the letters in Wright's *Suppression of Monasteries*. In the same monastery at Maiden Bradley, for instance, Leyton finds "An holy father prior, and hath but vj. children, and but one dowghter mariede yet, of the goodes of the monasterie, trystyng shortly to mary the reste."

profound ignorance find a home in these smaller societies—ignorance and immorality too which would not be corrected. The Abbot of Warden, in Bedfordshire, gives the following account of his monastery:—"Item, that whereas we by the said injunctions be commanded to have early lecture of divinity, we have none; and when it is read few or none of the monks come to it. Item, I did assign Thomas London to read the divinity lecture, and he indiscreetly did read the books of Eccius Omelies, which books be all carnal and of a brutal understanding. . . . Item, forasmuch as I did perceive ignorance was a great cause why these my brethren were thus far out of good order and in continual unquietness, . . . I caused books of grammar to be bought for each of them, and assigned my brother to instruct them, but there would come none to him but one Richard Baldock and Thomas Clement. Item, they be in number fifteen brethren, and except three of them, none understand nor know their rule, nor the statutes of their religion." The rest of the letter describes a threatened assault upon himself for his attempts at reform, and instances of the grossest immorality.

The condition of the monasteries had been known for years. Both Warham and Wolsey had inquired into them, and intended to reform them. It may have been his knowledge of this plan of his former master's which suggested to Cromwell's essentially secular mind the idea of at once striking a blow at the Church, removing a real abuse, and replenishing the King's exchequer. It is certain that the idea was acted upon very thoroughly.

In the autumn of 1535 a general visitation of monasteries was ordered, and a commission was appointed for the purpose. Of this commission the most vigorous members appear to have been Legh and Leyton, who went to work at their somewhat disgusting duties as if they found pleasure in them. There were others who were almost as keen in the work. The process of visitation was a vigorous and summary one. All other ecclesiastical authority over the monasteries were removed, and the visitors were practically absolute. "My Lord of Lincoln visited here," says Leyton, "and through his diocese in these parts only to prevent the King's visitation . . . to the derogation of my Lord of Canterbury's power and prerogative metropolitan given him by the King's highness. If he will so suffer his power to be contemned it is pity he should have his mitre." Armed with this authority, the commissioners proceeded at once to the monasteries, called the monks together, and in many instances at all events, told all who wished it they were free to go. Such as left

the monastery were supplied with priests' dress, if they were men, or secular dresses, if women. There seem to have been a considerable number who availed themselves of this permission. We find Legh writing to ask Cromwell:—"Also I desire you to send me word what shall be done with these religious persons, which, kneeling on their knees, holding up their hands, instantly with humble petition desire of God, the King, and you, to be dismissed from their religion, saying they live in it contrary to God's law and their conscience."¹ Again, Margaret Vernon, an abbess, writes to ask "what way shall be best for me to take, seeing there shall be none left here but myself and this poor maiden."² When the monastery was thus cleared of its unwilling inhabitants, all the rest were shut up. Such were the injunctions given; there seems to have been some little difference in practice, for we find, among others, Legh complaining that "Mr. Doctor Leyton hath not done the same in places where he hath been, but licensed the heads and masters to go abroad, which I suppose maketh the brethren to grudge the more." This restriction was no doubt very irksome, as was also the closing up of all private entrances to the monasteries, one entrance alone being allowed. When they were thus secured in their houses, evidence was taken of all sorts, inventories of their property made, their accounts and leases carefully examined, and their morality sifted. Evidence of a very poor kind was accepted, and informers were no doubt plentiful. Nor was this all,—the more zealous visitors at all events set to work with a preconceived notion of the guilt of the monks, and as experience strengthened this belief, no denial would avail. At the College of Newark, in Leicester, the monks would not confess—"The abbess here is confederate, we suppose, and nothing will confess. The abbot is an honest man and doth very well, but he hath here the most obstinate and factious canons that ever I knew." And so Dr. Leyton says he will bring against them specific charges, which he confesses he had never heard brought against any of them, but confession of which he hopes to wring from them. If after such examination much was found amiss, whether gross immorality or gross mismanagement, which seems to have been very common, the visitors had power to compel surrender at once.³ The mismanagement is curious, the living being often beyond the income of the monastery, and the lands being let on

¹ *Sup. Mon.* xxxvi.

² *Sup. Mon.*, Letter xxii.

³ Thus in Kent the Commissioners report, "We have been at the monasteries of Laydon, Dover and Folkestone, and have taken a clear surrender of every of the same monasteries."

ridiculous leases. In the Charterhouse, for instance, the yearly revenue of the house is put at £642, 0s. 4d., and the provision for living as amounting to £658, 7s. 4d. "I learn here," says the visitor, "that heretofore, when all victual was at a convenient price, and also when they were fewer persons in number than they now be, the proctor hath accounted for a thousand pounds a year, their rental being but as above, which costly fare, buildings and others, were then borne by the benevolence and charity of the city of London." He also complains that "to the cloistered door there are no less than four-and-twenty keys in four-and-twenty persons' hands; also to the buttery door there be twelve sundry keys in twelve men's hands, wherein seemeth to be small husbandry." The causes on which they insisted on surrenders were sometimes trivial enough. There is an excellent letter from the Abbot of Faversham, urging that his age was no valid reason for surrendering his monastery.

By February 1536 sufficient evidence was collected, and many surrenders and dissolutions already effected. Here and there abbeys were well reported of, though scarcely any by either Legh or Leyton. Thus the Abbot and convent of Ramsay was praised. George Giffard begs that Woolstrobe Abbey may be unsuppressed. The nuns of Polesworth are declared pure, and Latimer entreats for the Priory of Great Malvern. Enough, however, had been collected to show that there was really a vast amount of wickedness in the monasteries, and the King and Parliament being alike interested in the matter, a statute was passed declaring the dissolution of all monasteries under two hundred a year rental, excepting any which the King might except; their property, saving the vested rights of leaseholders, was the King's absolutely. The monks who still wished to keep their orders were drafted into the larger abbeys. There was at once a scramble for the prey. Abbots clamoured to be placed in the list of exceptions. Founders, or founders' kin, begged for their foundations, or that the temporality should be returned to them, or that at least they should have the right of pre-emption. Needy courtiers begged for grants of the confiscated land. Sir Thomas Elliot, a scholar and a diplomatist, begs Cromwell in cringing terms "so to bring me into the King's most noble remembrance, that of his most bounteous liberality it may like his highness to reward me with some convenient portion of the suppressed lands." Humphrey Stafford writes, "And if it would please your mastership to be so good master unto me as to help me to Warspyng Priory, I were and will be whilst I live your bedeman."

But Cromwell saw before him a still larger prey. It did not suit him to proceed so arbitrarily with the larger foundations as he had done with the smaller ones; but their fate was sealed. In the course of the next few years the larger number of them were frightened, or cajoled into voluntary surrender. If voluntary surrender seemed impossible, there was nearly always some cause found to give colour to the deposition of the abbot, and his place was occupied by some one ready to please the King by immediate surrender. The monks of the Charterhouse had been particularly obnoxious to the Crown. Thomas Bedyll, one of the commissioners, after congratulating Cromwell on the death of most of them, begs him to have pity on the Lord Prior of the same, "which is as honest a man as ever was in that habit . . . and now at last, at mine exhortation and instigation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands and goods into the King's hands, and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my Lord, that the said Prior may be so entreated by your help that he be not sorry and repent that he hath feared and followed your sore words and my gentle exhortation made unto him to surrender his said house." The Abbot of St. Alban's was a most obstinate patient: "In all communications and motions made concerning any surrender, he sheweth himself so stiff that, as he saith, he would rather choose to beg his bread all the days of his life than consent to any surrender." Legh and Petre, the commissioners, ask, therefore, whether they shall go on with the process of deprivation, "for manifest dilapidation, making of shifts, etc., which done, the house will be in such debt, that we think no man will take the office of abbot here upon him, except any do it only for that purpose to surrender the same into the King's hands." When the surrenders were made, the houses were treated as at once belonging entirely to the Crown. The prior and the monks were pensioned, but the pensions were very small, and the clear profit to the Crown great. Thus the Abbey of St. Andrew's, Northampton, had an income of about four hundred a year; the prior's and sub-prior's pensions were left "till the Lord Privy Seal's pleasure was known therein." One of the monks, aged thirty-six, was given a small vicarage in Northampton, of the yearly income of seven pounds, which was in the gift of the abbey, and happened to be vacant. Four above the age of forty were given four pounds a year apiece; two about thirty, sixty-six shillings and eightpence each; and three younger than that, fifty-three and fourpence. Thirty-five pounds, therefore, out of the four hundred of income, covered all the

pensions except the prior's and sub-prior's. The property belonging to the abbeys was carefully looked into and made to produce its proper rent. At this same abbey of Northampton there was an instance of the absurd way in which it had been before managed. Their income had shrunk considerably, but not in this prior's time: "But surely his predecessors pleased much in odoriferous savours, as it should seem by their converting the rents of their monastery, that were wont to be paid in corn and grain, into gilly-flowers and roses." All the wealth of the property, relics, jewels, etc., were carefully inventoried, and in large part sold, and the houses themselves stripped of their lead and bells and glass, and the very materials sold to the neighbouring gentry, the churches sometimes, but not often, being spared.¹ In 1539 an Act was passed, not for dissolving monasteries—that had been done already—but for vesting their property in the King. The work was then virtually finished, and the Parliament, which had counted in its first session, beginning in April 1539, twenty abbots among its members, began its second session in April 1540 with none. Two or three abbots who remained obstinate, such as Beche of St. John's, Colchester, Coke of Reading, and Whiting of Glastonbury, were entangled in charges of treason and beheaded.

While the Revolution was thus proceeding in all directions, and in all classes of society, the outward appearance of England did not change much. Visitors, both in Henry VII.'s reign and in Elizabeth's, mention the abundance of pasturage, the comparative paucity of agriculture, and the great quantity of open country stocked with game. "Agriculture is not practised in this island beyond what is required for the consumption of the people. . . . This negligence is, however, atoned for by an immense profusion of every comestible animal, such as stags, goats, fallow-deer, hares, rabbits, pigs, and an infinity of oxen, which have much larger horns than ours, which proves the mildness of the climate, as horns cannot bear excessive cold. . . . Common fowls, pea-fowls, partridges, pheasants, and other small birds, abound here above measure."² The roads were set deep between hedges, and Perlin tells us how there were steps up from the deep roads to the fields above through the hedges. The houses of the common people were mostly mud hovels, but we are told in Elizabeth's reign the people in them fared like kings. The thinness of the population was remarkable. The wars at home and abroad of the last century had made

Outward
appearance of
England.

¹ See Scudamore's accounts in the *Suppression of Monasteries*.

² *Italian Relation*.

great havoc among the people; disastrous sweeping diseases, bred probably in part by uncleanness, had still further thinned them. Such as there were dwelt in very scattered hamlets, one of the changes of the period being the rise of large villages and small towns. The decay of towns is one of the most frequent complaints met with in the Statute-Book; though this was partly caused, perhaps, by the general smallness of the population, and by unskilful legislation with regard to trade, it depended more upon the fact that the mercantile proprietors began to attract labourers around their own dwellings. The rules of the guilds and corporations were very oppressive, and workmen sought refuge from them in the villages. There is a striking Act in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII., which interdicts under penalties manufacture in hamlets and villages, "because persons inhabiting them both farmed lands and occupied the mysteries of cloth-making, weaving," etc. The efforts of the great towns to retain their monopolies were vigorous. There are many statutes restricting places where certain trades may be carried on. The whole system of trade was indeed one of restriction. Again and again were prices fixed; rules were made insisting upon the authorized examination and marking of goods to secure their purity. The number of apprentices was limited. The jealousy of foreigners was so great that in some of the national branches of trade no foreign apprentices were admitted.¹ The frequent repetition of such statutes marks their futility; in fact here, too, change from the mediæval to the modern state was being effected, and the primary laws of competition and of supply and demand were forcing themselves into notice.

But if other large cities decayed, London continually grew. Its wealth and splendour are admitted on all hands. "In one single street, named the Strand, leading to St. Paul's, there are fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice and Florence put together, I do not think there are to be found so many or of the magnificence to be seen in London."² The streets were, it is true, built chiefly of timber, or at best of brick, and the paving was intrusted to the individual care of each householder; but the City abounded with every article of luxury as well as with the necessities of life, while through it ran the clear, beautiful Thames, "in which it was truly a beautiful thing to behold one or two thousand tame swans

¹ The pewterers, for instance.

² *Italian Relation*.

swimming."¹ No doubt much impurity must have found its way into the river, but the art of draining was not as yet well developed, and "crows and ravens croaked at pleasure in the streets, no man regarding the omen." There was even a penalty for destroying them, for they were the scavengers, and kept the streets of the town free from filth. For the same reason kites were tolerated, "which were so tame that they would take from the children's hands bread smeared with butter, Flemish fashion, which their mothers gave them." The common houses in London were gable-ended wooden edifices, each storey jutting over the one beneath it. The lighting was not particularly good. Lanterns were hoisted on the top of Bow steeple that people might find their way with greater security.

Building was one of the favourite amusements of the rich in the time of Henry VIII. Wolsey was lavish in his expenditure on this point, indeed dangerously so for his own safety, during his retirement at York; extravagance is one of the charges against him. Hampton Court he built and gave to the King. His palace of York Place, afterwards Whitehall, was magnificent. Somerset was also a great builder, and, as has been said, spared not even churches to supply him with room and material for his new palace.

In such houses as these there was a great display of splendour, especially in times of festivity. Sumptuous masks, strange dressings-up, which appear to us almost childish, and must, one would think, have been very dull, were the delight of the time. The same sort of amusement was carried on out of doors. King Henry and his wife used to go Maying. The King and his archers would be up betimes, and dressed in Lincoln green, go into the woods of Greenwich. The Queen and her maidens, in some rich and peculiar dress, would ride out later in the day and be captured by the gallant outlaws, who feasted them nobly in sham fortresses of bushes. In less distinguished society amusements were of a somewhat more solid description. Then, as now, Englishmen could do nothing without eating. Their meals were large and heavy, and usually, if they had friends with them, taken at taverns. Of wine they drank but little, but they were very fond of beer, and although silent at their meals, found time frequently to pledge their guests. At Court there was a great rage for gambling; the largest disbursements, with the exception of those for jewels, in Henry VIII.'s Household Book are for gambling debts. He seems, indeed, to have had a taste for not the highest company; Domingo, the black, and the gentlemen and

¹ *Italian Relation.*

grooms of his chamber were his constant associates. Games of chance were well liked, too, by the commonalty, though the King seems to have thought them a royal monopoly, as they are frequently forbidden by statute and proclamation. They were, however, chiefly combined with manly exercise, consisting of tennis, bowls, and games of that sort. In opposition to these the lovers of old-fashion were always vaunting archery and martial exercises; nor, perhaps, were they very wrong; for, though crimes of imposture and fraud were much upon the increase, and went on increasing, crimes of violence, as we have stated, were very common, and the ploughman still ploughed with his sword or bow and buckler lying in the corner of the field.

ELIZABETH.

1558—1603.

Born, 1533.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	France.	Spain.	Germany.
Mary, 1542.	Henry II., 1547.	Philip II., 1556.	Ferdinand I., 1558.
James VI., 1567.	Francis II., 1559.	Philip III., 1598.	Maximilian II., 1564.
	Charles IX., 1560.		Rodolph II., 1576.
	Henry III., 1574.		
	Henry IV., 1589.		

POPES.—Paul IV., 1555. Pius IV., 1559. Pius V., 1566. Gregory XIII., 1572. Sixtus V., 1585. Urban VII., 1590. Gregory XIV., 1590. Innocent IX., 1591. Clement VIII., 1592.

Archbishops.

Matthew Parker, 1559.
Edmund Grindal, 1576.
John Whitgift, 1583.

Chancellors.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1558.
Sir Thomas Bromley, 1579.
Sir Christopher Hatton, 1587.
Sir John Puckering, 1592.
Sir Thomas Egerton, 1596.

ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when the news of the Queen's death was brought to her. Thither, on the 20th of November, a number of peers and gentlemen collected to acknowledge and congratulate her. She had already been proclaimed in London with the unanimous consent of Lords and Commons, for Parliament was sitting at the time, although dissolved by the late Queen's demise. After the Queen had received the Council at Hatfield, and had implied that no great change was in prospect, Cecil, who had all along acted as her adviser, and had already taken steps to secure her quiet accession, took the oaths as Secretary. She addressed him with solemn words of confidence:—"This judgment I have of you," she said, "that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State, and that without respect to my private will you will give me that counsel which you think best." Her confidence was not misplaced. Never had prince a more devoted minister, or one

Elizabeth receives the news of Mary's death. Nov. 17, 1558.

Appoints Cecil Secretary.

1558]

POLICY OF THE REIGN

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more ready to give all for the least possible return, and never has princess wanted a devoted adviser more.

The last reign had done nothing towards raising England to that independent position among European nations which it had lost under the reckless and fatal government of Northumberland. It was held abroad as necessary that the country should be protected by one or other of the great rivals, and add its weight and influence to that of its protector. It was still regarded as the prize and prey of the strongest and most skilful player. The task which Elizabeth and Cecil set themselves was to pick their way so nicely amid the various dangers that beset them, to play off so skilfully the jealousy of the great powers, that England, contradicting all expectations, might in time find itself strong enough to stand alone. The greatness of the Queen and her minister in the first part of her reign is marked by this, that a plan apparently so desperate was successful. To this object the Queen added another, in which she probably sympathized with by far the larger part of the nation. She was desirous to be free from Rome. Cecil, with far broader views and deeper insight into the necessities of the future, went much further, and desired the restitution of Protestantism. It was this double object which, though it seemed at first the great danger of the reign, and though it really gave to the whole of it a character of trouble and indecision, enabled the Queen and Cecil to attain ultimate success. Had there been no obstacle to the friendship with Spain at the beginning of the reign, Elizabeth would in all probability have fallen under its influence; for Philip had been her friend throughout her most difficult times, and, unable to secure any footing for himself in England, was ready to accept his sister-in-law as his representative, nay, even offered to draw tighter the bond which connected them, and to marry her. Had these overtures been accepted, England must have bidden farewell to all hope of an independent position in Europe; and had it not been for the steps towards Protestantism which were taken immediately on her accession, it is probable that this natural friendship would have resulted. These steps however were so opposed to the feelings of Philip, that they compelled him to hold somewhat aloof, although his interest in keeping England from France was too strong to allow him to withdraw his general support from the Queen. Resting upon this support, and strong in the persuasion that nothing but very violent measures would induce Philip to withdraw it, Cecil and the

Religious and foreign policy of the reign, under the difficult circumstances of the country.

Based on a knowledge of the jealousy between France and Spain.

Queen could venture some distance along the road to Protestantism, and could bid defiance to the immediate danger which was threatening them from France. On this side the Queen's position was most perilous. The Spanish support of the Protestant Queen inclined the fervid Roman Catholics to look for assistance from the French ; nor, though throughout the last reign it had been constantly friendly to Elizabeth, had this Court any objection to enact the part of protector to the Catholics. The heir of the Scotch branch of the royal family—Mary Queen of Scots, who was recognized by many Catholics as the rightful Queen, and by many more as having a rightful claim to the succession—had married the Dauphin Francis, and this match had excited the hope that Scotland, England and France might one day be joined under one crown, and that this powerful united kingdom, cleaving asunder Spain from its great mercantile dependency the Netherlands, might assume a paramount ascendancy in Europe. It was by the skilful management of the jealousy thus aroused between the two possible supporters of the Catholics of England, that Cecil was enabled to continue in an independent and Protestant career, till events in France removed all danger from thence. England then found itself strong enough to follow the course which European events had been gradually forcing upon it, to let the discontented Catholics fall back upon Spain as their natural support, to break with that country, and bid defiance to the united Catholics of Europe.

To pursue with success such a course, where every step was beset with twofold difficulties, and watched by the jealous eyes of the ablest diplomatists of the Continent, required a firmness of purpose, an adroitness in the employment of means, and a power of dissimulation such as belonged to few statesmen. These qualities were possessed in a remarkable degree by Cecil, and by Walsingham, who upon Cecil's appointment as Treasurer became Secretary of State. Cecil had also a wonderful power of clearly comprehending the state of affairs at any given moment, an almost pedantically methodical habit of balancing the advantage and disadvantage of any line of action, and, what was most important in his situation, a power of tolerating and pleasing one of the most strange and capricious women who ever sat upon a throne.

Elizabeth was gifted with an excellent intellect, which she had cultivated carefully. She spoke several languages fluently, had read a certain quantity of the classics, and was ready with such repartee as might well pass for wit in a Queen.

Threatened
danger from
France.

Character of
Elizabeth's
ministers.

Idiosyncrasies
of the Queen.

Nor was her intellect superficial ; she had a very clear insight into the state of affairs around her. But she had two peculiarities which rendered her most difficult to deal with. She had a rooted dislike to making up her mind, and this defect she tried to carry off, or even turn to advantage, by adopting a line of conduct which the tendencies of the age rendered only too common. Craft and intrigue were the characteristics of the public life of the time. Of these Elizabeth had a large share, and was able to cover her vacillation by constant waiting upon the chances of the future, and by a double-faced line of action, supported by a perfect disregard for truth. Her own ministers could never be sure that she was not betraying them. No foreign powers to whom she had promised assistance could be sure that she would not refuse to recognize her promises when the time arrived, and the only way by which Cecil could keep her in the desired path was by suddenly engaging her in some measure from which she could not withdraw. Added to this constitutional vacillation, she possessed two quite different sides to her character. She was at once a prudent and intriguing Queen, and a vain coquettish woman. She was thus always expecting from those who approached her profound respect and admiration, and traded on the immunities of her sex so far as to require great sacrifices to be made for her. She would thus commission her commanders and diplomatists to follow a certain course of action, but expect them, if the expedition failed or the intrigue was discovered, to exonerate her from all blame, and to assert that they had acted on their own authority. Worse than this, although in the main she sought the good of her country and followed the advice, if judiciously administered, of her wisest counsellors, she was constantly surrounded by a second circle of favourite courtiers, on whom she lavished all the lucrative places and monopolies which she had at her disposal, and whose influence, exerted for selfish and unpatriotic ends, increased her own constitutional tendency towards double-dealing. They were, it is true, in nearly every case men of ability, but retained their position by flattery and courtier-like arts, and were allowed to take liberties which in some instances threatened seriously to compromise her character. The Queen's purely feminine and coquettish side rendered it also very difficult to know what she would be inclined to do when suitors came about her ; and as much of the politics of the day depended upon her marriage, there was always this difficult element to take into consideration.

It was this wayward, capricious, vacillating, intriguing, but withal high-intentioned woman that Cecil, and those who thought

like him, had to guide. They were by no means always successful. The time arrived when a straightforward adoption of Protestant interests appeared to them the only honourable and politic course. But although, in the long run, they succeeded in forcing Elizabeth into the championship of European Protestantism, they were constantly thwarted by her irresolution and determined preference for double-dealing.

Two questions at once presented themselves for solution—religion, and the cessation of the late disastrous war. Spanish statesmen and the larger number of Englishmen thought that the Queen would be obliged to act as the creature of Philip or be crushed between the power of Spain and France. It was not certain whether a change of religion was possible in the face of such a necessity. But Cecil rightly appreciated the popular feeling. He knew he could rely upon the middle class of England for support in Protestant measures, and felt certain that the nobility would not fail him in measures leading to national independence. Till Parliament could be called, however—and it was to meet in the middle of January 1559—there was an anxious time. Nothing could have been at once more cautious and more determined than the steps which were taken. A few of Mary's most intimate counsellors seem to have left the Council, but many of them were retained, while a few trusty partisans of the Protestant religion were added, including Russell, Earl of Bedford, Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Francis Knowles, and Sir Nicholas Bacon as Chancellor. The Liturgy was so far altered that certain parts of it, including the Gospel and Epistle and the Creed, were allowed to be read in English, as in Henry VIII.'s reign, and the elevation of the Host at Mass was forbidden. But at the same time the tendency on the part of the Ultra-Protestants to forestall their triumph was sharply checked, and unlicensed preaching strictly forbidden. But in secret, a committee of divines, with the knowledge only of Cecil and two or three devoted counsellors, were revising and correcting the English Liturgy of Edward VI., ready for the approaching Parliament.

Even such slight measures as were taken excited the astonishment of the Spanish minister, who thought the Queen was running headlong to destruction, especially when, early in 1559, Philip instructed him to propose formally for the hand of the Queen, and the proposal was rejected. It was plain to Cecil that, happen what would, for the present at all events Philip must stand by England. Churchmen, however, shared so certainly in the belief of the approaching failure

of the Queen, that nearly all the Bishops ventured to refuse to crown her. The ceremony was performed by Oglethorpe of Carlisle.

On the 25th of January 1559, Parliament met. Cecil had not reckoned too much on its Protestant character. No doubt, as was usual, it was in some degree a packed Parliament. It at once proceeded to active measures. The first-fruits, which Mary had resigned, were restored to the Crown, and the necessary subsidies granted. The Lower House, headed by the Speaker, then had an audience with the Queen to entreat her to marry. It seemed to everybody the one necessary thing. Had she died, it was almost certain that Henry of France would make good the claim of his daughter-in-law Mary, and England would be annexed to France. They mentioned no particular suitor, for which she thanked them, while on the general question she replied in an ambiguous answer, saying that the kingdom was her husband, and that she hoped to die a Virgin Queen, but that if she married she would choose a husband who would be as careful of the interests of the nation as she was herself. The Commons seem to have regarded this as a favourable answer, and as implying that she would marry a subject. They then proceeded with their religious reform. A Supremacy Act was at once brought forward, by which the Queen was declared Supreme Head of the Church, and all the jurisdiction of the Papal See was done away. But at first there was considerable difficulty in introducing into it any change of dogma. The clergy had declared against all change, and it was thought decent to hold a public disputation on the matter. This was carried on before Sir Nicholas Bacon, the new Lord Keeper, Cecil's brother-in-law, who was appointed Moderator. The arrangements made told considerably in favour of the Protestants, and, on the Catholic champions refusing to continue the argument unless these arrangements were changed, they were declared vanquished, two of them committed to prison, and the rest ordered to absent themselves from the Court. Unopposed by them, the statute at length passed, declaring the Queen Supreme Head of the Church, repealing the Acts of the late reign which had revived the statutes against heresies,¹ and giving the Queen power to appoint commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For the maintenance of the Act, it was ordered that an oath to accept it would be offered to all ecclesiastical persons, all temporal judges and officers, and any one receiving money of the Queen. At the same time it was made punishable to uphold by express word, deed or writing, any foreign authority in the country.

¹ 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. vi.

The next measure was the reform of the Liturgy. The Prayer Book which had been prepared in secret was produced and accepted, and the Act of Uniformity ordered that it should be used in every church, and that all persons inhabiting the realm should attend church under a shilling fine. The work of the last reign was thus undone, and England was again and for ever disunited from the Roman Church.

The Queen's courage in refusing Philip, and in pursuing this line of policy so distasteful to him, is the more obvious when we remember that during the same time she was engaged in negotiations in which her chief reliance was on Spanish support. If Spain did not stand her friend, it was impossible for her to hope for the restoration of Calais. In the autumn of the last year, Philip and Henry II., after a fruitless campaign, had both expressed willingness to come to terms, and commissioners had met at Cercamp to discuss the terms of peace. In fact, the condition of their respective dominions¹ led them both to observe that a common danger was threatening them, and that all their efforts would be wanted to suppress the rising Protestants. But although thus pacifically disposed, Philip stood honourably by his allies, and there was every chance of a final breach in the negotiations if Calais was not restored. In fact the Spaniards saw plainly that it was much for their interest that that fortress should be held by the English as a check upon France in the direction of the Netherlands. Henry II., under these circumstances, opened a private negotiation with Elizabeth, by the intervention of the Protestant and anti-Guise party in his Court. He wished the negotiations to be carried on in some private village. This Elizabeth refused, and insisted upon the treaty being publicly made, but did not hide from Philip that she intended for her own safety to make a separate peace. This peace was concluded on the 2nd of April; Calais was left in the hands of France, to be restored in eight years, provided the other articles of the peace were kept; if it was not restored, France was to pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the English claim to the throne to continue good; if the English attacked either France or Scotland, the treaty was void.

Freed from his difficulties with the English, Philip could conclude his peace with France, which was to be strengthened by a marriage

¹ In 1557 persecutions had already begun in France, and after the breaking-up of one Assembly in the Rue St. Jacques, had touched the nobles, while in 1558 public assemblies of five or six thousand had met in the Près-aux-Clercs.

Peace with
France, and
Treaty of
Cateau-
Cambrésis.

between himself and the French Princess Elizabeth. The treaty, one of the avowed objects of which was the suppression of Protestantism, is called the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. At the festivities attending the marriage, Henry II. was killed by Montgomery, a Scotch gentleman, with whom he was tilting. His death put upon the throne Francis II., weak both in body and mind; and party questions in France preventing any rapid action, postponed the steps which might otherwise have been taken in favour of Mary the Scotch Princess, now Queen of France.

Before this, the Oath of Supremacy had been tendered to the clergy. All the Bishops but two had declined to accept it and been driven from their sees, which were given to the most learned of the Protestant divines which could be found—Matthew Parker being selected as Archbishop of Canterbury. The lesser clergy had been less scrupulous; only about eighty are said to have been displaced. So England was still full of an influential class who were secret enemies to the Government.

Elizabeth had thus far carried her point successfully. Thanks to the jealousy of France, she had freed herself from Spain without losing its support, while the change of religion in England had been carried out without difficulty. For some time to come it was France and French influence which was to be her great enemy. This she was now ready to meet. The battle was to be fought in Scotland. It is therefore necessary to observe somewhat closely the political condition of that country.

From the time of the battle of Pinkie, 1547, all hopes of a friendly arrangement with Scotland had been at an end, and the Scotch, in their anger against England, turned to their old alliance with France. In 1550 a peace was made between England and France in which Scotland was included, and the bitter war which had been raging ceased. The French influence was now completely paramount, the young Queen was in France and contracted with the Dauphin, and in the year 1554 Arran was persuaded to resign the regency and his son's claim to the Queen's hand, and Mary of Lorraine, the Queen-Dowager, became Regent. Arran was rewarded for his compliance with the Duchy of Chatelherault. Unable to comprehend the government of a constitutional country, the Regent relied much on Frenchmen, and tried to establish fortresses garrisoned by French in different parts of the country. She attempted also to establish a body-guard as a nucleus for a standing army. All these steps excited the jealousy of the

Death of
Henry II.
July 10, 1559.

General accept-
ance of the
Oath of
Supremacy.

State of affairs
in Scotland.

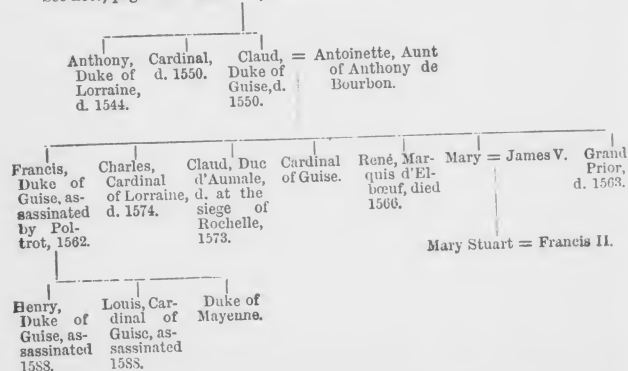
Regency of
Mary of Guise.

Scotch, and tended to make them hate the French as much as they had formerly hated the English. This feeling was further strengthened by the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, which was completed in April 1558, with secret arrangements that Scotland should become in reality the possession of the House of Valois. Little more than a year completed this work, for on the death of Henry II. (July 1559) the Dauphin became King of France under the title of Francis II., and Mary of Scotland Queen.

The nobles, to whom the power of France had become an object of dread, found support in the growing power of the Reformation. A united opposition was formed. The party opposed to the French and the eager Reformers made common cause. In December 1557 a document was issued known as the First Covenant,¹ and the leaders of the organization took the title of the Lords of the Congregation. An act of religious persecution brought matters to extremities. Walter Mill, an old man of eighty, was burned, and the Protestant party was roused to fury. The Regent at first temporized, and seemed inclined to give way to them, but instructions from her brothers of the House of Guise,² now rapidly rising to the chief authority in France, decided her henceforward to oppose the Reformation with all her power. In pursuance of this policy, and in the spirit of the treaties of 1559, she issued a summons to the preachers of Perth to appear before the Privy Council, for having there introduced the Reformation, and read

Rise of the
Lords of the
Congregation.

¹ See note, page 534. ² René II., Duke of Lorraine.



the service from Edward VI.'s Prayer Book. The preachers did not appear, and were outlawed; probably they offered to appear, but with so large a multitude behind them that ^{They take arms.} the Regent refused to see them. There was at all events a meeting assembled, at Perth, and there John Knox, who had just arrived from France, preached a stirring sermon. A riot was the consequence, in which some religious houses were sacked. This was the work of rioters and not of Reformers, and the nobility, even the Lords of the Congregation, could not refuse to join the Regent to suppress the riot. Argyle, Lord James Stuart, Lord Semple, and other Protestant leaders, advanced against Perth. A compromise was there effected, by which it was arranged that no French troops should enter the city. The Regent evaded these stipulations, and the Lords of the Congregation who had sided with her took the opportunity of joining their old friends. The Lords of the Congregation took up arms; St. Andrews was taken, Fifeshire cleared of the French, and on the 29th of June Edinburgh was occupied. It was certain that assistance would come from France to the Regent, and for their own safety the Lords of the Congregation were obliged to seek the help of Elizabeth.

It is thus that Scotland becomes of vital importance to English affairs, as affording the ground on which the interests of England and France came into immediate contact. An alliance with the Scotch malcontents was in the last degree necessary to England. ^{They ask help from England.} Elizabeth had of her own accord severed herself from Spanish support. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis had even formed a temporary alliance between France and Spain. It was generally expected that the re-establishment of Catholicism in Scotland would be followed by the invasion of England from that country, and the assertion of the right of Mary backed by the whole power of France. The knowledge of this scheme gave significance to the otherwise trifling point that the arms of England were habitually quartered with those of France in all the heraldic decorations of the French Court. But desirable though the alliance was, there were obstacles in the way. Elizabeth hated Knox for a book he had written against the "Regiment of Women," and moreover felt it so necessary to strengthen her possession of the Crown by every available principle, that she was very unwilling to give public countenance to rebels who were calling the Divine right of kings in question. Her Protestant advisers eagerly pressed her to waive her objections, and suggested as a means of removing her scruples that Arran should lay claim to the Scottish throne. With him no longer a rebel, but a pretender

with some show of right, it might be possible to treat. They even thought it possible that Elizabeth might marry him, and with that object he came to England. She probably saw the folly and insanity of his character, and would hear no more of such a match.

While Elizabeth was hesitating, the Regent was fortifying Leith, which she made so strong, that although the English Queen at last made a treaty, called the Treaty of Berwick, with the discontented nobles, as represented by the Duke of Chatelherault, "the second person in the kingdom," and although in pursuance of this treaty an English army was sent to assist in the siege, the French garrison were enabled to repel all attacks, till a pacification was arranged between Cecil and Royal Commissioners with France, known as the Treaty of Edinburgh. This was concluded early in July. In June the Regent

*Treaty of
Edinburgh.
1560.*

had died. By the Treaty of Edinburgh the French army was to be withdrawn from Scotland, the government during the Queen's absence was to be in the hands of a council of twelve noblemen, the nominees partly of the Queen, partly of the Estates, religious matters were to be settled in Parliament, and it was stipulated that the obnoxious coat of arms should no longer be used. Queen Mary refused to ratify the treaty, in spite of

*Protestantism
established by
the Estates.
Aug. 25, 1560.*

which the Estates assembled at the appointed time and accepted the Confession of Faith, which was the formula of the Genevan Church, repealing all Acts which authorized any other form of worship, and abjuring the authority of the Pope. The celebration of the Mass was rendered a capital offence if repeated three times. Protestantism thus became the national religion.

It was pretty certain that such measures would not be sanctioned in France, where the Guises were now paramount. The conspiracy of Amboise, a plan matured by the Protestants for obtaining possession of the person of the King, had been thwarted by their vigilance, and a series of ruthless executions was breaking the spirit of the Huguenot party. These vindictive punishments were carried out in the name of the King; and Church and King, Protestantism and treason, had come to be regarded as synonymous—a view which, however unjust it may have been, was employed with great effect by the Guise party.

Before the end of the year Queen Mary was a widow, and the power of the Guises broken. This change of circumstances had great influence on the state of affairs in Scotland. Ambassadors were sent to the widowed Queen to urge her return home. Smarting under the

slights which Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother of France, cast upon her, and feeling acutely her loss of position, she agreed to the request. Patriotism had always been the strongest motive of Scotch policy; jealousy of England had thrown the people into the arms of France—jealousy of France had in its turn produced the English alliance and the Treaty of Berwick. The fear of France was now removed, and there again arose a strong desire among the Scotch to be freed from all foreign influence, and to be left to manage their own affairs themselves. Nor was this all. The national party in Scotland, in conjunction with a very considerable portion of the people of England, were desirous that the claims of Mary, as the successor at all events to the English throne, should be admitted. In England her succession would no doubt act more or less as a check to the growth of Protestantism; to a great many people in England this was no objection. On the other hand, it would secure peacefully the great design so continually before the eyes of English statesmen since the time of Edward I., and unite England and Scotland under one crown. Such were the views of Lord James, afterwards Earl of Murray, Prior of St. Andrews, the illegitimate brother of Mary, who had acted consistently with the Congregation during the late disturbances, and who now put himself at the head of the national party. He stipulated that no foreign force should be introduced by the Queen, and that she should not disturb the existing religion. On these conditions the bulk of the people were ready to welcome her. She set sail for her kingdom, but her passage was not unattended with difficulty; for in spite of her pretended friendship for Elizabeth, she still refused to accept the Treaty of Edinburgh, and the English Queen, with great want of generosity, refused her a safe conduct through her dominions. Ships were waiting to prevent her from reaching Scotland: she eluded them, however, and reached that country in safety (Aug. 19, 1561). The singing of psalms to the sound of three-stringed rebecks, although she graciously expressed her pleasure at the serenade, and a violent effort to break into the Chapel of Holyrood and prevent her from hearing Mass—an uproar checked only by the personal authority of Murray—did not give her a pleasant idea of her new subjects, and promised ill for the success of a moderate Reformation.

Immediately after the Treaty of Edinburgh, and before the negotiations for the return of Mary, Elizabeth had let slip an opportunity which might have changed the whole course of her reign. The Estates of Scotland, taking up the idea which had already been

*Queen Mary
comes home,
supported by
the national
party.*

PER. MON.

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suggested, had made a formal request to her to marry the Earl of Arran. This young man, the son of the Duke of Chatelherault, stood nearest to the throne after his father. Could Elizabeth have accepted him, as was the earnest desire of the Protestant statesmen of both parties, it is very probable that the superior claims of the absent Queen, unpopular in the eyes of the Protestants on account of her relationship with the Guises, would have been forgotten, and the peaceful union of the two kingdoms, with a government on a Protestant basis, would have resulted. In himself, however, Arran was a most undesirable husband. The weak, passionate nature of his youth ripened afterwards into madness. It is probable that another reason besides her dislike for the man induced the Queen to reject her

Rise of Dudley,
Earl of
Leicester.

counsellors' advice. Lord Robert Dudley, a son of the late Duke of Northumberland, had attracted her attention and won her heart. Both nobles and commons regarded the idea of a marriage of this kind with dislike; but it was unquestionably a much-received opinion that the Queen and Dudley would marry, and Lord Robert prepared the way for his own elevation by intrigues in all directions, in which sometimes the Queen was involved, and by procuring the murder of his wife, the unfortunate Amy Robsart. So eager was he in his ambitious schemes, that he entered into communication with the Spaniards, offering to restore the Catholic religion if they would support him, and asserting that Elizabeth was privy to this scheme. Philip, who all along had expected that sooner or later she would have recourse to his assistance, signified his consent; but the favourite's influence, although it formed a very sufficient bar to the marriage with Arran, was not sufficiently strong to thwart the advice of Cecil. He not only succeeded in avoiding the danger of any approximation to Spain, he even forced England further along the course of reform. He carried out the laws against Roman Catholics more strictly, and persuaded the Queen to refuse admission to a nuncio from the Pope, who was coming to persuade her to send representatives to a General Council, and he induced her to give some assistance to the Protestants in France, who were now in open antagonism to the Government.

In that country events had occurred which at first promised very well for the Protestant cause. After the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise, the Guises had been absolutely masters of the Government, and had succeeded in arresting Anthony of Bourbon, King of

Navarre,¹ and the Prince of Condé; Coligny had chivalrously refused to hold aloof from his leaders in danger. They had designed the death of the King of Navarre, as though in a quarrel with the young King. They had arranged everything for the trial and execution of Condé, and the Bourbons and Chatillons (that is, Coligny and his brothers) had seemed hopelessly lost, when the sudden illness of Francis II., speedily followed by his death, had destroyed all their plans. Catherine de Medici, who hated both parties, and wished to see them destroy each other, had obtained the regency from her young son Charles IX. She took for her minister the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, and tried to establish the crown in an independent position by playing one party against the other. The liberation of the Princes of the blood and their union with Catherine, and the tolerant policy of de l'Hôpital, gave for the time an air of success to the Protestants. Cecil entered into negotiations with them; there was even some hope of a restitution of Calais. But the calm was of short duration. Parties were too much in earnest and too exasperated to be managed or caressed into quiet, and the massacre of Vassy (1562), where the people of the Duke of Guise fell upon and killed a party of Protestants at their worship, and the repetition of the massacre elsewhere, roused the Reformers to arms, and began the long war of religion in France. The approach of that war must have been long obvious, and the Guises had obtained support and active assistance from the Spaniards.

Beginning of
religious wars
in France.

Should the Guises be successful, a general alliance of the Catholic powers would result. But the separation of those powers was the vital point in Cecil's policy, and the sole hope for the security of England. Should Condé be overthrown, he writes, "Philip and the Guises would become the dictators of Europe, Spain would have Ireland, Mary Queen of Scots would marry Don Carlos, the Council of Trent would pass a general sentence against all Protestants, and the English Catholics, directed and supported from abroad, would rise in universal rebellion." The apparent approach of that danger in-

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Charles, Duke of Vendôme.
Descended by seven degrees from Louis IX. (1225-1270).
Died 1537.

Charles, Cardinal
of Bourbon.
Crowned 1589
as Charles X.
Died 1590.

Louis, Duke
of Condé.
Died 1569.

Anthony de Bourbon = Jeanne d'Albret.
King of Navarre.
Died 1562.

Henry IV., 1589-1610.

duced Cecil and the Queen to listen to the application of Condé, who offered to place Havre and Dieppe in her hands as securities. She accordingly despatched an army to occupy Havre. Although her generals exceeded her orders, which were merely to act on the defensive, and acted energetically for the defence of Rouen, that city fell after a siege, in which the King of Navarre, who had lately joined his old enemies, lost his life. Condé—now become the first Prince of the blood—advanced towards Paris, where Catherine, in the hands of the Guises, but still anxious for the success of an intermediate policy, made another effort at peace. The obstacle was the refusal of Condé to throw over Elizabeth. The negotiations were broken off, and Condé, while hastening back to join the English army, was compelled to fight the battle of Dreux (Dec. 1562), in which, though the cavalry of the Protestants were victorious, the whole fate of the day was in favour of the Catholics. The triumph of their party was brought to an abrupt conclusion when, in March of the following year, the Duke of Guise, while besieging Orleans, was killed by the assassin Poltrot. His death changed the appearance of affairs in France. The family of the Guises disappeared with strange rapidity. The Duke d'Aumale was severely wounded, and the Grand Prior died of an illness caught at the battle of Dreux. The Cardinal of Lorraine was away at the General Council; the Marquis d'Elbœuf was closely besieged by Coligny. Other chiefs, who would naturally have taken the lead, were also out of the political field; Navarre was dead, Condé was a prisoner, the Constable Montmorency, who had been fighting for the Guises, was a prisoner also. For the time Catherine found herself mistress of the position. She was enabled to carry out her policy of toleration; and Condé, aware

Events of the war enable Catherine to bring about the Peace of Amboise.

Disasters of the English at Havre.

of Elizabeth's selfish motive for the detention of Havre, agreed to the dismissal of the foreign allies on both sides, and signed the Peace of Amboise in March 1563. The English in Havre were thus left unsupported. Elizabeth would not accept Condé's offers, but persisted in holding the town, and Condé was obliged to turn against her the army she had originally assisted in raising. The plague broke out in the city, but the defenders still held out bravely. Large reinforcements were sent over only to die, and at last, Warwick, the commander, with his garrison worn out with disease, had to surrender. The returning troops spread the plague throughout England, and the mortality rose in London to 2000 a week. This disaster excited a constant mistrust of the Huguenots in Elizabeth's mind.

While Elizabeth was thus actively, though uselessly, interfering in the politics of France, Mary, under the guidance of Lord James Murray, was apparently intent upon keeping up her good relations with England. She even appeared to favour the national religion, and was induced to accompany Murray in an expedition against Huntly and the Northern Catholics, who were defeated on the Hill of Corrichie, not far from Aberdeen. She sought the advice of Elizabeth with regard to her marriage, implying that she was her natural heiress, and that her matrimonial arrangements were therefore of interest to the English Queen. None the less, she had agents in constant intercourse with the Spanish and with the Guises, and was even thinking of marrying Don Carlos, the son of Philip. Her application to Elizabeth was met by advice it was impossible to follow. To Elizabeth and her counsellors it seemed highly important that Mary should, if possible, be married to an Englishman and a Protestant. To the astonishment of the world, the nobleman recommended to Mary's acceptance was Robert Dudley, with whom the English Queen was believed to be herself deeply in love. To obviate difficulties with regard to rank, she raised him to the Earldom of Leicester. But Mary was not likely to make anything but a royal marriage if she married for political reasons; and as the conference in which her claims had been discussed had just broken up without result, dissimulation was no longer necessary, and determining to make good, not her reversionary, but her present claims, she soon displayed herself in her true colours. If she could not be accepted as successor by fair means, she would so connect herself with the Catholic party in England as to threaten Elizabeth's own throne. The acknowledged representative of this party was the first Prince of the blood in England, Lord Henry Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox. Margaret Tudor, the elder of Henry VIII.'s sisters, after the death of her first husband, the King of Scotland, had married the Earl of Angus; her daughter by this marriage was the Countess of Lennox, of whom Darnley was the son. Lennox was induced to go to Scotland, and Elizabeth was persuaded to allow him to do so for the purpose of regaining the Lennox property and the reversal of the attainder which rested on him. His son was naturally anxious to join him—the whole being, no doubt, a prearranged scheme, though whether Mary was herself cognizant of it is uncertain. It was plain to all, however, that the young man had caught her fancy; their first meeting in fact settled the question of the Queen's marriage. Darnley rapidly received the

Mary's government under Murray's influence.

She demands to be acknowledged successor, and is refused.

titles of Lord of Ardmanach, Earl of Ross, and Duke of Albany, and the marriage was completed on the 29th of July. Marries Darnley. Shortly before this, the reception of Randolph, the English ambassador, was such as to show that the connection between the two courts was broken. In fact, Queen Mary had settled upon her line of action. She had determined to connect herself with the European Catholic league.

In the spring of 1565, Catherine de Medici, and the Duke of Alva on the part of the King of Spain, had met at Bayonne; and although it is not probable that, as was supposed, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was there arranged, or that any distinct written league was made, it is certain that Alva explained the vigorous and bloody policy which he intended to pursue, and that the meeting marks the period when efforts to temporize with Protestantism ceased. Mary was believed to be a party to the league; and whether there were such a league or not, she determined to throw in her lot with the Catholics. Joins the Catholic League. She naturally first turned towards France, but the temporizing policy of Catherine de Medici did not allow her to listen to the application. The close connection between Mary and France was thus broken, and she was henceforward inclined to rely chiefly on Spain. In fact, the danger which threatened England from France had subsided. The vehemence of religious dissensions, and the necessity felt by the Government of keeping either party from gaining the pre-eminence, paralyzed its power of vigorous action. It is with Spain, hitherto her lukewarm supporter, that Elizabeth had now to cope.

But Mary, although without the foreign assistance on which she relied, felt that she was leaning upon all the Catholic powers in Europe. She could therefore afford to act with vigour. The discontented Lords were driven into England, and the progress of the Reformation in Scotland seemed for the present to be suppressed.

Mary's reliance upon the difficulties of Elizabeth's position was well grounded. It seemed as if Cecil's policy had only been attended with success hitherto to meet at length with the more complete downfall. Spain had been braved, and no ill results had followed; a war with France had been entered upon, yet France seemed paralyzed; Protestantism had been re-established, and England had begun to regain her position in Europe. All this success had been due to the jealousy of the Catholic powers; but there was now every reason to believe that their quarrels had been compromised, and that they were ready to act in harmony for the re-establishment of their religion. The danger was aggravated by the

existence of a large and powerful body of Catholics, especially in the North, who were all suspected of being in Mary's interest. As long as the Treaty of Edinburgh was unratified (as it still was), Mary was in fact making a claim on the English throne. Under such circumstances, Elizabeth could not wholly break with the Catholic powers by giving assistance to the fugitive Lords. Though it was plain, therefore, on which side her wishes were, yet, in order to contradict the suggestions which the ambassadors of France and Spain were making, that she was assisting the rebels, she granted She repudiates Murray. Murray a public interview, only to rate him soundly for venturing to ask her for assistance in such a cause, and to insist upon an open denial of any encouragement received at her hands. Murray saw the position of affairs, and prudently corroborated Elizabeth's falsehood.

The marriage of Mary with Darnley, though for the time it produced the effects intended, and enabled the Queen to carry out with success the first measures of a Catholic reaction, had in it the seeds of failure. Darnley was childish and petulant, a notoriously loose liver, and at the same time jealous of his wife. His loose tongue could not keep these private squabbles sacred. There was known to be a breach between the King and Queen, and partisans began to gather to one side or the other—"King," Darnley was called by courtesy only, for the way in which Mary was showing her growing dislike for him was by refusing to grant him the crown matrimonial. It was believed that it was the influence of Rizzio which was chiefly instrumental in preventing Darnley from obtaining this object of his wishes. David Rizzio was an Italian adventurer, who had become private secretary to the Queen, and had rendered himself necessary to her by holding as he did all the threads of her correspondence with the Catholic powers abroad. Being engaged too in secret correspondences, he was often in close and intimate private conversation with her. Darnley's jealousy was excited against him; while the hatred of the Protestant party, who regarded him as the chief instrument of the Papal power in Scotland, and detested him for the upstart airs which he seems to have assumed, forgot for a moment their enmity with Darnley, and united in a plot in which Rizzio was to be the victim. Documents of association were drawn up between themselves and Darnley in March 1566, by which they pledged themselves to procure for him the crown matrimonial, and to secure the death of Rizzio; while he was to guarantee the recall of Murray, the restoration of the banished Lords, and the maintenance of

Quarrels between Mary and Darnley.

the Protestant religion. Meanwhile Mary, unwitting of the danger which threatened her, was preparing a fresh assault upon Murray. The Parliament was summoned chiefly for the purpose of passing a Bill of Attainder against him, and she had by her own personal influence succeeded in procuring the nomination as *Lords of the Articles*—as the Committee was called which prepared measures for Parliament—of men who would make no scruple in bringing in such a Bill of Attainder. It was necessary that such a step should be forestalled. The Lords of the Articles were nominated on the 7th, and in the evening of the 9th, the Earl of Morton, with a party of Douglasses, quietly surrounded the Palace of Holyrood, while Ruthven, with George Douglas, Ker of Faldonside, and Darnley, went up to the Queen's apartments. She was sitting at supper with Rizzio and the Countess of Argyle, a French physician and other attendants were present. Darnley's duty was to hold the Queen. He drew near her, pretending to caress her—she drew back from his embrace; the stern form of Ruthven, deadly pale from a recent illness, met her eye standing in the doorway, the tapestry of which he had raised.

Murder of
Rizzio.

She sprang up, exclaiming "Judas!" and demanded of Ruthven what he wanted. With bitter words he told her he had come for Rizzio, who had been with her too long already. He pushed the Queen into Darnley's arms, bade the attendants meddle with him at their peril, and calling his comrades to his assistance, dragged Rizzio out of the room and despatched him in the corridor. George Douglas struck the first blow with a dagger he had snatched from Darnley, crying, "This from the King." Bothwell and Huntly, and other friends of the Queen, who were in the palace, came down, astonished at the uproar, and at first seemed inclined to fight; but Ruthven disclosed the second act of the plot, telling them that the banished Earls would be there before morning: and finding themselves outnumbered, they thought it wiser to fly. Mary had been left quite alone in her rooms; none of her ladies were allowed to visit her. In that terrible loneliness she formed her plan of vengeance, and at once proceeded to act upon it. Darnley, weak and lustful, was the merest child in her hands. Before the day was over, she had half won him back by her caresses, had got her ladies restored to her, and sent messages to Bothwell and Huntly. In another day she had got from Darnley all the secrets of the conspiracy, and had persuaded him to fly with her from Holyrood, and take refuge in the castle of Dunbar.

Bothwell and her friends gathered round her, and in a few days

she was able to return to Edinburgh at the head of a considerable army. She was thus strong enough to summon Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others to answer for the murder, but they had already fled to England, and were outlawed. Mary's reconciliation with Darnley was the merest pretence; she loathed him with a great hatred, and they soon came again to quarrelling. Murray, Argyle, and Maitland, not having been present at the murder, were received into favour, and worked for a time with Bothwell and Huntly. This appearance was also fallacious. The Queen had determined upon the destruction of Darnley, and upon the ruin of Murray and his friends, but it was necessary for the time to keep up appearances. The man on whom she really leant was Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, a coarse and brutal Border noble, with an outward polish of manners learnt in France. With this man it was plain that she was falling violently in love. To this passion she had never yet fallen a prey. There was so much of nobleness in her character, that when once seized by it she was capable of any acts of self-denial and devotion. Such passionate love is a bad guide for a queen in such difficult circumstances as hers, and it was upon it that she made shipwreck of her life. There were two obstacles in the way of Bothwell's success in securing Mary for his wife—they were both of them married.

Meanwhile, Mary had a son (June 19, 1566), whose advent had been hailed as a possible means of healing the difficulties of the country. Elizabeth showed her good-will towards him by consenting to act as his godmother, and it was likely that his undisputed succession to the English throne might set that difficult question at rest. The events of his christening were however ominous; Darnley, although in the house, refused to be present, and Bothwell did all the necessary duties. Already such of the nobles engaged in the conspiracy for the death of Rizzio as had been pardoned began to press for the recall of their banished comrades. Their hatred for Darnley, who had betrayed them, and was still instrumental in keeping their friends in banishment, was only equalled by that of the Queen and Bothwell, in whose way he stood. Community of interests drew these strange parties together, and Bothwell at a meeting held at Craigmillar, contrived to get the signatures of Argyle, Huntly, Maitland, and Sir James Balfour to a bond for securing the death of Darnley—"That for sae mickle as it was thought expedient and

Bothwell

The Bond of
Craigmillar.

profitable for the commonweal, by the nobility and lords underwritten, that sic an young fool and proud tyran (as the King) should not bear rule of them—for divers causes, therefore, they had all concluded that he should be put forth by one way or other."

Such a bond shows how deeply determined the nobles of all parties were to get rid of this treacherous and overweening young man. The rumour of some such plan reached England, and probably reached Darnley himself. It was almost certain that he had some inkling of what was about to happen. The event was not long deferred. About ten months after the death of Rizzio, the King fell ill (January 1567); his disease is said to have been small-pox. As he was recovering Mary affected solicitude for his comfort, and visited him. It was agreed that he should be removed from Glas-

Murder of
Darnley.
Feb. 10.

gow, where he was ill, to Craigmillar. This plan was afterwards changed, and Edinburgh was decided upon. Darnley felt a foreboding of his fate. He told Crawford, a follower of his father's, who was visiting him, "Though he liked it not, he would trust himself in her hands though she should cut his throat." Mary wrote that night to Bothwell, describing the scene. When it was arranged that Darnley should be taken to Edinburgh, it was alleged that Holyrood was not healthy for him, and he was to be taken to Kirk-o'-field, as he understood to the palace of the Hamiltons there. But Bothwell had arranged matters better than that. A lone, half-ruinous portion of a destroyed priory had been got ready for him, a room above for himself, and a room downstairs for the Queen. There she visited him, and there as usual she subdued him and made him again in love with her. But one day she suddenly remembered that her servant Bastia (or Sebastian) was going to be married, and that she must grace the festivities with her presence. Singularly, during the visit she had just paid her husband, she twice passed the door of her own room without entering it; had she done so she would have found the bed removed and the room filled with bags of gunpowder: all the previous night Bothwell and his friends had been storing it there. After she had gone, the arrangements were completed, and two of Bothwell's men were left in the house. Perhaps Darnley discovered them and tried to fly with his page, for their bodies were found strangled in a neighbouring orchard, and not among the ruins of the house. Bothwell came down to complete the explosion, but in his hurry seems to have forgotten to replace the bodies. When the train was lighted, he rushed home to bed, and received the

news of the disaster with well-feigned astonishment and cries of treason.

Such acting, however, though helped by all the influence of the Queen, did not deceive the nation. Tickets and placards were soon affixed in the night to the walls charging Bothwell and others with the murder. Lennox, the murdered man's father, demanded a speedy inquiry. Such an inquiry, in some form or other, could not be refused, but care might be taken to render it quite nugatory. Bothwell was allowed to remain at large and to enjoy the full favour of the Queen. Edinburgh Castle, commanding the place of trial, was put into his hands, and the town was filled with his followers. The day for the trial was fixed, and that at so short a distance of time that Lennox could have no opportunity of collecting evidence. Such short time as there was he employed in calling together armed followers, for it was evident that no justice could be obtained unless backed by force. A proclamation was then issued forbidding him to appear with more than six followers. Of course he could not thus risk his life among Bothwell's rough Border riders. All efforts had been in vain to procure any postponement of the trial. A messenger from Elizabeth, who brought a letter urging such a course, was kept outside Holyrood Palace, and saw Bothwell ride out in triumph to be tried, kissing his hand to the Queen, whose deep sleep had just before been urged as a reason for her not receiving Elizabeth's letter. The trial was conducted according to regular form. Although Lennox himself was not there, a gentleman of his party represented him, and demanded postponement of the trial for the usual legal period. He was scoffingly told that Lennox had urged a speedy trial, and in the absence of the accuser Bothwell was acquitted.

Very shortly after (April 1567), a Parliament, or something which represented it, was summoned, and the acquittal was ratified. After the close of the Parliament, Bothwell assembled the nobility at a place called Ainslie's Tavern, and there, after a boisterous evening, some eighteen or twenty noblemen were induced to sign a bond recommending the Queen to accept Bothwell for her husband. Though they signed the bond under the pressure of the despotism which Bothwell had in fact established, the idea of the marriage was none the less hateful to them. Probably they all intended to break the bond. It was to avoid such affairs as this, and such doubtful intrigues, which were inevitable in the midst of the suppressed indignation of all classes of the people at the idea of the Bothwell marriage, that Murray had withdrawn to France. It would not do for him to sully his name

in the rough and underhand transactions which he saw were imminent, as it was his business to reserve himself till he could appear on the scene as the single, irreproachable representative of a reformed Government.

The hatred with which the match was regarded was known to Bothwell, and in spite of his apparent prosperity, it seemed necessary both to him and Mary to take some instant measure to secure it; besides which, there was some little difficulty in procuring the divorce from his wife, who was a sister of Huntly's. To sweeten what would otherwise have been an intolerable insult to the powerful family of the Gordons, much of the property which had been confiscated after the skirmish of Corrichie was to be restored. Bothwell therefore made a plan, of which Mary was probably cognizant, for carrying off the Queen. She went to see her child, who was in the keeping of the Earl of Mar at Stirling. She probably intended to have got possession of the child, but Mar was conscious that such a step would be most injurious to the cause of the opposition nobles. The Queen was therefore admitted, with only a few attendants. The interview was, according to some stories, an affecting one; according to others, the Queen tried to poison the child with an apple and a sugar-plum, "judged to be very evil compounded." As she returned from Stirling, in company with Huntly, Maitland, and Melville, and a considerable guard, Bothwell, with a force he had collected professedly to ride to the Border, blocked her path close to Edinburgh, at a place now called Fountainbridge, surrounded her escort, and, with every sign of connivance on her part, carried her off to his castle of Dunbar.¹ The great Lords of Scotland—Mar, Morton, Athole, and Argyle—at once determined that, come what would, so scandalous a connection must be put an end to. Either Bothwell carries off the Queen. France or England might be expected to assist them, and they determined on immediate action. Meanwhile, the Queen and Bothwell returned to Edinburgh, and flaunted their loves in the eyes of the populace. Whether the Queen yielded to violence at first, as she represented, or not, it was plain that now, at all events, she was well pleased with her lover. She created him Duke of Orkney, and on the 15th of May married him in the Protestant form, and was so changed by her love, that she suffered all licenses to use the Catholic worship to be recalled, and declared her intention of adhering strictly to the Confession of 1560.

The Lords determined to attack Bothwell, who, to be beforehand with them, ordered his followers to collect upon the Borders. He went down to join them, leaving the Queen at

Anger of the nobles.

¹ This fortress had been conferred on Bothwell in 1566.

Borthwick Castle, whither he returned upon finding that his plan had failed. Some of the Lords, hearing where he was, rode down and nearly captured him there. With difficulty he escaped to Dunbar, whither on the following day Mary fled to him in the disguise of a page. All her own wardrobe was wanting, and she borrowed from some attendant a bodice and a little red petticoat reaching only half way down her leg. In this strange dress she issued forth with her husband, who had collected some troops at Dunbar, to meet the rebel Lords. She met them at Carberry Hill, not far from the site of the battle of Pinkie. Some attempts at mediation were made by the French ambassador, but in vain.

Battle of Carberry Hill. June 15.

A single combat between Bothwell and some champion on the other side was imminent, but prevented evidently by the Queen's anxiety. The Lords' ultimatum was the dismissal of Bothwell, and as, after a hot day, his undisciplined army was melting away in search of refreshments or in desertion, and the Lords were seen advancing to execute their threats, Mary yielded at last to necessity, suffered Bothwell to tear himself from her, and gave herself up as prisoner to the Lords. Bothwell fled to Dunbar, and afterwards turned rover in the Northern seas. The poor Queen, in her quaint dress and almost beside herself with anger, was taken into Edinburgh amid the coarse jests of the populace. All night long she was unable to calm herself, and appeared again and again at the window, with torn hair and dishevelled dress, only to encounter the sight of the terrible banner portraying her husband's death, which was erected opposite her window. There was much danger that she would be put to death; but somewhat gentler counsels prevailed, and she was sent prisoner to Lochleven Castle. While there she was persuaded to abdicate in favour of her young son. Murray, who was summoned home from France, was named Regent, and till his arrival the Government was carried on by a Committee of Regency. The Lords, under his able guidance, proceeded quietly in their course, determined, if possible, that neither French nor English should mingle in the present quarrel. Eleven months elapsed, during which Mary's friends somewhat recovered from the blow they had received, and organized plans for her escape. At last, after more than one futile effort, she succeeded in leaving Lochleven Castle by the aid of a page known as the Little Douglas. Lord Seton met her on the shore, and a rapid ride, such as only a woman of her strength could have borne, brought her to Hamilton, where her friends were collected. Murray was at Glasgow, a few

Mary is imprisoned in Lochleven, and abdicates.

Mary escapes.

miles off, unprepared for an assault. But he succeeded in collecting troops before a blow was struck against him, and as the Queen was advancing to secure Dumbarton Castle, the stronghold on the mouth of the Clyde, he encountered and routed her forces at Langside. She fled to the South of Scotland, and, crossing the Solway, threw herself on the hospitality of England, where she was honourably received by the gentry of the neighbourhood.

Battle of Langside. Mary seeks refuge in England. May 13, 1568.

The arrival of Mary still further increased the difficulties of Elizabeth. The determination to suppress heresy, arrived at in the year 1565, had shown itself chiefly in the conduct of Spain towards the Netherlands. About the same time as the abdication of Mary, the Duke of Alva had succeeded the Regent, Margaret of Parma, in the government of the Netherlands. He had brought with him a powerful army, which was to reduce that refractory country and root out heresy. Shortly after the death of Charles V., edicts had been issued against the Protestants, authorizing their suppression by illegal military courts. Against these unconstitutional measures the nobles had successfully protested. Philip had withdrawn to Spain, and had left his sister to carry on the government. As far as it was possible, she had carried out the edicts, and crowds of artisans had left the country to settle in England or to join their brethren in France. The stadtholders of the provinces, headed by William of Orange and Counts Egmont and Horn, unable to check the severity of the bishops, but unwilling to rebel, had petitioned Philip to postpone the carrying out of the edicts. The common people could not wholly imitate their moderation; rebellions broke out, which were speedily checked by the stadtholders; but Philip had found the excuse he wanted, and Alva, with an army, was sent to suppress all further signs of discontent with a high hand. Counts Egmont and Horn, though they received him loyally, were imprisoned for having petitioned against the edicts, and shortly afterwards beheaded. William of Orange had taken flight in time, and with some assistance from the Germans, and from his own province of Nassau, began an open war. The opening was disastrous to William; his brother Count Louis was defeated, and his army absolutely destroyed, at the battle of Jemmingen, on July 21, and the rest of the campaign was equally unsuccessful.

The Queen's difficulties were no longer confined to the attacks of the Roman Catholics. The Puritans had sprung into existence as a separate body. When first the Act of

Consequent increase of Elizabeth's difficulties, already enhanced by the affairs of the Netherlands.

and by the rise of the Puritans.

Uniformity had been carried out, many of the Roman Catholic priests had accepted it without meaning in any way to be bound by it. A certain number had refused it, and their places had been filled for the most part by clergy who had been in exile during the previous reign, and had learnt abroad the religious views of Calvin. Thus for some years, in two neighbouring parishes, the form of worship might have been very different—the one exhibiting a ritual beyond that which the Church of England allowed, the other using the plain Genevan form of worship. As the Queen felt more firmly fixed upon her throne, she determined to put an end to this variety. Her own view in such matters was very clear. The law of the land prescribed a certain form of worship—to that every good subject must adhere. Her own predilections and those of her Archbishop—Parker—were strongly in favour of the more ritualistic form, and, in 1565, it was determined to insist on the wearing of the surplice and other such matters. Parker and, much against his will, Grindal (Bishop of London) summoned the London clergy, and ordered them to keep the Act of Uniformity strictly. Between thirty and forty,—more than a third of their number, and those the ablest and most active among them—refused to use the surplice, and resigned their cures. Their congregations naturally sided with them, and thus a large body of good Protestants were exasperated and driven into enmity to the Church.

Elizabeth thus found herself with a nobility eager before all things for a successor to the throne, and desirous of an alliance with Spain, with one section of her people estranged by her severe Church discipline, another eager for the restoration of the old worship, and with a victorious army, bent on the extirpation of heresy, in her immediate neighbourhood. One course was suggested, which might have freed her from her difficulties. She was urged to marry the Archduke of Austria. This would have saved her from Spanish enmity; would have encouraged the Catholics in England to wait quietly for a legitimate successor, confident that persecution would be meanwhile impossible; would have gratified the Anglican nobility by carrying out the policy they had always recommended, and would probably have removed that fear of a disputed succession, which was constantly present in men's minds. But she could not bring herself to consent to the match. Her determination not to marry at all, her preference for Leicester, and her dread lest she should be compelled to acknowledge the Papal supremacy, to which, for political reasons, she was obstin-

Marriage with the Archduke of Austria seems her best way of escape.

ately opposed, combined to cause this decision. With it disappeared all immediate hopes of a direct successor. And just at this moment the legitimate heiress appeared in England, ready to become the centre of all intrigues, whether religious or dynastic.

It became imperatively necessary for Elizabeth to make up her mind how she would act to her unwelcome guest. As usual, she preferred an indirect course. If she regarded herself as the champion of Protestantism, the opportunity lay open to her of supporting the rebel Lords, and sending assistance to those Protestant subjects, both of Spain and France, who were struggling against the growing Catholic reaction. But, as the champion of the prerogative of sovereigns, she particularly disliked the idea of supporting subjects against their king; while she by no means wished to enter into a war, which might easily prove disastrous, which could not fail to prove expensive, both against Spain and France. Proud of her own intellect, she thought she could steer among the difficulties which beset her by diplomacy and finesse. She determined, if possible, by destroying Mary's character, to prevent her from receiving either the support of foreign powers or of England; while at the same time she hoped that, if she did not allow Mary's enemies to bring their charges fully home, it would be possible to make some arrangement which should replace her on her throne, an arrangement which would enable her to avoid the distinct nomination of a successor, while it might satisfy the Protestant Lords by establishing some modified form of the Reformation, such as the English Church. It was therefore determined that a conference should be held to inquire into the charges brought against Queen Mary. But as there was a difficulty in establishing any jurisdiction over a Scotch Queen, it was ingeniously determined that the inquiry should be nominally directed to the conduct of the rebel Lords, which would naturally bring out their charges against the Queen.

The Conference was held at York, and there the Regent Murray produced a general reply to the charges against him. Former experience had taught him the danger of relying upon Elizabeth. He thought it probable that Mary would be restored, that if he produced his real charges he would make her his implacable enemy, and that her restoration would prove his ruin. Elizabeth had, in fact, promised to Mary that she would restore her in any case; to Murray, that if the worst charges were proved, she would not restore her. Murray's general answer

She determines
on a double
policy,

destroying
Mary's influence,
but restoring her
to the throne.

Conference
of York.
Oct. 4, 1568.

was wholly insufficient. It became necessary for him either to produce proofs of Mary's complicity in the murder of her husband, or to confess the weakness of his position. Those proofs he held in his hand, consisting of letters and sonnets written to Bothwell, and discovered in the Queen's casket. He showed the letters to the Commissioners, demanding a distinct promise, before publicly producing them, that, if their authenticity was accepted, judgment should be given against Queen Mary. Before this promise was given, it reached the ears of Elizabeth that a plan was on foot to marry Queen Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, as the easiest way out of all difficulties. That so important a step should have been thought of without her cognizance excited her anger, and made her determine that the Conference should be held more within the immediate limits of her influence. The inquiry was therefore moved to London. If Mary's influence in England was to be destroyed, it was now necessary to produce publicly the proofs of her guilt. A number of Peers were summoned, and when the Commission reopened, Murray produced the full charges. To the Commission already formed, a number of noblemen, Mary's own especial friends, were added, and to them the letters were exhibited, nor could they refuse to acknowledge them. Queen Mary had meanwhile been clamouring to be heard in person before Elizabeth. But the Lords seemed to have agreed that until the worst of the charges at least were answered, the Queen was not called upon to admit her to her presence. Several forms of trial were offered her. But Elizabeth wrote to her, urging her to make some sort of compromise, to confirm the abdication she had made at Lochleven, and to remain in England as long as she pleased; Murray might continue Regent, and the Prince be brought to England, and educated as the Queen's successor. It seemed as if Mary was driven to extremities. Only by some compromise of this sort could she hope to escape public disgrace. Within a few weeks Elizabeth changed her mind. Events had occurred which had alarmed her. She hushed up the whole charge against Mary, sent Murray back to Scotland, and left the matter wholly unsettled.

It was the danger of a war with Spain which in all probability had changed Elizabeth's views; for while handling one of her difficulties, another had risen to importance. It was Cecil's own action which had hurried on the approach of the danger. While many of the nobility disliked her policy, and believed

The Casket
letters sup-
pressed. Mary's
cause left
undetermined.
Jan. 1569.

State of parties
in England.

that an alliance with Spain could alone save England, Cecil and his friends, with truer insight, saw that the religious quarrel which lay at the bottom of all present difficulties must sooner or later be fought out, and that it was with Spain that the real struggle would come. He believed England already strong enough openly to defy that country, and wished to put an end to all temporizing, and bring the matter at once to the settlement of war. Causes of quarrel with foreign powers were easy enough to find. The western coasts of England swarmed with privateers. Though the Queen carefully abstained from overt acts of hostility, she yet allowed, and it would appear wished, her enterprising subjects to join indirectly in the efforts of the Protestants. Under the flag of the Prince of Condé, at that time head of the Huguenots of France, and possessed of the Port of La Rochelle, these bold sailors, who were in fact little better than pirates, held themselves at liberty to stop any Catholic ships on the seas, and the sale of their prizes was openly carried on at Plymouth and the western harbours. Chief among these adventurers was Sir John Hawkins. Already he had made successful expeditions, not only in the narrow seas, but in the Spanish West Indies, and had there sold cargoes of slaves, and made large profits, of which the Queen had had her share. He now fitted out a fresh fleet, with the connivance of Elizabeth, who again had her share in the venture, and who lent him one at least of the royal ships. With this he pursued his old course, at first with complete success, but subsequently he was fallen on by a Spanish fleet, and with difficulty brought two of his ships in bad plight to England. The Queen was indignant at her money losses. A considerable sum of money, borrowed in Genoa for the Spanish troops in the Netherlands, had been brought for safety out of the reach of the privateers to England. This was now seized, and as a natural consequence the Spanish authorities laid an embargo on the English ships abroad. It is pretty certain that the Queen meant to take the money, and was wholly in the wrong; but having discovered that it was still the property of the Genoese merchants until delivered, she declared she had only borrowed it, assumed airs of injured innocence, and proceeded to reprisals, seizing all the Spanish ships and merchandise in England.

Although Philip's unwillingness to plunge into war, and his constant dread of France, prevented any immediate hostilities, Cecil's conduct naturally raised the hopes of the Catholics in England. They could not believe that the Spanish King would quietly submit

Cecil tries to draw the Queen into war with Spain.

to such insults. They now believed that they might certainly rely upon assistance from Spain, and Philip seems in fact to have now first thought seriously of appearing as the champion of the Scottish Queen. The plan of the extreme Catholics was to marry Mary to Don John of Austria, and re-establish the old religion by Spanish arms.

The more moderate Catholics also, with the connivance and assistance of the Spanish, wished to change completely the character and conduct of the administration, to restore the predominance of the old nobility, to overthrow Cecil, and to establish the succession in the person of Mary, securing her attachment to English interests by a marriage with Norfolk, the head of the English aristocracy. To a considerable number of Protestants also the establishment of the succession was a great object. They saw no alternative but to accept the Queen of Scots as heir to the throne, and believed that her power to do harm would be best destroyed by her marriage with a great English nobleman such as Norfolk. To all these schemes Norfolk seems more or less to have given in his adhesion. To the Catholics, who upheld him, he represented himself as at heart a Catholic; to the Protestants he remained a Protestant. At first, in conjunction with his father-in-law, Lord Arundel, and the Spanish ambassador, he laboured hard at the overthrow of Cecil, intending to apprehend him at the Council Board; but he had not sufficient courage for this bold step. He then treacherously pointed out to the Spanish the means of injuring English trade, hoping to excite discontent among the mercantile classes. But finding that the Spaniards were losing their confidence in so weak a conspirator, and yielding to the arguments of Cecil, he for a time threw himself with apparent heartiness into the Protestant scheme, in which he had the support of most of the Council, and which was carried so far that terms and conditions were discussed with Mary herself on behalf of the Council. But when the plan came at length to Elizabeth's ears, it proved in the last degree distasteful to her, and she let it be understood that her consent to it was not to be hoped for. Thwarted in his scheme for the restoration of the old nobility, and in his project for marrying Queen Mary in the Protestant interest, the Duke fell back upon the more zealous Catholics of the North. The influence of Don Guerau, the Spanish ambassador, had induced this party, who were ready for active insurrection, to wait until the issue of Norfolk's plans for marrying with the Queen's consent should be

Philip begins to adopt Mary's cause.

General feeling in her favour.

Various schemes centring round her marriage with Norfolk.

Norfolk's vacillating conduct.

known. He believed, as was probably the fact, that Norfolk fully intended, when the opportunity arrived, to throw over his Protestant supporters, and re-establish the Catholic religion. It was therefore agreed that the rising should not take place unless the Queen's consent was refused. That refusal had now been given, and the Northern Lords waited anxiously for orders from Norfolk. Conscious that his designs were suspected, Norfolk withdrew from the Court, and fled to his own province in the East of England (Sept. 15). He was thence summoned to London. For a time he made some show of resistance, and refused to obey; but losing heart, he sent word to his Northern allies not to move, was apprehended, and sent to the Tower.

He is arrested.
Oct. 9.

Thus left to themselves, the Northern gentlemen were at first uncertain how to act, but ultimately took arms without Norfolk's assistance, and marched to Tutbury, intending to release Mary, who had been brought thither for greater security from Bolton. Sussex, who was in command at York, could do nothing to check them, but fortunately before they got possession of the Scotch Queen, she was removed out of their reach to Coventry (Nov. 23). Their first blow had thus failed. Troops from the South began to march northward. The insurrection proved a failure, and its chiefs, Lords Northumberland and Westmoreland, the heads of the Percies and Nevilles, were driven to take refuge in Scotland. Upon the lower classes cruel vengeance was taken, 600 or 700 were summarily put to death. Vengeance then passed to the gentry; some four or five were executed; others, especially those who had no land, from whose death therefore nothing could be gained, were spared.

Northern
insurrection.

The flight of the two Earls into Scotland was the cause of fresh difficulties in that country. The old connection between the rebel Lords had been broken up. Maitland of Lethington, the ablest man among them, was absolutely careless upon religious matters, and desirous only for the political greatness of his country. This he sought to gain by securing the succession to the English crown for a Scotch Prince. Circumstances had now led him to believe that Mary would ultimately make good her claims to the throne of England; he therefore attached himself vigorously to her party, bringing with him many important nobles. Murray, on the other hand, anxious before all things for the establishment of the Reformation, upheld the young King, in whose name he was acting as Regent, and trusted, in spite of the disappointments

Consequent
complications
with Scotland.
1570.

he had suffered, in the friendship of Elizabeth. It was already with difficulty that he held his position. To surrender the nobles who had taken refuge in Scotland was to destroy his little remaining popularity. Yet such was the task imposed upon him by Elizabeth. Nor did she send him any assistance for the purpose. Regarding the friendship of England as indispensable, he consented, in spite of the risk it implied, to arrest the Earl of Northumberland and imprison him in Lochleven Castle. But before he could either restore Northumberland or capture Westmoreland, his arch enemies the Hamiltons seized the opportunity of his unpopularity, and assassinated him as he rode through Linlithgow.

Unaided by
Elizabeth,
Murray is
assassinated.
Jan. 23, 1570.

To follow the intricate history of the next few years, it is necessary to bear in mind Elizabeth's own views upon political and religious questions. It was the force of circumstances, rather than her own inclination, which ultimately drove her into that position as leader of the Protestant party, with which we are in the habit of connecting her name. Though Scotland, Spain, and France were all plunged in religious war, Elizabeth refused to join frankly with the Reformers. Careless of religion herself, freedom of opinion, but conformity of outward observance, was what she desired. She hated rebels and loved constituted authority. Yet her position at home threw her upon the side of the Reformation. In danger of a joint attack from the Catholic Princes, she thought it necessary to seek the safety of her people by fostering every cause of disunion and weakness among her enemies. At the same time, she dreaded to excite their anger, and attempted to keep up friendly relations with them. We therefore find her, in Scotland, in words supporting the young King's party, and occasionally giving them some kind of assistance, and also in communication with the Queen's party, and frequently taking measures for the restoration of the Queen; in Holland, permitting her subjects to send assistance to the rebels, sometimes assisting them herself, and in constant communication with their chiefs, at other times threatening to join with the Spanish Government to suppress them; sometimes in friendly relations with Spain, at other times allowing her subjects to insult it with their piratical expeditions; in France, sometimes giving help and comfort to the Huguenots, at other times forming close relations with the Government, and carrying to the brink of completion negotiations for marriage with the royal house. It was only when this conduct produced its natural effect, when she found her-

self mistrusted by all parties among her allies, while her overthrow was the constant object of conspirators, that she was compelled at length to assume openly the leadership of the Protestants. At times, when her diplomacy seemed failing, fear of general action against her drove her to the verge of vigorous action; at times the advice of her Protestant counsellors, eager to cut the knot of difficulty which surrounded them, seemed to triumph over her reluctance to decided action, and thus a still further air of vacillation is given to a policy which is of itself difficult to follow.

The death of the Regent Murray gave an opportunity for the display of the Queen's policy. The death of one who was respected by all parties produced a temporary harmony. Had Elizabeth pleased, she might have secured the almost unanimous friendship of the country. All waited to hear what she would do.

Her disastrous
double policy
in Scotland.

Had she acknowledged the young King, named him her successor, and properly supported a regent chosen in his name, the Queen's party would have been extinct. But Elizabeth still thought of effecting a compromise and restoring Mary to the throne. She even opened correspondence with Maitland and the Queen's friends. Thus left to themselves, the Scotch parties continued their rivalry, while English influence daily declined, as the King's friends found themselves, as they believed, betrayed by Elizabeth. She was, however, at length compelled to act, for Westmoreland, in concert with the Queen's party, made inroads into Northumberland, and in revenge Sussex three times passed the Border and laid waste the country. She still refused, however, to declare for the King, still threatened the restoration of Mary, and though Lennox was elected Regent, she left Scotland in a state of anarchy.

Sussex's invasion of Scotland had given ground for the interference of France. That country now threatened war, which in the existing condition of England could not but be highly dangerous. The Catholics, though defeated in the late rebellion, were by no means extinguished. The continued presence of Queen Mary in England gave them a constant centre round which to gather, and many who had before held aloof from conscientious grounds now thought themselves free to act; for Pius V. had been persuaded to issue hastily a Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, which rendered all measures taken against her praiseworthy in the eyes of extreme Catholics. They were disappointed, however, in the

It produces
danger from
France as well
as from Spain.

Pius V. issues
his Bull of ex-
communication.
Feb. 25.

effect of the Bull. The Kings of France and Spain forbade it to be published; they could neither afford to break entirely with Elizabeth, nor did they relish encroachments on the part of the spiritual power. In England, after some delay, the Bull was fastened to the Bishop of London's door by a man of the name of Felton (May 15). The Queen felt some alarm. She believed that the union of the Catholic powers, so long dreaded, had at length come. Steps were taken for the defence of the country, and Felton was executed (Aug. 8). Time showed that, abroad at all events, the Bull had little or no effect. But in England disaffection and plotting continued, nor did Elizabeth feel safe from a general attack from the Catholic Princes till a change in the affairs of France placed the Government of that country in moderate hands.

Defeated in the year 1569 at Jarnac and at Montcontour, the Huguenots had lost all influence in the Government, which had remained in the hands of the strong Catholic party. A victory won in Poitou had changed this aspect of affairs. A new treaty had been patched up in August 1570 between the rival religionists, and Catherine and her son Charles seemed to be again inclined to listen to the counsels of the Huguenot leaders. This change of government rendered hostility to Spain certain on the part of France; no united action between the two countries against England was for the time possible. There even seemed to be a prospect of a friendship between France and England.

England saved
by the suc-
cesses of the
Huguenots.

Such a friendship would be advantageous to both countries. Spain was the common enemy of the Huguenot party, now rising to power, and of the English; and the countries, if combined, could make an irresistible attack upon the Netherlands, the weak point of the Spanish monarchy. To England it further offered a freedom from hostile interference on behalf of Mary, or, could a compromise to secure her restoration be effected, a fair certainty that the conditions would be kept, especially if, as was soon proposed, the friendship was further secured by the marriage of Elizabeth to the Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother, to which at first Elizabeth seemed inclined to consent.

Alliance and
marriage with
Anjou suggested

The suggestion of this marriage destroyed any confidence Mary may still have felt in French assistance, and threw her still more completely for support upon Spain. It was to that country, therefore, that all the malcontents of England now looked for assistance, and a great conspiracy was set on foot. The King of Spain himself, and his chief adviser Alva, were

Mary and the
Catholics turn
towards Spain.

still most unwilling to break with Elizabeth. Her friendship with France was, as they well understood, fraught with danger to them, and if the connection between the countries was honest and permanent, would probably cause the loss of the Netherlands. Alva therefore did his best to reconcile himself with Elizabeth. But the Pope, indignant at the reception his Bull of excommunication had met with, and constantly assured by his agents in England of both the sufferings and strength of the Catholic party, was eager for some immediate action in their favour. His chief agent was a banker of the name of Ridolfi, who, though he had mingled in many plots, had been clever enough so to impose upon the ministry, that they were now on the point of employing him to visit foreign courts in their interest. He had thus an opportunity of carrying on his schemes unsuspected. The plot was an almost exact repetition of the old scheme in favour of Norfolk. Again it was intended that the Duke should marry Mary, that he should declare himself a Catholic, that with the aid of a Spanish army the Catholics should make a general rising, dethrone Elizabeth, and restore the old religion, together with the old nobility and policy of the country. Assistance from Spain was absolutely necessary. It was hopeless to secure it without a distinct declaration from Norfolk that he would play the part assigned to him. He had for some time been free from all real restraint; there was therefore no difficulty in negotiating with him; but he shrunk as usual from committing himself. However, when informed that no less than forty English Peers—more, that is, than half their whole number—were in favour of the plan, he consented to write to Philip, and employ Ridolfi as his agent. Thus armed with authority from Norfolk, from the Catholic Peers, and from the Queen of Scots, Ridolfi set out on his journey.

While this dangerous plot was hatching, Elizabeth had been obliged to call a Parliament (April 2, 1571), which she had not done for four years. The House of Commons showed a temper which proved how deep Protestantism had struck its roots into the middle classes, and how out of harmony with the general feeling of the nation were both the intrigues of the Catholic nobles and the half measures and temporizing policy of the Queen and her Council. The attention of the House was directed almost entirely to ecclesiastical matters. Complaints of irregularities in the discipline of the Church, of toleration of Catholic worship, and of the gradual reintroduction of old ecclesiastical abuses, were the chief topics of

complaint. It was in vain Elizabeth attempted to check this interference with what she considered her own prerogative. Many Bills of a Puritan tendency were introduced. Some of them—among others one insisting on the acceptance by the clergy of the Thirty-nine Articles, together with some stringent laws rendering it high treason to introduce Bulls, or to admit English subjects to the Church of Rome—became law. Others were allowed to drop either in the House of Lords or for want of the Queen's assent. The most prominent member of the Puritan party was Strickland. He was summoned before the Queen, reprimanded and excluded from the House; but the Queen was compelled to yield, when the Commons asserted their privilege of free speech, and he was reinstated.

Protestant
temper of the
Parliament.

While the Parliament was still sitting, Ridolfi had been carrying out his mission in Brussels. Alva, who found him too shallow and talkative to be thoroughly trusted, thought it much better that Elizabeth should be either captured or killed by the Catholics before Spain moved in the matter; but yet alarmed at the friendship between France and England, thought the opportunity was not one to be missed. Ridolfi, at all events, was so pleased with his success, that he despatched a messenger with a favourable report to Norfolk, and to the Bishop of Ross, Queen Mary's agent in England. Cecil, whose spies were everywhere, had the messenger apprehended, and by means of the rack, and information derived from a spy, who pretended to be the wretched man's friend, gained a considerable insight into the conspiracy; though, as the letters were in cipher, and the key was wanting, he was as yet ignorant of the chief people implicated.

Ridolfi plot
discovered
May 5.

Meanwhile, the marriage with Anjou, on which to all appearance Elizabeth's safety depended, had come to nothing; as usual, she could not bring herself to accept a husband. The two courts were too much interested in the maintenance of peace to allow an open breach. Religious scruples were asserted on both sides, and in the place of the marriage a league between England and France against Spain was suggested; and, to give a show of sincerity on the part of England, the privateers were directed chiefly against Spanish commerce.

Ridolfi had betaken himself to Madrid. There Alva's plan had chiefly recommended itself. A man had been found who offered to undertake to put Elizabeth out of the way, and orders were sent to Alva to be ready to invade England as soon as that step should be taken. Meanwhile fresh information was reaching Cecil. Sir John

Alva's view of
the Ridolfi plot.

Hawkins had pretended to turn traitor for the sake originally of obtaining the freedom of some of his comrades who were in Spanish prisons. His deceit had been so successful that the Spanish Government began to treat with him to cover the proposed invasion, which thus came at once to Cecil's ears. All this time Norfolk had been unsuspected. The chance discovery of a sum of money which he was remitting to the partisans of Queen Mary in Scotland caused his reapprehension, together with that of his secretaries. Torture wrung from them the key to the cipher which had hitherto been wanting. The missing link in the evidence was thus supplied. The whole secret of the Ridolfi conspiracy was known. Arundel, Norfolk, and Lumley, the chief leaders of it, were arrested, together with the Bishop of Ross, who at last, under fear apparently of torture, made a full confession of the intrigues of the few last years. All those intrigues which had gathered round Norfolk and his marriage with Mary were thus discovered, and the first great plot of the reign was thwarted.

It might have been expected that the discovery of the plot would at once have broken through the diplomatic refinements of Elizabeth's policy, and have forced things into a more natural position. With the treason of the Catholics, the complicity of Mary with their plans, and the connection of Spain with the conspiracy plainly proved, it would have seemed natural that the punishment of the traitors, the death of Mary, and open war with Spain would follow, especially as the treaty with France was still on foot.

The strange web of conflicting interests which surrounded the policy of the time prevented any such effects from arising. For the moment indeed, it seemed as if Elizabeth would pursue a more direct line of conduct. Norfolk was tried for high treason and found guilty; a full account of the evidence against Mary which had hitherto been suppressed was allowed to be published; the Queen wrote to the Earl of Mar, now Regent in the King's name, to assure him of her open assistance; the Spanish ambassador was peremptorily ordered out of England. But there for the time the matter ended. The Duke of Norfolk's execution was postponed from day to day, nor was it till after a strong expression of feeling from the Parliament, which was then again assembled, that Elizabeth was brought to consent to his death. Neither her own obvious danger, nor the petition of the Bishops of England, nor the joint request of the two Houses of Parliament, to be allowed to bring in a Bill of

Norfolk again
arrested.
Sept. 5.

Momentary
energy of
the Queen.

Execution of
Norfolk.
June 2.

Attainder, could induce her to act with severity against Mary. In Scotland,—where her double dealing had allowed the Queen's party again to rise, and (in an attempted surprise on Stirling) to put Lennox the Regent to death,—instead of fulfilling her promise to his successor, Mar, she as usual laboured at a compromise, and let matters take their own course. And when it became evident that Alva, disgusted at the discovery of his plans, was turning a deaf ear to the prayers of the refugees, and persuading Philip to bear all insults rather than break with England, all thought of war with Spain was laid aside.

There was one more difficulty to be met. This arose from the Queen's relations with France. At the moment of the discovery of the plot, the French, naturally supposing that Elizabeth would be willing to join with the enemies of Spain, had taken the opportunity of drawing the existing friendship between themselves and England closer. In the place of Anjou it was now suggested that the Queen should marry his younger brother, Alençon, a man not more than half her age; nor did she reject the suggestion, but as usual coquetted with it, acknowledging the wisdom of such a step, but shrinking from carrying it out. Meanwhile, before she had made up her mind, the treaty between the two countries was renewed and strengthened, though not without considerable misgivings of the Queen's honesty on the part of the French. Catherine de Medici and her son Charles were at this time, as has been already mentioned, somewhat under the influence of the Protestant party; Admiral Coligny, the head of that party, being in high favour. The object they aimed at was a joint attack on Spain through the Netherlands; the Protestants, for obvious reasons, desiring to assist the Prince of Orange; Catherine and her son being anxious to add the Netherlands to France. But the supremacy of the Huguenot party was by no means secured. The Guises and the friends of Spain were very powerful, and commanded the mob of Paris. Catherine and the King cared little for either religion, hated the leaders of both parties equally, and attempted to rule by playing them one against the other. The continuance of the Huguenots' supremacy, even their safety, depended on the success of the war they were urging, and that war could only be successful with the assistance of Elizabeth. But Elizabeth was as usual beginning to play false. Feeling safe for the present from France, she was making her peace with Spain, and already, in compliance with the demands of Alva, had driven the

Resumption of
diplomacy.

Alençon sug-
gested instead
of Anjou as the
Queen's
husband.

Joint war
against Spain
in the Nether-
lands intended.

Dutch privateer Admiral de la Mark from his refuge in England. This act of friendship had not had the effect Alva had expected when urging it. The Netherlands were ripe for revolt, smarting

Where, on the taking of Brille, the Protestants were again in insurrection.

under the heavy taxation Alva had laid upon them. De la Mark, grown desperate when deprived of his refuge, sailed up the river Meuse and captured Brille (April 1572) in the name of the Prince of Orange, thus laying the first stone of the Dutch Republic. This

beginning was followed by a general insurrection in Holland and Zeeland. Count Louis of Nassau, with the aid of French Protestants, captured Mons. English volunteers flocked across to join the rebel army. The adhesion and assistance of Elizabeth alone was wanted to enable the French to join with effect in the quarrel and drive the

The plan thwarted by Elizabeth's duplicity.

Spaniards from the Netherlands. But Elizabeth, as before mentioned, was already half pledged to Alva, and while the French were urging upon her the necessity of combining with them in vigorous action, they discovered that she was secretly offering to accept Flushing from the rebels, with the intention of surrendering it to the Spaniards. Such an act of duplicity destroyed any confidence in the English Queen. Joint action seemed impossible.

The failure of the English alliance naturally weakened the influence of the Huguenot or war party. Meanwhile the party which was averse to the war was making its influence felt. The Guises were the avowed friends of Spain, and were the favourites of the fanatical population of Paris. Still the King seemed firm in his late resolves. The Admiral Coligny was still his most trusted adviser, and the triumph of the Protestants was looked on as complete, when the friendship between them and the royal house was sealed by the marriage of the young King of Navarre, on whom their hopes were fixed, and Margaret of Valois, the King's sister. It seemed as though the danger of a new civil war was passing away. A reconciliation was made between Coligny and the Duke of Guise. They shook hands in Charles's presence, and the appearance of friendship was assumed. But the reconciliation was hollow. The rival parties were ready on the first opportunity to fly at each other's throats. To Catherine de Medici belongs the guilt of affording them that opportunity. Her views were solely political. She hated the house of Guise and the house of Chatillon equally, as they equally tended to overshadow the influence of the Crown. She thought that a chance now offered of letting them destroy each other. A very

Fall of Huguenot influence at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572.

little would excite the Huguenots to a fresh outbreak. Counter-acting measures would be forced upon the Catholics. In the midst of the confusion, the power of her own party and of the Crown might be secured. At her instigation, the Duchess of Nemours (the widow of the late Duke of Guise, who had been murdered, it was believed with the connivance of Coligny), together with the present Duke of Guise and the Duke d'Aumale, employed an assassin to shoot the Admiral. The attack was only partially successful. The Protestants, who had collected in crowds at the late marriage, were lulled into security by the King's conduct. Catherine saw that unless some further step was taken, her plan would fail, and there would be no outbreak. In alliance with the chief Catholic Princes, she induced the King to believe that the Huguenots were planning to carry him off, as they had tried to do his predecessor at Amboise, and he gave leave that some of the chief leaders of the party should be killed. The opportunity was accepted by the leaders of the Catholic party: the fanatical and blood-thirsty mob of Paris was let loose, and the fearful massacre of St. Bartholomew was the consequence. For three days the massacre continued. The example was followed in other parts of France, at Orleans, Rouen, Bordeaux, and Toulon, till many thousands of Protestants of all ages had been cruelly murdered.

The news of the massacre was received with a shout of triumph by the Catholics of Europe. At Rome the Pope gave it his fullest approval; processions were made, and medals struck to honour it. The English Catholic refugees in Holland followed his example. Philip of Spain, as the head of the Catholic party, rejoiced that at last France had ceased to temporize with the Protestants, and, as a politician, saw with pleasure the destruction of the league between France and England, which was so threatening to his power in the Netherlands. In England the news was received with fear and abhorrence. The people were clamorous for reprisals, and demanded at least the death of Queen Mary. Elizabeth again believed, as upon the discovery of the Ridolfi plot, that the conjunction of Catholic Europe against herself, which she had so constantly dreaded, had at last arrived. She made preparations for war, and, though she could not bring herself to listen entirely to the cry of vengeance raised against Mary, she determined to rid herself of her dangerous rival by restoring her as a prisoner to the King's party in Scotland. Mar, the Regent, would have accepted her, but was determined not to be used merely as a cat's-paw, and he therefore demanded the public approval of Elizabeth and the presence of English

Elizabeth again roused to activity.

troops at Mary's execution. Before an answer could be returned, Mar suddenly died, and the regency was forced upon Morton, somewhat against his will, and without any certain guarantee from Elizabeth. He found the terms Mar had suggested scornfully rejected, and thus, deserted by Elizabeth, was plunged again into civil war. Maitland and Grange, and other chiefs of the Queen's party, held the Castle of Edinburgh, without which the possession of the

She assists the King's party in Scotland.

country could not be complete. At length the danger of the extinction of the King's party became so probable that Elizabeth was compelled to take the step she had shrunk from so long. An army was raised, and placed under command of Drury, who advanced to Edinburgh, and bombarded and took the castle (May 27, 1573). Maitland died almost immediately after the capitulation, Kirkaldy of Grange was executed, and for the time the Queen's party was completely destroyed. But this energy,

Her alarm subsides.

consequent upon the fright excited by the massacre, did not last long. Affairs fell back into the hands of politicians, and the old course of diplomatic double-dealing was continued.

It soon became evident that there was in truth no union between the Catholic powers, but, on the contrary, a disposition on the part of both of them to continue or increase their friendship with Elizabeth. The French ambassador was indeed received with all outward marks of displeasure. The Queen and Court were dressed in mourning, and a gloomy, ominous silence reigned. But signs were not wanting that there was no intention of breaking the peace. At the same time, Alva seized the opportunity to try and reunite England and Spain. He felt certain that all confidence in the friendship of France for England must, for the time at all events, have been destroyed, and

Friendship with Spain renewed.

he urged Philip to regain, if possible, the alliance of England, which could alone enable him to conquer his rebel subjects in the Netherlands. In spite of the earnest entreaties of the English Catholic refugees, Philip was induced to make the required overtures, and to propose a treaty with England, while Alva was so successful with Elizabeth that the English volunteers in Holland were recalled.

In fact, Elizabeth was still bent on producing, by means of her tortuous diplomacy, a state of affairs in Europe in accordance with her own peculiar views, while, at the same time, she secured her own safety. This she considered threatened by the presence of the Catholic refugees in the Netherlands, and by the supremacy of the Guise party in France.

Her views on the European situation wholly political.

She wanted therefore to induce the Prince of Orange and his party to make peace (especially as they seemed to be worsted), securing only for themselves political liberty and toleration of conscience, but accepting Catholicism. At the same time—in order to compel Philip to enter into any compromise with his rebel subjects, to insist upon the Catholic refugees leaving his dominions, and to relax in some degree in favour of English sailors the strictness of the laws of the Inquisition—it was necessary so far to favour the insurgents as to be able to use them as a standing threat. To gain these ends, she seems even to have been willing to take into consideration her religious position, and to think of again uniting herself with Catholic Europe. In France the same sort of game had to be played; a little assistance was to be given to the Huguenots, friendly relations to be kept up with Catherine de Medici and her son, and by this means the Guises kept out of power.

In both cases her diplomacy was frustrated. She trusted to her management of the political interests of the Princes, and wholly underrated the strength of religious feeling—of Protestantism in Holland, of Catholicism among the populace of Paris and among the nobility of France. In pursuance of the line of policy she had adopted, she gave up all open support of the party of the Prince of Orange, which, left without her assistance, fell into the greatest distress. Having, as he thought, secured the stability of government by his success in war and by the severity of his punishments, Alva had attempted to make the States profitable to Spain by exacting a large and illegal tax. The effect had been a general renewal of hostilities, and Alva, confessing himself unable to complete his work, had asked to be recalled. In 1573, his request had been granted, and Requesens had taken his place. Under his government the Spanish rule appeared to thrive. Prince Louis, and another Prince of the house of Nassau, fell at the battle of Mook Heath (April 14, 1574), and though the defence of Leyden (May 26 to October 3) somewhat re-established the position of the Orange party, Elizabeth could be moved no further than to attempt a mediation, distinctly giving it to be understood that she should insist on the

Recall of Alva. Success of Requesens. Nov. 1573.

acceptance by the rebels of Roman Catholicism. Her mediation was futile. Both Philip and the Prince of Orange refused such conditions, and it became evident that since the Prince determined to fight the battle out, if assistance could not be obtained from England it must be sought from France. As the acquisition of the sea coast provinces by France would have been a

Her policy drives the Netherlands towards France.

heavy blow to the naval supremacy of England, it could not be allowed to take place. The Queen was therefore thrust back after all into her old position. If Philip would not compromise, she would be compelled in self-defence to assist the rebels. Thus, in January 1576, ambassadors came both from Requesens and from the Prince of

Elizabeth
attempts a
compromise,
but fails.

Orange to attempt to settle the Queen's mind in one direction or other. At first she leant towards the rebels. Her best counsellors urged her in that direction. The seizure of an English ship and the imprisonment of its crew by the Inquisition seemed to show how little she had to hope from the friendship of Spain. But, on the other hand, her feelings were all in favour of the Spaniards. She was angry with the obstinacy of the States with regard to their religion. A Parliament had been called in March, and the bold conduct of one of the Puritan leaders, Wentworth, who had complained of the monopolies she had granted, had excited her anger with the Protestants at home. The sudden death of Requesens gave her an excuse for following her own inclination; and St. Aldegonde, the Dutch ambassador, was dismissed in disgrace. She even went so far in her opposition to the States, that open acts of hostility broke out, and it seemed for the time as if the cause of liberty must finally be defeated.

It was probably the course of events in France which had given Elizabeth the courage to follow her own wishes, and to break for the time with the Protestant interest in the Netherlands, with which in fact her own position and the prosperity of the nation were indissolubly connected. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Protestants in the west of France had rallied, and secured La Rochelle against the attack of the King's eldest brother, the Duke of Anjou, and had shown themselves so powerful that a new pacification between the religious parties was arranged. This was rendered the more easy, because Catherine and her son Anjou were anxious to be free from difficulties in France to secure the crown of Poland, then vacant. Having found her plan for the destruction of both parties completely thwarted, Catherine had earnestly sought the friendship of Elizabeth, and had still further pressed the marriage between that Queen and the Duke of Alençon. The horror excited by the massacre was too strong to allow cordial relations to be established, but the Courts were externally in friendship. In the spring of the following year (May 1574) Charles IX. died, and Anjou, who was regarded as one of the chief instigators of the massacre, ascended the throne as Henry III. The pacification had been

Events in
France leaving
her free to act.

badly kept by the Catholics. The accession of the new King gave the Protestants both a reason and an opportunity for fresh precautions. They formed themselves into a sort of independent republic, and established a central council at Millaud, in Rovergue, which should exercise supreme authority over them. Alençon had found his position as heir-presumptive extremely uneasy. He was suspected of intending to join the Huguenots. He was very anxious to conclude his marriage with Elizabeth, but the influence of the Guises, who saw danger both in his marriage and in his Protestant inclinations, was sufficient to induce the King to keep him a prisoner in Paris, where the young King of Navarre was detained in the same way. At length, in 1575, Alençon succeeded in making his escape, and placed himself at the head of the Huguenots, who were prepared for a rising. Condé, one of their leaders, was at Strasburg, threatening to march on Paris, and Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine, was threatening to join the rebel army of the South with 10,000 Germans. In February 1576, the King of Navarre also contrived to escape, and the two Princes at once applied to Elizabeth for assistance.

Here again, as in her relations with Spain, she pursued a shifting policy. The Huguenots, while in arms, restrained the power of the Guises; but, once victorious, would have made common cause with the Prince of Orange, and the annexation of the Provinces to France would probably have resulted. A little assistance was therefore given them; the suit of Alençon was in some degree favoured; but as their power rose, Elizabeth appeared as mediator. A new pacification was brought about, and edicts of toleration issued. Huguenots were declared equal to Catholics in the eye of the law, and eight towns placed in their hands as a guarantee. Elizabeth believed that now parties in France were so nearly balanced that there was no longer any danger of an alliance with Spain against her on the one hand, or of the annexation of the Netherlands on the other. She held herself free then to act as she pleased with regard to Spain, and, as has been seen, dismissed St. Aldegonde, with an abrupt refusal of all his requests.

She refuses help
to the rebels.

For the moment it seemed as if her policy had triumphed. Her conduct with regard to Spain was so friendly as to secure her from danger from Philip. She still professed to approve of the claims of liberty of conscience on the part of the rebels, and threw the blame of the continuation of the war on their religious obstinacy in unessentials; while France, as she thought, was completely neutralized. But her real want

Apparent
success, real
failure of
her plans

of success soon became obvious. In France, the League of the Protestants had been followed by the organization of the Catholic League under the Guises; the King placed himself at its head. The edicts were disregarded; the States-General held at Blois were wholly Catholic; Alençon, a mere adventurer, had changed sides; uniformity of religion was ordered; Condé and Navarre were threatened with the loss of their privileges as Princes; the Protestant leaders were exiled. In exact opposition to Elizabeth's hopes, she found that the weakness of her support had caused the ruin of the Protestant party, and that the Guises were again triumphant. In the Netherlands also a complete change of affairs took place. On the death of Requesens (March 5, 1576), the Spanish soldiery were left unpaid, and broke out into mutiny. Their fierce riots compelled all the States of the Netherlands, both Protestants and Catholics, to unite. The rival parties came to an agreement, and made a treaty at Ghent, demanding the dismissal of foreign troops, and government according to their own laws. Don John of Austria had been appointed to succeed Requesens. He was sent, with the strictest orders from Philip not to interfere with England. But he was ambitious. He could not forget his late successes over the Turks in the cause of Catholic Christianity, nor the project for marrying him with Mary Queen of Scots, which was so favourite a scheme among the English Catholics. He was not admitted to the country till he accepted the Treaty of Ghent (Feb. 17, 1577), and till the Spanish soldiers were sent to Italy. But this was merely a pretence. Don John had determined to attack England, and immediately began to bring the troops back again. The Queen was therefore in just as much danger as she had ever been before. The Guises were in power in France, the Spaniards were threatening her from the Netherlands.

In her fear, as on the two previous occasions of the Ridolfi plot and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, she took a straightforward step. She entered into negotiations with the States. She promised them a supply of money. She even promised them a considerable army under Leicester. But the union among the States was shortlived. To have secured Elizabeth's support they must all have agreed to accept Catholicism. The Maritime Provinces could not bring themselves to the step; while the Catholic Provinces, or Walloons, thought they should be able to gain their object by putting themselves into the hands of Matthias, brother of Rudolph, Emperor of Germany. They thus thought to divide the two branches of the Austrian house, and secure all they wished for—political independence. To

Elizabeth this also seemed probable. She was displeased with the obstinacy of the Maritime States; she believed that the arrival of Matthias would check the schemes of Don John, and that she at all events was safe. The entire destruction by that Prince of the insurgent army at Gemblours (Jan. 31, 1578) also tended to make her lukewarm in their cause, and all her promises ended in the loan of a little money, and the endorsement of certain bills by which they raised money, an obligation which she afterwards refused to meet.

Such conduct naturally excited the extremest indignation, the effect of which was very nearly to force her to take the step she most of all hated, and to marry Alençon, now become the Duke of Anjou; for the States, looking for assistance, naturally threw themselves upon France, and Alençon, careless of what cause he supported if only it rendered him independent, raised an army in their favour. The Queen could scarcely hope by any amount of cajolery to win the States back again. If they were to pass into the hands of Alençon, it would be better for her to have some hold upon him also. She therefore pushed her negotiations for marriage with him to the furthest extremes. She brought him over to England, professed to like him, though he was hideous both in person and in character. She risked her popularity in the pursuit of the scheme, for the French marriage was hateful to the people. She even insisted upon the punishment of two honest men, Stubbs and Page, who wrote and sold a strong pamphlet against it. Their real loyalty and the cruelty of the sentence was proved when they left the scaffold, where they had just lost their right hands, crying, "God save Queen Elizabeth." Still she could not venture quite to defy popular feeling; and when, by a small majority, the Council declared itself against the marriage, it was for the time dropped.

The plain issue of the religious struggle which was convulsing Europe had hitherto been constantly clouded by the personal interests of individual Princes. The time was now approaching when the quarrel fell more directly into the hands of the people themselves. By extreme good fortune, Elizabeth had kept the country free from war, and it had become increasingly prosperous. Fugitives from Holland had established manufactures. Agriculture had adapted itself to the new state of society, and those who took no interest in religion or politics were content. But beside this prosperity there had grown up, since the massacre of St. Bartholomew,

The Low Countries, finding no help, apply to Alençon.

To retain her hold on them, she thinks of marrying him. Aug. 1579.

Political causes preventing the action of Princes, the people of Europe begin to act for themselves.

a strong hatred and a strong fear of Papists and their plans. This undercurrent of feeling had made itself visible in the conduct of the swarming privateers of the Western harbours, in the action of Parliament in spite of the repressive measures of the Queen, and but lately in the great expedition of Drake, which had sailed from England with the Queen's full approbation, during the short period of determined action against Spain which followed upon the disclosure of Don John's intentions. The temper of the Catholics was likewise rising, and among them there already existed a religious organization, untrammelled by politics, with the Pope at its head. Supported by the Guises, by the enthusiastic Catholics of France, and by the people of Spain, who saw with dislike the dilatory conduct of their King, they were determined to act with energy. England was to be the object of their assault; and in Ireland, Scotland, and England itself, their influence at once began to be felt, till at length they carried their Princes with them; while the irritation of the Protestants rose to a height which could no longer be restrained, and in their case too their natural leaders were forced to take decided action.

The Covenant signed at Edinburgh, December 8, 1557, was as follows:—

"We, perceiving how Satan, in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the evangel of Christ and His Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause even unto death, being certain of the victory in Him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise, before the majesty of God and His Congregation, that we (by His grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers and wearing of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which Holy Word and Congregation we do join us, and also do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover, this our faithful promise before God, testified to His Congregation, by our subscriptions at these presents"

ELIZABETH

(CONTINUED).

IRELAND. 1558-1584.

IRELAND, always a chief difficulty to the English Government, had become more than ever unmanageable. The establishment of Protestantism in England had added religious hatred to the old national differences which divided the country. Not that the religious revolution had been carried out with at all the same completeness as in England. But the very weakness of the reform had rendered it more irksome. On the accession of Elizabeth, there were scarcely any Protestants in Ireland, nor was it constitutionally necessary that the laws which regulated one nation should regulate the other. Yet political necessity had led to the establishment of the Protestant Church. It was contrary to Elizabeth's plan of government that two external forms of religion should be allowed to exist. The divided allegiance which was the necessary consequence of Papacy under a Protestant government rendered the establishment of Protestantism highly desirable. If it was established, in accordance with the Queen's views it must be universal. Consequently the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy became law in Ireland. Within the limits of the English Pale, where English law was held to be paramount, recusant Bishops were therefore removed and Protestants appointed; the Church and abbey lands were appropriated; and in the churches there was either Protestant worship, or, as too frequently happened, no worship at all. In other parts of the country Protestantism was only established and upheld, where possible, by force. Eager for money, the Queen farmed instead of colonizing the Church lands. The churches fell into ruins. In a large number of parishes there was no service at all. In still more, some wholly unfit person hurried through some semblance of service in exchange for a wretched pittance from the farmer of the lands. The new Church seemed to justify the worst that could be said of it. Meanwhile the widest connivance was extended to Roman Catholic worship; in every castle and village, and among the mountains, the old Church continued its ministra-

tions uninterrupted. The religious zeal of the Irish was thus kept up. The weak and miserable Protestant Church became not undeservedly an object of hatred, and the cause of Catholicism indissolubly connected with that of the nation. The same irritating weakness was visible in the temporal government of the island. Parsimony prevented the maintenance of a firm administration. The English influence was supported by a few scattered garrisons, which were forced to make up for their want of strength by the cruel vigour with which they acted. Thus the opposition of creeds and of nations grew constantly stronger, till the Irish placed their cause in the hands of the Pope and the King of Spain, and the whole country had again piece by piece to be reconquered.

The first insurrection broke out in 1565, among the native Irish of Ulster. It was headed by Shan O'Neil, the eldest of the legitimate children of the late Earl of Tyrone. An illegitimate son of the name of Matthew had been put in his place by the English. Shan O'Neil sought, and in some degree obtained, the favour of the English Queen, but at length broke loose from all engagements with England, and claimed the sovereignty of Ulster, with the regal title of The O'Neil. Elizabeth contrived to raise against him the smaller native chieftains, and a colony of Scotch who had settled in Antrim. With their aid Sir Henry Sidney overran his country, and he was finally murdered by the Scotch. The fall of Shan O'Neil, and the good government of Sir Henry Sidney, seemed to promise a more prosperous time. Tirlough O'Neil, a kinsman of the late head of the clan, promised to assist the English Government, and some of the towns began to show signs of industry.

But the anarchical condition of the whole country, the local disputes among the chieftains, the fierce cruelty with which any act of marauding was chastised by the English garrisons, and the want of any great uniform plan of government, soon put an end to any semblance of peace. Sir Henry Sidney had urged that the province of Munster should be formed into an English presidency, and that it should be governed by English laws; the supremacy of the Earl of Desmond, the head of the Southern Geraldines, being thus destroyed. It was hoped that at the same time the chiefs of the smaller clans might be gradually civilized by being intrusted with positions of authority. Such a plan must have been connected with considerable colonization, and Cecil appears to have gone so far as to have arranged the details, by which colonists would have been intro-

Plans for
colonization
of Munster.
1568.

duced upon land already confiscated, without invading anew the rights of any Irish chief. The plan was too expensive to suit the views of Elizabeth, but the idea of colonization was still kept alive. A long standing quarrel between the Butlers of Ormond and the Geraldines of Desmond was occupying the courts of law. Elizabeth insisted, whatever the law might be, that judgment should be given in favour of Ormond, who was a Protestant, and loyal; and to complete the discomfiture of Desmond, he was summoned to London, and arrested to be tried for treason. No severe measures were however taken against him; he was allowed to live at large, but was detained in England. In July 1568, he thought it wiser to submit, and surrendered to the Queen all his lands and property, confessing that they were lawfully hers, and that he would thankfully receive back whatever she liked to give him. This surrender might be brought to include nearly half the province of Munster; and were an investigation into titles instituted and forfeitures pressed, the greater part of the other half might probably have been secured. Upon this, a certain number of Devonshire gentlemen, the same class of adventurers who were the chief supporters of the piracy and privateering which was at that time the fashion in the West of England, offered, if the province was granted to them, to conquer it at their own expense, and hold it of the Queen. This would certainly have led to a war of extermination, and neither Cecil nor the Queen liked openly to sanction such a scheme. It might perhaps have come to something had it not been prematurely exploded. Carew, St. Leger and others, having purchased some obsolete titles to land in Munster, went there with bodies of retainers and forcibly made their claims good.

To touch their property in the land has always been to rouse the fury of the Irish. The knowledge that the idea of colonization was seriously held in England, and the exaggerated notions such knowledge was likely to foster, induced the Earl of Clancarty, and James Fitz-Maurice, brother of the Earl of Desmond, to determine on insurrection and to apply to Spain for help. The insurrection, as usual, assumed the form of murderous onslaughts, met by reprisals of an equally sanguinary nature. The details are almost too horrible to relate. Neither sex nor age were spared by either party. The war was unlike that waged between civilized nations, and resembled the exterminating warfare of the American frontier line. True to her policy of expending as little money as possible, Elizabeth wished at first to employ the Ormonds to suppress their old enemies the Desmonds. But

Insurrection
in Munster.
July 1569.

when Ormond heard of the colonization schemes, he too declared that, rather than countenance the destruction of his country, he would join the rebels. Sir Henry Sidney had therefore to give up his plan of conciliation, and with such little means as he had, amounting to about 2000 English soldiers, to march into the disturbed districts, where, by a succession of constant cruel slaughters, he succeeded in restoring some outward semblance of order. Fitz-Maurice, he boasts, was a mere wandering outcast. Connaught was held in order by Sir Edward Felton, while Humphrey Gilbert garrisoned Kilmallock in Munster. But this success was quite transitory, no money came to support Sidney from England. His garrisons, without pay, had to live at free quarters. Mutinous, hated by the people, and living by robbery, they degenerated into bands of brigands. Fitz-Maurice again assumed all his old authority in Munster. Felton could hardly hold his own in Athlone.

Meanwhile the Irish appeal to Spain for assistance had not been answered as they expected. The Pope and Philip were never on very good terms, and the King was forbidden to accept the gift of Ireland which was offered to him except as a fief from the Roman See. Moreover, the change of policy of Mary Queen of Scots, who, it will be remembered, about the year 1570, turned for support from France to Spain, made Philip dislike the idea of separating Ireland from the English dominions. To obtain the friendship of the English Catholics was more important to him than the acquisition of Ireland; and the English Catholics, who fully expected by his aid to succeed in placing Queen Mary on the throne, would scarcely have thanked him for depriving their favourite of a large portion of her dominions. If Spain was to help Ireland, it must be on behalf of the Roman Catholic religion, and not on the national question. The prospect of any help almost disappeared when the discovery of the Ridolfi plot induced Philip to attempt to renew his old friendship with England.

But though thus left to themselves for the present, the hatred which the attempt to change their religion had engendered in the Irish led them to continue their old career of insurrection. Sidney, who disliked his unsatisfactory and cruel work, was recalled (March 1571). Fitz-William, an able soldier, now weakened by age, was left in his place. Starved by the parsimony of the Queen, he could effect but little. The condition of the English grew worse and worse; the Protestant religion again almost disappeared. Once more the English Government determined to despatch a vigorous expedition. Sir

John Perrot, with an army, came over (April 1571) to reproduce the cruel scenes of Sidney's march. Again Fitz-Maurice and his comrades were reduced to wander as outcasts on the hills (Nov.). But again the want of support from home rendered all successes useless; Perrot's army mutinied for want of pay. The Queen would give him no help; he was therefore obliged to try gentler measures. Fitz-Maurice was told that on certain terms he might be pardoned. He accepted the conditions. All attempts at the establishment of English law came to an end, and the Irish chiefs again resumed their authority. At the same time (Jan. 1573), though only under the strictest promise to use his best influence to destroy the Roman Catholic religion, Desmond was at length allowed to return from England. Unfortunately, even this arrangement was not honestly carried out; no sooner did the Earl arrive in Dublin than he was again apprehended. He escaped from prison, but held that his second arrest released him from all his engagements, and as the English were too weak to recapture him, he regained in his native province all his former authority.

But although Ireland was thus left for the present in Irish hands, the idea of colonization, which might reclaim the country at little cost to Government, was by no means given up. It was now proposed to make the attempt in Ulster. A colony of the Scotch had there met with some success, and there seemed no reason why the English should fail. A son of Elizabeth's secretary, Sir Thomas Smith, was granted a strip of land near the Giant's Causeway. This fresh attempt, and the excitement produced by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, again roused the Irish to action. The English lost all power in Connaught, and Smith's colonization was an entire failure. The attempt was renewed on a larger and more promising scale by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex; a large tract of country, called Clandeboy, stretching from Belfast along Lough Neagh and the river Bann to the sea, was granted to him, with full authority (Sept. 1573). He was to conquer the country at his own expense, and after four years' possession to pay a fixed rent to the Treasury. Many gentlemen joined in the venture. As usual, at first all seemed prosperous. Sir Brian O'Neil, the chief of the country, made his submission, and placed his cattle in Essex's hands. It was, however, a mere subterfuge. In a few days he disappeared, driving his own cattle and those of Essex along with him. It was everywhere found that the fair speeches of the inhabitants covered deadly hostility; and as the winter came on, the English

Colonization
of Ulster
by Essex.

were obliged to entrench themselves in Belfast. The troops began to loose heart and desert, the provisions that had been supplied him proved bad and produced illness, and he shortly had to confess that private enterprizes were fruitless, that, unless armed with authority from home, he could do nothing against the difficulties which surrounded him. Surrendering his grant and all hope of civilizing Ireland in his own knight-errant fashion, he accepted the position of Governor of Ulster (May 1574), and in that capacity, with great cruelty, succeeded in establishing the English authority over the O'Neils.

It was always difficult to induce an English gentleman to accept the position of Deputy in Ireland. Not only did the Queen's parsimony go far to entail ruin on those who accepted the office, the blame of failure, which seemed nearly inevitable, was always thrown upon them; the smallness of the means at their disposal, together with the untamed character of the inhabitants, constantly led them to acts of cruelty which were highly repulsive to them. At length, in November 1575, Sir Henry Sidney, who had already been unusually successful there, was persuaded, much against his will, to accept the government. By the Irish he was on the whole liked. His arrival was regarded with pleasure, and during the triumphal progress with which he entered upon his office he everywhere met with much apparent enthusiasm, and received the submission of the more noted chiefs. But he still held to his former view, that the only way to govern Ireland in peace was to establish Presidencies in Munster and Connaught. The absence of James Fitz-Maurice, Desmond's brother, who had been the leader of the late insurrections, gave him, as he thought, a fair opportunity, and he established Drury in Munster and Malby in Connaught as Presidents (December 1576). This measure seemed entirely to contradict the flattering hopes raised on the Deputy's arrival. It seemed that after all, Irish customs and Irish law were to disappear, and the authority of Irish chieftains to be superseded. Nor did the conduct of the Presidents allay this fear. In his first circuit Drury hung about a hundred men, and even then apologized for his moderation.

Thus, rendered suspicious on their tenderest point by the various efforts at colonization, and disappointed in the hopes which the establishment of Desmond in his own dominions and the supposed character of Sidney had raised, the Irish again burst into insurrection. This time it was the Burkes of Connaught who took the first step. They

Connaught
insurrection.
Jan. 1577.

speedily learnt that the establishment of the Presidencies was not intended to be a dead letter. The countries of Shan and Ulick Burke, the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard, were mercilessly laid waste. Malby the President wrote: "I marched into their country . . . with determination to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young. I burnt all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found. This was in Shan Burke's country. Then I burnt Ulick Burke's country in like manner. . . . I went on sparing none that came in my way, which cruelty did so amaze their followers that they could not tell where to bestow themselves. So I left Ulick as little corn and as few houses standing as I had left his brother, and what people was found had as little favour as the other had." Law, upheld by hundreds of executions, insurrections suppressed with such ruthless cruelty as this, could not but excite the bitterest enmity, and when, for the support of the English army, a cess or tax was laid upon the land within the Pale, the gentlemen of that district became little less disaffected than the native or Anglo-Irish. A universal outbreak was scarcely to be avoided.

This general discontent reached its height about the year 1577, at the time when the Queen, believing that a war with Spain would be inevitable, had despatched Drake on his piratical excursion. The Irish malcontents again thought that an opportunity had arrived for interesting Philip in their cause. This they considered would be best done by begging his assistance, when an important insurrection was already on foot. Since friendly relations between Spain and England had been established after the Ridolfi plot, it was to Rome that the malcontents chiefly looked. It was with money and troops supplied by the Pope that they now intended to begin their movement. Sanders, an English refugee priest, and Stukely, who, originally one of the English privateers, had lately been living at Madrid, high in favour with Philip, and constantly urging him to interfere on behalf of Ireland, seemed fitting agents for their purpose. Fitz-Maurice also was abroad. To him and Stukely were intrusted the forces. Sanders was to accompany them as Legate. Stukely's troops were diverted by the King of Portugal to an invasion of Africa, where their leader closed his strange career. Philip, as usual slow to act, gave no immediate assistance. The friendship with England was again patched up; and the expedition was postponed for a year. At last, in May 1579, the success of Drake's voyage became known, the temper of the Spanish

Catholic expedi-
tion to Ireland.
1579.

people became violently excited, the Catholics, indignant at Philip's lukewarmness, took matters into their own hand, and a little expedition set sail. Fitz-Maurice, Sanders, and their followers, landed at Dingle, in Kerry. It was supposed that Fitz-Maurice's presence would at once rouse the country to arms, and that Desmond would himself join them. But Desmond was afraid. It was only after his brothers had murdered two English officers at Tralee, an offence which he felt to be unpardonable, that he ventured to declare himself. Then all Kerry and Limerick flew to arms. The insurrection met with no great success. Drury was indeed driven backward to Kilmallock. But Malby, the other President, succeeded in killing Fitz-Maurice, and, seizing the command in Munster, burnt Ashketyn, the stronghold of the Desmonds. Had reinforcements been supplied, he would have been generally successful. But the Queen, taking fright as usual at the expense, counter-ordered the troops. The insurgents were able to take and burn Youghal and to march triumphantly as far as Cork.

At length, thoroughly awake to the danger, Elizabeth intrusted the war to Desmond's old enemy, Ormond. In conjunction with the English, he pushed on, destroying all before him (Jan. 1580). "We passed through the rebel countries," wrote the English commander, "in two companies, consuming with fire all habitations, and executing the people wherever we found them." The two bands subsequently joined. Carrigafoyle, the fort where the few foreigners whom Fitz-Maurice had brought with him had intrenched themselves, was taken, and every man put to death, the castle of Ashketyn itself blown up (April). By the 26th of June 1580, the country, thus ruthlessly destroyed, seemed reduced to peace. Ormond, in one year, is said to have killed 826 malefactors and 4000 other people. Sidney had withdrawn from the island just before the outbreak. His place was now (Aug.) taken by Lord Grey de Wilton, a man of stern Puritanic temper. He came only to find that the insurrection had broken out afresh within the Pale. His opening manoeuvres were disastrous. His troops were entrapped and defeated, with heavy slaughter, at Glen Malure, in the Wicklow Mountains.

Shocked at the expense, at the cruelty, and at the want of complete success which had attended her vigorous efforts, Elizabeth seemed bent on falling back on a policy of conciliation, when the arrival of 800 men, Spaniards and Italians, from Spain, with the connivance at least of Philip, rendered a continuation of the war necessary. The effect of their arrival was to

Insurrection
of Desmond.
Aug.

Arrival of help
from Spain.
Sept.

renew the insurrection in all directions, and yet, in fact, Sanders himself, the most sanguine adviser of the rebels, began to see that more effectual help from Spain could alone save them. The new arrivals fortified themselves at Smerwick, in Kerry. But they were unable to move further into the interior, from the utter devastation Ormond had caused in the province. Admiral Winter, with the fleet, closed them in from the sea, while Grey gradually brought his troops round them. A short bombardment reduced the garrison to parley. They were refused all terms, surrendered at discretion, and were every one of them put to death, 600 in all (November). This was a deathblow to the insurrection, though it lingered on amid scenes of cruelty and bloodshed for two years longer. In the Pale, Kildare, the natural leader of the Irish of that district, was apprehended, and his complicity in the insurrection proved. He was sent to England, and died in the Tower. Desmond, the head of the other branch of the Geraldines, after wandering for long an outcast in the forests, was betrayed by those with whom he had taken refuge, and killed as he lay in bed. The death of the old Earl of Clanrickard (Oct. 1583), and the murder of his son Shan by his brother, completed the extinction of the insurgent Burkes. By July 1584 English authority was quite re-established, and Sir John Perrot again took possession of the Government. As far then as Ireland was concerned, the attempt of the Catholics, as distinguished from the Catholic powers, though causing much disaster and bloodshed, had been ultimately foiled.

Destruction of
the foreigners
at Smerwick.
Suppression of
the insurrection.

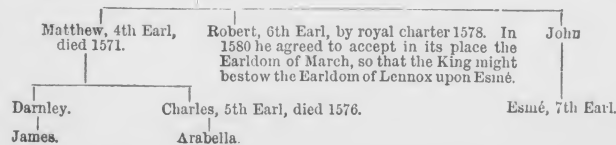
ELIZABETH

(CONTINUED).

ALMOST at the same time that Sanders had been despatched to Ireland, a young man of the name of Esmé Stuart, Count d'Aubigny, was sent to Scotland. He was a close friend of the Guises, had been trained by them, and was the heir to the Lennox title. His ostensible reason for visiting Scotland was to regain his inheritance. He was in reality an agent of the Guises and of the Catholic party in Europe, and his appearance must be regarded as a second step in the general Catholic conspiracy against Elizabeth. His object was to resuscitate the old French party in Scotland. Should he succeed in restoring the influence of France, it was intended to organize an invasion of England, in which both French and Spanish should take part. The command of the army was to be intrusted to Guise, as the Frenchman least likely to be distasteful to Philip. In the first part of this scheme he was eminently successful. He received the Earldom of Lennox (Feb. 1580), the better to serve his purpose professed to become a Protestant, and speedily ingratiated himself with the King. Though ignorant of the full scope of Lennox's plans, the great credit he had rapidly gained, and his rapid elevation to power, seemed so threatening that Elizabeth attempted again to call into existence the English party she had so foolishly suffered to be destroyed. But she had played fast and loose with her friends too often to be easily trusted. Morton required something more than a mere promise of assistance before he would attempt anything to regain his authority. While the Queen hesitated, the opportunity was gone. Lennox secured the execution of Morton on a charge of complicity in the murder of Darnley, which he could not completely deny. He was condemned and executed. With him the influence of the friends of England entirely disappeared, and in 1581 the Papal party was triumphant.

The second part of the plan which had brought Lennox to Scotland was happily thwarted. Its success depended chiefly upon the assist-

¹ John Stewart, 3rd Earl of Lennox, died 1526.



1581]

JESUIT SCHEMES IN SCOTLAND

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ance of Philip, and rested on the supposition that, for public objects, he would lay aside his dislike to France. He always disliked war, was very slow in taking action, and had his hands already full. For the royal house of Portugal, having become extinct, he was using all his energies to secure the dominion of the whole Peninsula. It was in vain that the advantages which he might derive from a marriage between James of Scotland and a Spanish Princess were pointed out to him, in vain that it was hinted that the triumph of the Guises might enable them, on the approaching extinction of the house of Valois, to make a partition of France, of which he should himself receive a share. He remained unmoved, and the expedition fell to the ground.

But, though the worst intentions of the conspirators never saw the light, the restored influence of the Catholics in Scotland made itself sufficiently evident to Elizabeth. A plan was now suggested for re-establishing Mary in Scotland, and for making her restoration palatable to those who had hitherto been the King's friends, by associating her son in the Government. Elizabeth met the threatened combination with her usual dexterity. She discovered that James was not really inclined to admit his mother to the Government on these terms; and she opened a separate negotiation with Mary, who offered at length to accept any terms that could be suggested, and even in exchange for her liberty to remain under supervision in England. Elizabeth was thus able to hold the immediate return of the Queen as a threat over James, and to plead James's repugnance as a reason for not completing her treaty with Mary.

But it was after all not her own skill, but a national outbreak, which saved Elizabeth from the effects of the Catholic reaction in Scotland; for a sudden change in the position of affairs there came to her assistance. The conspirators, as usual, had mistaken the feeling of the nobles for that of the nation. Lennox, as a preliminary step in the restoration of Catholicism, determined to render more real the shadow of Episcopacy which still existed in Scotland. The attempt brought him into violent collision with the General Assembly of the Kirk. The appointment of a minister to the vacant See of Glasgow led to the excommunication of the newly-made prelate, and to an uproar in Edinburgh (July 1582) which disclosed how deeply the Protestant feeling was rooted among the people. Taking advantage of this dispute, Lord Gowrie, who had a private quarrel with Lennox, in company with Angus, Lindsay,

Failure of
Lennox's plan.

Intended joint
rule of Mary
and James.

Catholic reac-
tion checked by
the popular
feelings.

Raid of
Ruthven.
Aug. 22

Mar, and others, determined to snatch the Government from Lennox. James was seized at Perth in August 1582, together with James Stuart, Earl of Arran, whose influence over the King was second only to that of Lennox. With the King in their hands, and with the plans of the Jesuits made known by the confession of Arran, the Lords applied to Elizabeth for assistance, and thus the plans of the Catholics with regard to Scotland were for the time thwarted. Elizabeth believed that she had been successful.

Meanwhile the same Catholic conspiracy had been at work in England. It had there naturally assumed a form at once religious and political. The more vehement Catholics had withdrawn from the country, on account of the dangers which there beset them. They had taken refuge in the Low Countries, and there Allen, one of the chief among them, had established a seminary at Douay, for the purpose of keeping up a supply of priests in England. To Douay numbers of young Englishmen from Oxford continually flocked. The establishment had been broken up by Requesens, and removed to Rheims, and a second college of the same description was established at Rome. From these two centres of intrigue numerous enthusiastic young men constantly repaired to England, and in the disguise of laymen carried on their priestly work and attempted to revive the Romanist religion. But abler and better disciplined workmen were now wanted. Allen and his friends therefore opened negotiations with Mercuriano, the head of the Jesuit order, in which many Englishmen had enrolled themselves. In 1580, as part of a great combined Catholic effort, a regular Jesuit mission, under two priests, Campion and Parsons, was despatched to England, to attempt there the same work which had been intrusted to Sanders in Ireland and to D'Aubigny in Scotland. As a preliminary step, one of the great difficulties which had beset the English Catholics was removed by a strange piece of double-dealing. A Bull of excommunication having been issued against Elizabeth, the devout Catholics were compelled to choose between disobedience to the Church and treason to the Queen. The new missionaries were allowed to say that that part of the Bull which pronounced censures upon those who clung to their allegiance applied to heretics only, that Catholics might profess themselves loyal until the time arrived for carrying the Bull into execution; in other words, they were permitted to be traitors at heart while declaring themselves loyal subjects.

This explanation of the Bull was of itself sufficient to justify severity on the part of Government. It was impossible henceforward to separate Roman Catholicism from disloyalty. Proclamations were issued,

requiring English parents to summon their children from abroad, and declaring that to harbour Jesuit priests was to support rebels. At the same time, the Queen wrote a spirited address to her people, appealing to their loyalty against her enemies. Walsingham was at last allowed to enter upon a course of severity. Early in December several priests were apprehended and closely examined, torture being occasionally used for the purpose. In view of the danger which these examinations disclosed, stringent measures were taken. Attendance at church was rendered peremptorily necessary. Parliament was summoned in the beginning of 1581, and laws passed against the action of the Jesuits. A Bill was passed rendering it high treason to claim the power of absolving subjects from their allegiance, or to receive any person into the Church of Rome. The concealment of such persons was made misprision of high treason. Private masses were strictly forbidden, and a fine of £20 a month laid upon those who refused to attend the service of the Established Church. The effect of these laws was to draw a sharp line, which had hitherto been avoided, between the Catholic and Protestant populations; and a number of the older Catholics, who were loyal at heart, found themselves implicated against their will in treasonable plots, of which the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, whose protection they were compelled to seek, was the centre.

Had Elizabeth been conscious of the full extent of the plot against her, had she known the intention of the Guises to make a descent upon England in co-operation with Spain, and the many ramifications of the plot in her own country, it is reasonable to suppose that she would have been forced at length to take decided measures. But in ignorance of the abyss opening before her feet, she continued for some time longer her old temporizing policy. Relying upon the friendship of France, she refused to restore the money taken from Spanish ships by Drake, who had just returned from the circumnavigation of the world; she countenanced Don Antonio, who claimed the succession of Portugal in opposition to Philip; she even ventured—in reliance on the necessity under which France lay of seeking her friendship, in presence of the increased power of Spain, which had incorporated Portugal and defeated Don Antonio's French auxiliaries in the Azores—to break off the marriage treaty with Anjou, after carrying it to the verge of completion. To such a point had she carried her favour, that she dismissed the Prince, who had come to England as her suitor, with a kiss, a public pledge, as it were, of her intentions, when he left her to take possession of the Netherlands, which had placed themselves

in his hands. She had thus in Scotland refused the friendship both of the Protestant and of the Catholic parties. She had insulted France by the rejection of Alençon. She had thrown away all chance of attaching the Netherlands to her cause. She had almost driven Philip, against his will, to listen to the strong wish of the Spanish nation, and to join the ranks of her enemies.

And all this while, without her knowledge, the most dangerous and complete scheme was on foot for deposing her. This scheme was finally arranged at Paris. King James of Scotland had escaped from his Protestant keepers (July 7, 1583), and had again made an offer of his kingdom as a landing-place for Guise. But the Duke had seen in Lennox's failure a proof of the strength of the Protestant party in that country. His ideas were now directed towards England itself. The Spanish ambassador had assured him that a certain number of the Catholic nobles were only waiting for help from abroad. The Jesuits spoke of the readiness of the people for insurrection. The agents of the Queen of Scots were constantly urging him forward. At a meeting held in Paris, he announced that he was ready, in combination with Duke Albert of Bavaria, and his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, to make the intended descent upon England. But here the strong Spanish leanings of the English Jesuits and English Catholics interfered. They insisted upon the King of Spain taking a prominent part in the movement. After some persuasion, Philip agreed that he would supply some portion of the invading troops. An army, collected in the Netherlands, was to join that of Guise, and under cover of the Spanish fleet to invade the country, when all was ready for their reception. But the fleet, which was a necessary part of the plan, was long in coming. Philip, as usual, was slow in action, and regarded the fullest preparation as necessary for success. By degrees Walsingham's spies began to give him information of the coming danger. A conspiracy for the assassination of the Queen was discovered (November), and, more important still, Thomas Throgmorton, who was thoroughly conversant with all the details of the great conspiracy, was observed frequently leaving the Spanish ambassador's house, and was arrested. His rooms were searched. Lists of the chief Catholic malcontents were discovered, and plans of the harbours best fitted for the landing of a foreign force. His more important papers he contrived to conceal, but he was not proof against the rack, and made a full confession of all that he knew. His confession did not save him; he was executed. But the whole scheme of conspiracy was now before Elizabeth's ministers,

Isolation produced by Elizabeth's policy.

Great general conspiracy against Elizabeth.

Arrest of Throgmorton. Discovery of the plot.

and at last she recognized the full extent of her danger. Some of her Council urged her at once to take a straightforward step, to make common cause with the Protestants of Scotland and the Netherlands, and to bid defiance to Spain. To this honest step she as usual could not bring herself, but strong measures were taken in England. Great numbers of Jesuits and seminary priests were apprehended and executed, suspected magistrates removed, and those Catholic Lords, whose treachery might have been fatal to her, ejected from their places of authority and deprived of influence. Against the Spanish ambassador, too, her action was prompt. Mendoza was summoned before the Council, and ordered at once to leave the country. In vain he alleged his innocence and defied proof; he was obliged to go, and left England, vowing vengeance. The cessation of diplomatic relations between Spain and England rendered war sooner or later inevitable.

Up till this time the Queen's policy, shifty, even treacherous as it had been, had been successful as far as England was concerned. Peace had been preserved, an economical Government had been carried on, and the wellbeing of the people secured. Disaffection had thus been gradually dying away, and the resources of the country to meet the inevitable crisis increasing. One chief means employed by the Queen in securing this happy result had been the position of Mary Queen of Scots. By playing the mother against the son, any active interference on the part of Scotland had been prevented, and the Catholic party in that country neutralized. At the same time the Catholics in England had been divided in their views. The old hereditary Catholics, for the most part loyal to England, were anxious for the restoration of Mary, and that she should be declared the Queen's successor, while the new Catholics, and those who were under Jesuit influence, wished for a more complete revolution, and that Mary, if restored at all, should be Queen only with Spanish assistance, and as the creature of Spain; while dread of Mary's restoration, and the consequent close connection of England and France, had been one of the chief causes which had kept Philip from entering more eagerly into the plans of the Catholics. The course of events was rapidly destroying the importance of Mary's life.

In Scotland, the success of the Protestants had been only temporary. James had made his escape from their hands, and Angus and other of their leaders were in exile in England. At first, as has been mentioned, James had written to place his kingdom at the disposal of the Guises, but before long other influences prevailed. On the flight of Lennox, James's favour had fallen upon Stuart, a man

Dismissal of Mendoza. Breach with Spain. Jan. 1584.

Declining importance of Mary.

Deserted by her son.

whose views were confined to his own personal advantage; he had contrived to get possession of the property of the Hamiltons, with the title of the Earl of Arran, in the place of the imbecile heir of the Hamilton house, and he had also, on the flight of Angus with the Protestant Lords, obtained the patrimony of the Douglasses. The restoration of Mary and the re-establishment of Protestantism would have been equally distasteful to him. The return of Mary must have brought with it the restoration of the Hamiltons, her most trusted supporters, and would consequently have deprived him of the Hamilton property. The restoration, on the other hand, of the Protestants, would have obliged him to restore to Angus the Douglas property. Understanding Elizabeth's character, he therefore devised a third plan, in which James was ready to join him. He induced the King, ignoring alike the claims of Catholics and Protestants, to assume in Scotland the same position as Elizabeth had assumed in England, and to establish a State church, of which he was the head, with Bishops and the rest of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This measure was exceedingly pleasing to Elizabeth, and James, whose chief idea was to secure the English succession, when thus brought into friendship with Elizabeth, readily, upon the payment of a very moderate pension, gave up his mother's cause. In extreme anger at this desertion, Mary denounced her false son, and declared Philip of Spain the heir of her claims upon the the English crown. Fear of interference from Scotland being thus removed, and Mary having been clearly implicated in all the late conspiracies, she was removed to stricter confinement in Tutbury Castle, where, after a while, under the care of Sir Anyas Paulet, she was so rigorously watched that all communication with her friends was prevented.

Removal
to Tutbury.
Jan. 1585.

Meanwhile, the national feeling had been strongly roused by late events. It was plain that the idea of assassinating Elizabeth was very prevalent. It had all along been Alva's view, in which Philip seems to have shared, that a Spanish invasion would succeed best in the confusion that would follow the Queen's death. Somerville had been already executed for attempting it (October 1583), and now a Dr. Parry, instigated by Morgan, Mary's agent in Paris, came over with the same intention (January 1584). Moreover, the death of the Prince of Orange appeared to show a determination on the part of the Catholics to have recourse to assassination as a means to rid themselves of their enemies.

Increased by
affairs in
Flanders.

The great pacification of Ghent had in it from the first the seeds of weakness. It included the Catholic provinces of the South. Between them and the Protestants

of Holland and Zeeland there could be no really cordial union. It was these Catholics who had harboured the futile idea of placing the States in the hands of Matthias of Austria. In that step, with true patriotism, Orange had concurred, rather than break up the union. But on its becoming evident that the Catholic States were ready to make terms with Spain to secure their own religion, he had, in 1579, made a closer union among the States more entirely under his influence, and the Union of Utrecht was formed between Holland, Zeeland, Gueldres, and Friesland, to which subsequently the great cities, Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent, gave in their adhesion. Of this union, throwing aside the fiction under which he had hitherto acted as Stadtholder by the royal commission, Orange had assumed the title of Captain-General and Admiral. In September of the following year (1580) he had proceeded a step further. Philip was deposed from his position as Duke of Burgundy, and the independence of the States declared. Having thus broken loose from Spain, the States were compelled to look for another ruler, and had offered that position to the Duke of Anjou, with the title of Duke of Brabant. It was to assume the duties of that office that he had left England, after the Queen's kiss at Greenwich had given him hopes of being her accepted suitor. Being a man wholly unprincipled, desirous only of his own aggrandizement, and jealous of the Prince of Orange, he had betrayed the people he was called upon to govern, and had made an effort to capture with his French troops the chief cities. This attempt, carried out by the favour of the Catholic faction, was made in 1583. In some places it was successful. But in Antwerp, where the Prince in person made the attempt, it signally failed. When his troops entered the town, they found themselves attacked on all sides; 1600 men and more were killed in the streets, and Anjou, with the small remainder, fled in disgrace to France, where he died in the following year. His flight restored Orange to all his old importance, and left him free to carry on the war vigorously with the Prince of Parma, who was in command of the Spanish forces. A price had long been set on his head. Two or three attempts, in one of which he was desperately wounded, had already been made to assassinate him, and at length, in July 1584, Gerard succeeded in deserving the promised reward. Just as Orange was receiving news of Anjou's death, he shot him at his own house at Delft. His death raised the fear of the English that a similar fate awaited Elizabeth, and conscious of the terrible disorder that would arise on the sudden death of the Queen in the existing uncertainty as to the

Assassination of
the Prince
of Orange.
July 9, 1584.

succession, the Council and chief nobles in England drew up a Bond of Association, in which they pledged themselves to prosecute with arms "all who should attempt any act or counsel to the harm of the Queen's person, and to prosecute to the death any pretended successor" in favour of whose title such an attempt should be made. The Association received almost unanimous adhesion; Protestants and Catholics alike joined it; even the Scotch Queen herself signed it. To complete this Association, which in appearance set aside the usual course of law, it was determined to give it the sanction of Parliament, which was summoned for that purpose in November 1584; and with some slight alterations it was incorporated in a Bill, securing the safety of the Queen.

Again, after the breach with Spain, and secure on the side of Scotland, an opportunity was offered to Elizabeth for openly adopting the cause of the Netherlands and the Protestants in France; again the opportunity was allowed to slip, and a fresh course of double-dealing was entered upon. Having lost both Alençon and Orange, the States offered themselves to Elizabeth. Being refused by her, they applied to France. This application, accepted fully, would have brought back the old danger of a junction of France and the Netherlands, which it was supposed that England would not allow. But Elizabeth was now anxious that the war against Spain should be undertaken, not by herself, but by the French. She therefore urged Henry to accept the proposition of the States, while at the same time she contrived to obtain a promise from her partisans among the Netherlands that Brille and Flushing should be given up to her, and managed to introduce such conditions into the offer made to France as should make its acceptance by Henry useless. Her plan was, however, seen through, and defeated. Henry refused the sovereignty of the States (Feb. 1585), while almost at the same time Elizabeth's rejection of the demand for assistance from the Huguenots obliged him to yield to the Guises, and to put himself at the head of the League. While the States were thus left without assistance from either of the great powers, the Prince of Parma was constantly continuing his victorious course, and was using all his efforts at the great siege of Antwerp.

In spite of herself Elizabeth is driven to assist the Netherlands.

In their extremity, the States refused to accept the Queen's late reply as final, and continued their application. To accept and annex the Provinces, to render them part of her dominions, was much too decided a step for Elizabeth to take. But she began to hint that she might either accept the position of Protector, or of friend and auxiliary, if first her position

was rendered secure, and the return of the money she expended guaranteed by the possession of certain seaport towns, as Brille, Flushing and Enchuysen. She was hurried forward in this course by the action of Philip, who, aware of the point the negotiations had reached, was at last roused to strike a blow, and suddenly issued an order for detaining all English ships in Spanish harbours, and imprisoning their crews (May 29). This was just one of those blows which make themselves felt most clearly by the people rather than by the Government, and was especially irritating, as the ships had been chiefly sent to supply Spain with corn during a time of scarcity. The popular feeling against Spain, and the wish to engage in the long-threatened war with that country, grew rapidly more vehement. The crisis seemed to be hastening onward. The Queen agreed to accept the Protectorate of the States, promising to make no truce with their joint enemies without consent of the States-General. But her heart failed her, and she preferred finally to assume only the position of a friend. On the 12th of August, a treaty was made to assist in the defence of Antwerp, which shortly afterwards ripened into a more general treaty, in which she pledged herself to keep at her own cost 4000 men till the close of the war, receiving as guarantees the towns of Brille, Flushing and Ramequens.

So eager were the people, and so ready from their constant militia training to take arms, that in a few days 7000 men sailed. Their arrival (Jan. 1586) was too late to save Antwerp, nor did the joy with which they were received by the Netherlands last long. Leicester, an incompetent general, was appointed to command them; no money was sent to support them, and it was with ill-concealed displeasure that the well-appointed troops of the States surrendered the cautionary towns to be garrisoned by the ragged and hungry English regiments. It was not long before it became known that, even when thus at length driven to energetic action, Elizabeth was secretly negotiating with the Spaniards. She meant to use the towns which were in her hands to make herself mistress of the position, and to enable her to treat authoritatively with both parties. It was for this reason that Leicester, and no abler soldier, had been sent in command, and that the English troops were constantly ordered to remain entirely on the defensive. Norris, one of the commanders, was, in fact, severely chidden for acting with some vigour. With this scheme in her mind, the Queen's anger was naturally great when she heard that Leicester, misunderstanding her designs, or wishing to pursue a more honest course, had assumed in her name the

She secretly negotiates with the Spaniards.

government of the States (Feb. 1586). It was in vain that it was urged upon Elizabeth that the States were without government, and that to prevent entire anarchy Leicester's step was necessary. She at first demanded an entire and public renunciation of his governorship; but was at length satisfied with demanding that the States should, as quickly as possible, find means of relieving him of his authority, allowing him only the position of Lieutenant-General to the Queen. At length he seems to have understood her views. He remained inactive, while Parma continued his victorious career. When some little action became necessary to keep up appearances, he attempted to recover Zutphen, a fortress upon the Issel, which had been one of Parma's latest conquests. The town was ill supplied with provisions, and Parma advanced with a convoy to its relief. His army was inferior in numbers to Leicester's. But that general, conceiving that only a small guard would attend the convoy, placed his own forces where they could be of no use, and sent an ambuscade of only 500 men to stop the advance of Parma. After a splendid but ineffectual contest with the Spanish cavalry, it became evident that Parma had his whole army with him. The English troops had to withdraw, and Zutphen was relieved (Oct. 2). The great loss of the English in the battle was Sir Philip Sidney, a man regarded both in England and abroad as the type of what a chivalrous gentleman should be. After this useless display of bravery, Leicester returned to England, leaving the government in the hands of the States, while the English army continued to dwindle, in want of all the necessities which the parsimony or policy of the Queen refused to supply.

Drake's energy
thwarts her
double-dealing.

As usual, the independent energy of her people was thwarting the political activity of the Queen. Drake had sailed with a considerable armament to demand the restoration of the captive sailors. His expedition was not, as regards spoil, so successful as the last. But the appearance of the English commander on the coast of Spain itself, the plunder of the town of Vigo, and the subsequent attack and storm of three strong cities in the West Indies (Sept.-Nov. 1585), St. Iago, St. Domingo, and Carthagena, tended much to raise the opinion of the English power, and rendered negotiations with Spain much more difficult.

Walsingham's
spies discover
the Babington plot.

While the nation was thus ostensibly at war with Spain, and the Queen secretly negotiating a peace with that country, it had become necessary to discover clearly, before any determined action was taken, what was the real design of

the Catholic party in Europe. For this purpose Walsingham had contrived to open a means of communication between Mary Queen of Scots and her foreign adherents. He had removed Mary from the well-guarded castle of Tutbury to the more open manor of Chartley (Sept. 1585). By corrupting the brewer who supplied the household with beer, he induced him to receive Mary's letters, which, before they passed to their several destinations, were opened and read by Walsingham and his agents. Not much certain knowledge with regard to the general action of the party was gained, but a plot came to light directed against the Queen's life. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, had been from the first closely attached to the Jesuits. Apparently at the instigation of Ballard, a Jesuit, who had obtained the Papal sanction for the Queen's murder, and had travelled through England in disguise organizing disaffection, Babington and a party of young gentlemen, some of whom were in the household, determined to put the Queen to death. This plan they foolishly made known to Queen Mary. In her answer to Babington, written not in her own hand but by her secretaries, she accepted his offer. "When all is ready," she wrote, "the six gentlemen must be set to work." Sufficient evidence was now collected for Walsingham's purpose. Babington and the chief conspirators were apprehended (August), and an account of the plot published, which roused the popular excitement in the highest degree. It was thought necessary, in order to complete the charge against Mary, that all her papers should be examined. While still in ignorance of the discovery of the plot, she was therefore taken out on a hunting party, suddenly surrounded by troops, and while her two secretaries who were with her were arrested, she hurried herself to the castle of ^{Mary removed to Fotheringay.} Fotheringay. Such proofs as were afforded by her letters, when they were carefully examined, and those which had fallen lately into Walsingham's hands, together with the confessions of her secretaries and of Babington, who with his accomplices had been executed (Sept. 20), were laid before the Peers and Judges in October. By them it was decided that the Queen of Scots must be brought to trial, and a Commission, including all the Peers that could be collected, ^{Her trial Oct. 1586.} was issued, constituting them into a court to sit at Fotheringay and try her. She at first refused to plead; but subsequently made her appearance before the Court under protest, and there denied absolutely all knowledge of Babington, of his letter, and of her answer to it. It was in vain that Babington's letter was produced, and finally her own letter also. The letter, not being in her

own writing, she threw the blame of it entirely on her secretaries, and demanded to be confronted with them. The Commission was adjourned for ten days before giving sentence. The two secretaries were again examined; and finally every one of the commissioners, some of whom had hitherto been favourable to her, gave their sentence against her, finding her not only guilty of a knowledge of a general conspiracy, including a Spanish invasion, but also of aiming at the assassination of the Queen. Mary had thus been convicted. It was still to be determined what further step should be taken. The importance of the occasion demanded that Parliament should be summoned. It was opened in the beginning of November, and before long an address determined on, recapitulating the crimes of the Queen and demanding her immediate death. This request was supported by the argument that the Queen of Scots, having joined the Association, had passed her own sentence.

It was no easy matter for Elizabeth to decide on carrying out the request of the Parliament. There is no need to suppose that her hesitation was hypocritical. It is of course impossible to believe that she had any personal tenderness for the Scotch Queen. The correspondence lately laid before her, disclosing as it did Mary's constant enmity to herself, must have removed any such feeling. But to lay hands upon a Queen was to one so tenacious of the royal prerogative as Elizabeth in itself most repugnant; and, as has been already mentioned, though Mary, while she lived, had formed a centre for all Catholic conspiracies, she had yet been very useful in enabling Elizabeth to carry out a policy which depended upon the jealousy of the Catholic powers of Europe. To put her to death was equivalent to joining finally with the Protestant interest, and to challenge at once Scotland, France and Spain. To her Protestant counsellors, on the other hand, it seemed as if the desired moment had arrived. James's late indifference to his mother's cause, his well-known selfishness, and the lukewarmness of his present behaviour, led them to expect little interference at his hands. The state of France rendered it highly improbable that that country would proceed beyond formal protests and intercessions, for the King, a weak and licentious bigot, surrounded by worthless favourites, could scarcely uphold his independence against the League now in close alliance with Spain. To have come prominently forward in the cause of Catholicism would have been to place himself in the hands of Guise, whom he regarded as his worst enemy. It was impossible for him to break with Eng-

The Queen's
hesitation and
its causes.

Determination
of her coun-
sellors and
its causes.

land. It was therefore with Spain alone they would have to deal. That country they did not fear. An open war abroad, and fixed policy at home, was preferable to the constant secret disaffection and shifting diplomacy of late years. To the great bulk of the nation also the execution appeared a necessity. The threat of foreign invasion, the danger of too close a connection with Spain, which was rendered likely by the advance of Philip's personal claims to the throne, had rendered most of the more moderate Catholics loyal. The Queen was very popular. The danger of assassination, which was supposed to hang over her, roused the enthusiasm of the people. The discovery of the underhand working of the extreme Catholics filled the Protestant population with undefined and exaggerated dread. It seemed not improbable that the animosity of parties might produce public disturbances or even civil war.

Much pressure was therefore brought upon the Queen to induce her to consent to Mary's death. She at length listened to the earnest representations of Lord Howard of Effingham, who brought before her the dangerous temper of the nation, and consented to allow the Secretary Davison to bring the warrant. She signed it, and bade him get it sealed at once that she might hear no more of it. At the same time, she expressed her wish that Sir Amyas Paulet and Sir Drew Drury would act on their own authority, and put Mary to death. This was in precise accordance with her old habit of throwing upon her servants the difficult duties she should have done herself. Davison suggested this plan to Paulet, urging his consent as a member of the Association. But the Act incorporating the Association had made the personal instruction of the Queen necessary before private action in her favour could be taken. Paulet therefore refused. Davison, who from the Queen's conduct felt it probable that she would afterwards repudiate him, placed the case before the Council. They determined to take the responsibility upon themselves, and the warrant was issued. Mary, whose life had been one long piece of acting, performed her part to the last with perfect success and dignity. She assumed the character of a martyr, and declared that she died entirely for the sake of her religion, ignoring the many political crimes of which she had been guilty. Her death was as touching as the most complete assumption of innocence could make it. With the grace and tenderness of which she was a perfect mistress, she bade farewell to her friends and attendants, and, mindful of her appearance even to

The popular
feeling.

The warrant
signed.
Feb. 11.

The Council
act on it.
Feb. 13.

the end, appeared on the scaffold, which was erected in the hall of Fotheringay, in a full costume of scarlet, and with calm dignity received the fatal stroke of the axe.

She left her claim upon the English throne to Philip, who had already determined that upon that ground only would he risk the dangers of an assault upon England. The excitement throughout Europe at her death was great. Abroad, its full meaning as a declaration in favour of Protestantism was fully understood. The Queen, alarmed at what she had done, pursued her usual equivocal course,

and expressed the strongest anger both against Davison and Burghley. To such extremes did she carry her anger, that she insisted upon the trial of Davison, and it was found expedient to dismiss him from the public service and condemn him to the payment of a large fine. Such conduct on the part of the Queen, and the excuses which she made to foreign courts, would

scarcely have been sufficient to save her from the danger she dreaded, had not the political situation of Europe acted in her favour. Henry III., as we have seen, in his struggle with the Guises could not afford to quarrel

with her, and the very step which Queen Mary had taken to secure the intervention of Spain still further weakened the chances of general Catholic action. Philip resolved to prosecute his own claim to the English throne. In so doing, he at once alienated the Scotch King, who regarded the succession as his own, and excited the jealousy of all in France who were not closely bound to the Guise party, and therefore to the Spanish interests. As it was, the excitement caused by Mary's death brought matters abroad to a crisis. The Huguenots again organized themselves in rebellion. The Protestant Princes of Germany joined their League; and while Henry of Navarre raised the South of France, a considerable German army crossed the frontier to co-operate with him. Henry III. was obliged to use some means for the suppression of this insurrection. But his action was so lukewarm that the Catholics declared he had wilfully suffered his sister-in-law to be put to death. Guise, making use of this feeling, was enabled to rouse the organization of the League to fresh vigour.

Though Henry of Navarre won a great victory over the royal troops at Courtras, he suffered the opportunity to slip, while Guise contrived to hamper, and ultimately destroy, the army of the German invaders, and, in spite of the King's prohibition, made his appearance in Paris, where he was received in triumph by the people. An attempt on the part of Henry III to

Mary's death.
Feb. 18, 1587.

The Queen's
anger.

The state of
Europe neutralizes the
effect of the
execution.

Day of the
Barricades
in France.
May 12, 1588.

overawe the populace by the introduction of troops, caused a general outbreak of the mob. Barricades sprang up at every street corner. Henry III. was obliged to fly from the city, and Guise and the Catholics were masters of France. But this success, which, had it occurred earlier, might have rendered the Spanish invasion irresistible, did not take place till Philip's great effort had been made and failed.

Ever since Elizabeth had been acting in open hostility to him Philip had been preparing for his enterprise. A great fleet had been gradually formed in Cadiz. Drake had undertaken an expedition against it in April, and his success had necessitated the postponement of the invasion, but even then it was expected to take place at the end of the year 1587. Strangely, throughout these years, Elizabeth was still negotiating with Spain, was still attempting to bring about a peace at the expense of the States of the Netherlands. The Prince of Parma, indeed, who knew better than most men the condition of England, and the amount of preparation which for several years had been carried on there, urged his master even yet to attempt a peaceful solution of the question. But now that the course was clear for his own succession to the country, Philip was obstinately determined to continue his plans. Parma's army was to be joined by a considerable force from Spain, and the seas guarded by the Spanish fleet under Santa Cruz. With this determination fixed in his mind, Philip only negotiated with Elizabeth to gain time. The treaty which was set on foot came to an end. But, as so frequently happened in the affairs of Spain, when the appointed time arrived, the army of invasion was not ready. The death of Santa Cruz was also a cause of delay. A far inferior commander, Medina Sidonia, was appointed in his place, but it was found too late to hazard the invasion till the next year.

The delay was invaluable to England. The English navy was not then, as now, a permanent establishment. There were very few royal ships, merchant vessels being taken up and employed for special service when required. Even such royal ships as there were were seldom put in commission, such was the parsimony of Elizabeth. Moreover, all through the year 1587, the Queen was still determined to believe in the possibility of peace. After Drake's return from Cadiz many of his ships were paid off, and, had the Armada sailed, as intended, that year, England would have been found quite unprepared. Even as it was, the Queen's extreme avarice went near to ruin the country. When all hope of peace had disappeared, provisions

Philip's pre-
parations for
invasion.

and ammunition were still dealt out with so sparing a hand, that the crews of the fleet at Plymouth must have been discharged had it not been for the personal exertions of Howard and the Admirals serving under him. The postponement of the expedition gave time to re-establish in some degree the fleet; and the royal ships, supported by numerous merchantmen, and by the vessels of the privateers, who willingly crowded round Drake, their old commander, were stationed in considerable numbers under Lord Howard and Drake himself, at Plymouth, and under Lord Henry Seymour in the Straits. The ships which they had to command were all of them very small; the largest were four or five new royal ships which had lately been added to the navy. For, since the year 1583, careful superintendence had been kept up over the fleet, and one new ship at least each year had been built. The largest ship in the whole fleet, however, the 'Triumph,' was but of one thousand tons. Though thus small, the ships were remarkably efficient; not only were they good sea boats, but Sir John Hawkins, having had the superintendence of the navy, had introduced a new sort of construction. He had lowered the castle-like buildings which had hitherto overloaded both bow and stern, and the vessels built on his plan far more nearly resembled modern vessels than those previously used, and were proportionately more rapid in their sailing.

The delay in the starting of the Armada, which had allowed the English fleet to be collected, had it continued long would have caused its ruin. Want of supplies was rapidly threatening the crews with destruction; and it was with extreme delight that news was received on the 29th of July (according to the present reckoning) that the Armada was entering the Channel. It had set sail in May, had been dispersed by the weather, and again collecting in the Bay of Ferrol, had finally left Spain on the 22nd of July. The vast fleet consisted of six great squadrons—129 ships in all. Of these, 65 were large galleons, 7 of which were larger than the 'Triumph,' and the smallest larger than any English ship, with the exception of the five late additions to the navy. The other vessels were four great galleasses, rowed by 300 slaves each, four large galleys, 56 armed merchantmen, and 20 attendant small vessels. They were manned by 8000 men, and had on board upwards of 19,000 soldiers. It was only by skill that the English fleet, inferior both in size and numbers, could hope to defeat this vast army. This skill they were enabled to use to the full, for the great Spanish ships, carrying but little sail in comparison with their size, were all slow sailers, and very

English
preparations
of defence.

difficult to work to windward. Moreover, their cannon, though superior in number and in size, were badly supplied with ammunition (but fifty rounds of shot for each gun being on board), and were very slowly worked compared to the English cannon; while the crowded state of the lower decks, filled with soldiers, rendered every shot of the English doubly fatal. The contest which ensued was such as was rendered necessary by the peculiarities of the two fleets. It resolved itself into a running fight of many days' duration. The English, afraid of coming to close quarters, made use of their superior skill in manœuvring, and hung upon the rear of the Spanish fleet, approaching boldly to within close cannon shot, sailing to and fro the length of the line, firing upon each vessel as they passed it, while all attempts on the part of the Spaniards to close were at once eluded. Thus harassed with constant loss of men, and of such vessels as accident obliged to fall behind the general mass of the fleet, the Armada passed slowly onwards, daily becoming more and more afraid of their agile enemies, and less hopeful of being able to perform the part assigned them in covering the descent of Parma. At length the Spaniards rested a while in Calais harbour. The English loss had been little or nothing; and by using the ammunition found in vessels which had been captured, and by husbanding the wretched scanty supply furnished by Government, they were still in a position to continue the fight a little longer. But they dreaded lest delay, by obliging them to exhaust their food, should after all be fatal to them. It was necessary to drive the Spaniards again to sea. For this purpose fire-ships were sent into Calais harbour. In dread of this new instrument of offence, the Spaniards slipped their cables and passed onwards towards the Straits, and on the morning of the 8th of August found themselves in scattered confusion off the coast of Holland, opposite Gravelines. They were there attacked by Seymour, Drake, and Winter, all hope of return to Calais was cut off from them, and they were driven slowly towards the coast of Flanders. The fire from the English ships was terrible and well sustained when at short distances. The great Spanish ships, heeling over to the wind, offered an easy aim to the English gunners, while their own shot flew harmlessly over the heads of the Englishmen. Ship after ship sank or fled to the shore. It was only the entire want of ammunition which obliged the English to desist before they completely annihilated the enemy. 4000 men had been lost to the Spaniards. The number of wounded is not known, but as the wooden beams which had been erected to secure the soldiery were torn to splinters by the English shot, it must have been immense. Though

Destruction of
the Armada.

still very formidable, the spirits of the Spaniards were broken by their disasters, and Medina Sidonia, giving up all thoughts of either returning to the Channel or of assisting Parma, determined to fly round the north of Scotland, and thus to return to Spain. Though rendered almost useless for offence by want of ammunition, the English ships pursued them till they saw them fairly past the Forth. Then leaving them to the mercy of the weather, which had become tempestuous, they returned to England. It was in wretched plight that they came back. The miserable supplies which Elizabeth had alone allowed to be sent them had produced all sorts of diseases; and thousands of the crew came from their great victory only to die.

If ever a nation was saved by its people in spite of the faults of its Government it was England at this time. While the Queen was treating with Spain, the temper of the nation had risen. In the midst of privation, and wanting in all the necessities of life, the sailors had fought with unflagging energy, with their wages unpaid, with ammunition supplied them with so stingy a hand that each shot sent on board was registered and accounted for, with provisions withheld so that the food of four men had habitually to be divided among six, and that food so bad as in some instances to be really poisonous, without even the hope of prize money, for in their zeal they had refused to take prizes. The enthusiasm had been felt not by the Protestants nor by the lower classes alone. Philip's political blunder in thinking to acquire England for himself had roused the national feeling even of the Catholics, and members of all the older Catholic houses thronged as volunteers to the fleet. While the danger was thus happily averted by the gallantry of the sailors, preparations had been carried on with vigour on shore. For several years, in expectation of what had now happened, the musters of the counties had been regularly drilled. An army of 30,000 was easily raised in the midland counties, and 16,000 had been assembled at Tilbury to defend London. Even at this crisis Elizabeth had shown her usual perverse favouritism, and selected as General-in-chief Leicester, discredited as he was by the incapacity he had shown in the Netherlands. On this occasion, however, he was not found wanting, and vigorously discharged the duties imposed upon him. A few days after the defeat of the Armada, when the Queen held a triumphant review of the troops at Tilbury, a fresh honour was in preparation for him, and he would have been raised to the rank of Lord-Lieutenant of England and Ireland had he not almost immediately died.

The victory a national one.

The fourteen remaining years of Elizabeth's reign differ in interest from those which precede them. Duplicity, the weapon of the weak, was no longer necessary. Yet the policy of Elizabeth in her triumph was little more open or straightforward than in the days of her danger. For ten years the same minister directed it, and the character of the Queen was too strong not to make itself felt under all circumstances. The same want of straightforwardness, the same indecision and penuriousness are obvious in her foreign relations; the same assertion of prerogative at home, the same determination to establish her anomalous Church, and the same tendency towards favouritism.

Characteristics of the rest of the reign.

The new position assumed by England is prominently marked in her dealings with Spain. In spite of the parsimonious hand with which the Queen had supplied her navy, the defeat of the Armada had entailed large expenses. These had at once to be met. The merchants were ordered to subscribe according to their supposed wealth, and privy seals were sent to the Lords-Lieutenant of the counties. In March of the following year, Parliament assembled and granted a liberal supply, but they accompanied the grant with the request that the Queen would no longer await the assaults of Spain, but carry the war into Philip's own country. Though the Commons had been liberal, the Queen asserted her inability to undertake such an expedition. She would give assistance, but her subjects must do the work themselves. On these terms Norris and Drake, with a few Queen's ships and a number of private adventurers, set sail for Spain. This was the first of a series of expeditions which year by year went out from England. The tables were completely turned. The English, who had so long feared invasion, were now invariably the attacking party. Though, with the exception of the attack on Cadiz by Essex in 1596, none of these expeditions produced great results, they taught the English to believe in the weakness of Spain, and removed for ever any dread of that nation. The first expedition was nominally in support of the claims of Don Antonio, the Prior of Crato, to the Portuguese throne. There were no signs of any rising in his favour. The English were unable to conquer Lisbon, and the expedition returned, having on the way out done considerable damage at Corunna, and stormed Vigo on its return.

Increased demands of the people.

Yearly expeditions against Spain.

But the success of these expeditions was the less important, because the battle-ground between the Protestant and Catholic religions had been changed. The destruction of the Armada had in fact definitely

settled the claims of Spain upon England, and determined once for all the religion of the latter country. In the Netherlands the division between the Northern and Southern Provinces had become complete. Under the leadership of Prince Maurice of Nassau, the Protestant community had in fact established their independent position. Their fleets were able to attack and defeat the Spaniards upon the sea, and their merchants were already disputing the wealth of the East Indies. There was no chance of their being again subjugated to the Spanish crown; although the war was continued, the real question was fought out. It was thus in France chiefly that the contest between the religions had now to be decided. After the Day of the Barricades, Henry III. was compelled to feign friendship with the Guises. The League was pledged to prevent the accession of a Protestant to the throne, and it was the intention probably of the Duke of Guise himself to receive the crown as a gift from the people upon the approaching extinction of the House of Valois, or even to forestall that crisis by the deposition of Henry. With deep hatred hidden beneath this show of friendship, Henry summoned the States-General at Blois (Dec. 3, 1588), and there caused the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of the same name to be murdered, hoping by that means to destroy the power of the League. The hope was a vain one. Catholic France at once burst into insurrection. Guise's brother, the Duke of Mayenne, took command of the army of the League, and Henry had no resource but to betake himself to the camp of the King of Navarre, who had hitherto been regarded as a rebel. The two Kings advanced to the siege of Paris. While lying before that city, Henry III. was murdered by Jacques Clement (Aug. 1, 1589), a monk inspired by the deadly hatred which the Catholics felt against the King, who seemed thus to have deserted them. The question of the succession to the throne was thus opened. The moment had now arrived for the Guise party to put into execution their plan of seizing the crown. But Mayenne missed the opportunity, and made the mistake of placing the crown on the head of the Cardinal de Bourbon,¹ under the title of Charles X., thus acknowledging the legitimacy of the Bourbon claim, and making the exclusion of Henry of Navarre depend solely on his religion. That Prince at once assumed the title of Henry IV. The position of affairs in France was now strange. The Catholic party had become the upholders of popular rights, the Catholic populace of Paris were even longing for a republic. The Protestants, whose whole system of Church govern-

War of religions transferred to France.

Accession of Henry IV.

¹ See page 501.

ment was republican, were upholding the cause of legitimacy. In this false position of the two parties lay the seeds of a final compromise. Henry of Navarre was exactly the man to render such a compromise possible. Like Elizabeth, he was careless of religion, and a politician. The throne of France and the unity and power of the nation under his rule were the objects of his ambition, and he recognized from the first that the possession of the crown depended on the possession of Paris, the possession of Paris upon his changing his religious creed, and the unity of France politically upon the open toleration of religious diversities. But he also knew that an immediate change of religion would be too obvious a piece of time-serving to answer his purpose. To cover it, time and, if possible, some success in arms were necessary. Issuing, therefore, a most conciliatory proclamation, hinting the possibility of his ultimate conversion, he determined to support the cause of legitimate royalty. In his ambiguous position he required some external help; the similarity of their feelings and circumstances rendered it almost necessary for Elizabeth to assist him, and year by year troops were sent over for the purpose. The success which Henry wanted attended his arms. In 1589, at Arques, near Dieppe, and again at Ivry, in 1590, he was victorious over the Leaguers; while the open intervention of Philip II. in the quarrel, and the suggestion that his own daughter should be raised to the throne of France, brought the national feeling more and more to the side of Henry. Still Paris would not give in. Its faubourgs were taken and pillaged. It bore a siege, in which the people were reduced to the last extremities, and it was rescued only by the advance of the Spaniards from the Netherlands. At last, in 1593, when enough had been done for honour, Henry recognized the necessity of changing his religion. One by one the provinces accepted his authority, and at length, in March 1594, he entered Paris as King. His triumph was followed by an open war with Spain. For three years it lasted, during which, in 1596, the Archduke Albert, who had succeeded Parma in the Netherlands, took possession of Calais, and afterwards of Amiens. Want of money was telling on both sides, and when Henry was able to treat with honour, upon the recapture of Amiens in 1598, peace was at once set on foot, and the Treaty of Vervins concluded, followed by the declaration of the Edict of Nantes, granting toleration to the Protestants.

Constantly during this period Henry received assistance from Elizabeth, doled out in the old niggardly manner, while haggling

He becomes Catholic.

Final compromise. Treaty of Vervins. Edict of Nantes.

bargains were made for the repayment of expenses, and the frank action of the troops was checked by orders confining them to the defensive. But Elizabeth had found her match.

Part played by
England in
this war.

If she was stingy in granting help, Henry, on his part, was absolutely careless as to the performance of his part of the bargain. He knew, in fact, that Elizabeth could not afford to desert him. The Spanish King was laying claim for his daughter to Brittany as a female fief. That the seaport towns should be in possession of Philip, England could not tolerate; and to support Henry was in fact to carry on war cheaply against Spain. However, though the English troops did occasionally good service, their operations were chiefly confined to Normandy and Brittany. Henry's conversion to Roman Catholicism drew forth a dignified protest from Elizabeth, or rather from Burghley;¹ but there was too much in common, both in the views and interests of the two princes, to allow of a permanent coolness between them. Indeed, the open declaration of war against Spain on the part of Henry in 1595, and the capture of Calais by the Archduke Albert, drove Elizabeth to make a formal treaty of alliance with the French, by which 4000 men (a number afterwards changed to 2000) were to serve in France. Neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. Henry's ambassadors introduced a skilfully-worded clause which enabled him to evade this condition, and the English Queen's influence, backed by that of the States of the Netherlands, was not sufficient to prevent Henry from concluding peace in the year 1598.

While thus, in her foreign policy, Elizabeth pursued the same half-hearted course as had marked her whole career, at home, freed from the dangers which had hitherto acted as a restraint upon her, she exhibited her old peculiarities still more markedly. The parsimony of which she had always made so great a point, and which had in fact enabled her to gain much popularity by rendering taxes unnecessary, now grew into avarice. Sure of her people, and trusting to her success, her demands from her Parliament became large. Her arbitrary temper, like her love of money, increased from freedom of restraint. Her Parliaments, of which four were summoned after the defeat of the Armada, were treated with but little respect. Elizabeth always had the wisdom to see when it was necessary to yield, and her graceful retreat before the attacks of the Commons on the subject of monopolies will be mentioned in its place. But usually the Parliament was kept most strictly to the discussion of those points for which it had been sum-

Elizabeth's arbitrary conduct to her Parliament.

¹ Cecil had become Lord Burghley in 1572

moned, and whenever the Puritan party, which grew daily stronger, ventured to touch the immunities or conduct of the clergy, the Queen's vengeance was certain to fall upon the offenders. Thus, in 1593, when one Mr. Maurice brought in a motion for restricting the encroachments of ecclesiastical courts, the Speaker refused to put the question till he had talked the matter over with the Queen. Maurice was taken into custody, and forbidden again to take his seat in Parliament. In fact, her view of the position of the Commons is fairly represented by her answer, when the Speaker of the same Parliament demanded as usual liberty of speech. She replied that liberty they should have, but that the liberty consisted in the privilege of saying Yes and No.

But it was in her government of the Church that Elizabeth's arbitrary temper was most shown. From the very first she had been tenacious of her supremacy in matters ^{and in ecclesiastical matters.} ecclesiastical, and had insisted with a high hand upon the maintenance of her peculiar views. On her accession, the Catholics were numerically by far the stronger party in England. But as her circumstances forced her to separate from the Church of Rome, she conceived that a church as nearly resembling the old Church as possible would be the most readily accepted by her people. She wished to be able to say to the Catholic powers that she was no heretic, but in all respects, except the acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy, a Catholic. Her wisest counsellors saw more clearly that such a half measure would be useless, and that her real support was the earnest zeal of the Puritan minority. In many respects, therefore, the Church became distinctly Protestant. The new Bishops were principally drawn from those who had learnt their Protestantism abroad. The livings made vacant by the Act of Uniformity were filled with Puritan divines. But Elizabeth, unable to sympathise with strong religious conviction, and taking an exclusively political view of the matter, thought it the duty of good subjects to conform to the State Church, and to be satisfied if they were left free to believe as they liked in their own minds. Any attempt to differ externally from the form established by law she regarded with extreme dislike. Her first Archbishop, Parker, entirely sympathized with her, and measures of coercion were very shortly taken against those Puritans who seemed determined to carry out ^{Rise of the Puritans.} their views in opposition to the Act of Uniformity. Thus, as already mentioned, many of the London clergy were suspended in the year 1565, and soon afterwards a Puritan meeting in

Plummer's Hall was dissolved, and some of those present imprisoned. Up to this time the points at issue were rather matters of ceremonial, held by scrupulous consciences to involve principles, than any matter of doctrine or even of Church government. But the tendency of the more earnest and thinking Protestants towards Puritanism was constantly on the increase. The middle position occupied by the Church of England gave it of necessity the appearance of a political expedient. Nor did the Queen's language and conduct lead to any other conclusion. She constantly spoke of the Bishops with contempt, threatened to unfrock them at her pleasure, and evidently regarded them as creatures of her will. Their own conduct still further tended to lower the esteem in which they were held. It is evident from the constant complaints of the time that they used their offices very much as a means of making money. Pluralities were abundant, the old exactions of the ecclesiastical courts re-established, and the incomes to the sees forestalled. It does not as yet appear that any distinct assertion of the Divine origin of Episcopacy was made in the English Church. Hooker, whose great book on Ecclesiastical Polity is a defence of the English Church, distinctly rests the authority of the Bishops upon political grounds.

But meanwhile the Puritans, headed by Cartwright, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, affronted by the persecution brought to bear upon them, and justly indignant at the abuses which existed in the Church, had already raised the claims of Presbyterianism as a Divine institution. Cartwright's "Admonition," published in 1572, contains language which seems to imply that the Church, formed upon a republican model, was superior to the State. The example of a completed Presbytery in Scotland gave evident proof that such a claim was the natural result of the system. The Presbyterian form of Church government had been established in that country in 1592; and by Melville and other leaders of the Kirk the right of interference in political matters, of personal rebuke of the sovereign, and of the exercise of a superior power to that of the temporal monarch, was openly asserted. At the same time the great mass of the Puritans, whatever their theory may have been, accepted the Queen's supremacy, repelled the charge of schism, and acknowledged the lawfulness of continuing in the Established Church.¹ There was indeed an extreme section, known by the name of the Brownists, who became afterwards Independents. All parties seem to have agreed that these men were fair objects of persecution. Many

¹ Hallam's *Const. Hist.* i. 213.

of them were driven from the country, and some of them executed. The republican views held by the advanced Puritans with regard to Church government rendered them particularly distasteful to Elizabeth. During the struggle with the Catholic powers of Europe, she and her ministers were too conscious of the support she derived from them to proceed to extremities. During the archiepiscopacy of Grindal, himself inclined to Puritanism, they enjoyed a period of comparative rest; but upon his death he was succeeded by Whitgift, a man of a very different temper. In 1583, the Court of High Commission attained its full powers. It consisted of 44 members, 12 of whom were Bishops, and was invested with almost unlimited authority on the questions of Church government and discipline. Its proceedings were of a very arbitrary description. A person brought before them was cross-examined with extreme closeness, and compelled to give his answers upon oath, known as the *ex officio* oath. He was thus, in opposition to the principles of English law, compelled to convict himself. As Elizabeth gradually triumphed over her enemies, she ventured to carry out her own views of uniformity with greater strictness, and Whitgift, backed by the High Commission Court, began a persecution of the Puritans.

But it was not till after the defeat of the Armada that the Church of England asserted its highest pretensions. The support of the Protestants was no longer so necessary. Elizabeth had proved that in times of danger she could rely upon them. They now thwarted her views of her own ecclesiastical supremacy. Moreover, the spirit of the whole Church had become much modified. Forced by the action of Spain to become national, deprived by the death of Queen Mary of the hope of a Catholic successor, the Catholics now in large numbers entered the national Church. Believing in their hearts the old doctrines of Rome, it was natural that they should bring out, as far as possible, whatever remained Catholic, and that was much, in the forms and doctrines of the Church of England. Thus was formed the High Church party, and thus sprang up the idea of the Divine right of Episcopacy, which produced such fatal consequences in subsequent reigns. In her tenderness to her newly-converted subjects, less certain of their continued loyalty than of that of the well-tried Puritan party, the Queen allied herself with the High Church. The growth of this party, and the arbitrary conduct of the High Commission Court and the Bishops, naturally drove the Puritans to more organized opposition. In 1590,

They are persecuted under Whitgift.

The Court of High Commission.

Growth of the High Church party.

under the guidance of Cartwright, associations were formed in different parts of England for the establishment of synods and classes, and all the apparatus of Presbyterianism. Summoned before the High Commission Court, the leaders refused to take the *ex officio* oath. The case was moved to the Star Chamber. But in spite of the clamours of the Church, the strength of the party was too great to admit of their punishment. They were discharged after having made an apology; the question was taken up in Parliament, but Elizabeth at once interfered, as before related. The war was then carried on in the press. Violent pamphlets were issued against the Church. The most vehement and successful were those signed Martin Mar-Prelate. For long the author evaded all attempts at discovery. A moveable press, from which the pamphlets issued, was shifted from place to place in times of danger. But at last, one

Final increase of Puritanism. Penry, a Welshman, was apprehended, tried as the author of the pamphlets, and executed. But no severity, no arbitrary suppression of public opinion, produced the desired effect. The close of the reign saw Puritanism more widely spread, and more eager in opposition than it had ever been before.

Thus, during Burghley's lifetime, the character of the Government, with the exception of such changes as were rendered almost inevitable by the fact that the Queen was now triumphant instead of in danger, continued the same. But it was not without difficulty that this prudent course was adhered to. One by one, shortly after the crisis of 1588, the old ministers, who had created and carried out the cautious policy of the reign, died. Sir Walter Mildmay died in 1589. Early in 1591, Walsingham and Randolph died; in the following year Sir Christopher Hatton, and two years after, Sussex and Lord Grey de Wilton. In their place there arose younger men, eager for a more vigorous exhibition of the strength of England. The chief of these were

Death of the old ministers.
Rise of young men of action. Raleigh and Essex. They both belonged rather to the courtier than to the statesman class, though Raleigh proved by his writings, as well as by his influence in Parliament, that he was not deficient in the qualities of a statesman. He owed his rise to the personal favour of the Queen. He was made Captain of the Guard, and sought to keep himself in favour by joining largely in the adventurous expeditions against the power of Spain, which were of constant occurrence. Thus, in 1592, he set on foot a great expedition, the command of which, however, he ultimately handed over to Sir Martin Frobisher, and in 1596 he sailed to Guiana, and explored

400 miles of the Orinoco. Essex reached a position of much more importance. Very early he was distinguished by the favour of the Queen. Though only just of age at the time Essex. of the Armada, he was made Captain-General of the cavalry, under Leicester, and upon that nobleman's death succeeded to much of his personal influence with Elizabeth. His impetuous character made him despise the cautious policy of Burghley. He was unable to supplant that minister, whose influence was constantly paramount in all matters of real importance; but he hoped, no doubt, to succeed him as chief adviser to the Crown, to the exclusion of Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, who, trained in the prudent diplomacy of his father, became his chief rival. A constant advocate for war, it was with difficulty he could be made to adapt himself to the cautious policy of the Queen. Her favour, however, secured him the highest commands. To him were intrusted the armies sent to support Henry IV. The forced inactivity in which he was kept ill suited his temperament, nor did the Queen like his lengthened absence from her. In the following year he was recalled, without having had any opportunity of distinguishing himself. But some years after, in 1596, his warlike policy, backed as it was by Howard, the Lord-Admiral, was for a moment triumphant. In company with the Admiral he was sent in command of an expedition against Spain. The Spanish fleet was beaten and destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz; Essex rapidly landed his troops and reduced the town. But he was overruled when he wished to advance further into the heart of Spain; and, after two other slight successes, the expedition returned to England. As it was, it inflicted the greatest blow which Philip had yet received, and roused him to adopt a firmer line of action in the following years. On his return, Essex was not received with the enthusiasm he expected. The Cecils charged him with wilful extravagance, a point on which the Queen always felt strongly. For some time he was in disgrace, but ultimately succeeded in establishing his innocence, and was victorious over the Cecils. In the following year he was again sent to Spain, where Philip was preparing to revenge the loss of Cadiz. The weather prevented him from winning any marked success. He reached the Azores, and took several places, but missed the great Plate fleet, which was his special object; on his return, he was again ill received and disgraced. He was filled with anger, too, at events which had taken place during his absence. The Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he had desired for a friend of his own, had been given to his rival, Robert Cecil. The Lord-Admiral had

been raised to the rank of Earl of Nottingham, especially for his services at Cadiz, which Essex regarded as his own. This promotion, which gave Howard the precedence, induced Essex to withdraw in anger from the Court, and it was only on being created Earl Marshal, and thus regaining his precedence, that he consented to be appeased and again to appear at Court. It was a temporary alliance with the Cecils which gained him this promotion; his friendship was necessary for them during Robert Cecil's absence from England in the negotiation which preceded the Peace of Vervins, but the truce was of short duration. Their policies were too distinct to admit of cordial friendship, and Essex used all his influence successfully to thwart them in their desire of establishing a peace with Spain. In 1598, his petulance in the Council, when the question of the employment of a deputy for Ireland was brought forward, so roused the anger of the Queen, that she struck him. The quarrel, rather to the surprise of the world, was again made up; but she had become weary of his self-willed ways, and upon the death of Burghley, in 1598, it was to Robert Cecil, and not to him, that the chief power fell.

Meanwhile, in the midst of intrigues for power at home, and of a not very dignified policy abroad, the nation had been sweeping on in a course of ever-increasing triumph. The wealth of the country, fostered by the lengthened freedom from foreign invasion and by the comparative lightness of the taxation, had been constantly on the increase. The decline of Spain, the renewed energy of England in maritime affairs, had opened new markets and increased commerce. The discovery of America had been gradually continued, principally by the efforts to discover the North-Western Passage. Frobisher had reached Labrador, Drake had twice circumnavigated the globe. Raleigh had founded a settlement in America, which, though at first unsuccessful, afterwards became the great province of Virginia. Great trading companies sprang into existence. In 1581, the Turkey Company was incorporated, and before the close of the reign, in 1600, the trade with the East Indies was so great as to authorize the establishment of the first East India Company.

With this great increase of commercial wealth, there sprang up a renewal of the same abuses that marked the reign of Henry VIII. Again land began to fall into the hands of the mercantile class; again arable land was changed into pasture, and small holdings were thrown into large farms. This inevitable change, ultimately perhaps advantageous, was at

He succeeds in continuing war with Spain.

Loses the favour of the Queen.

Triumph of the Cecils.

National greatness.

Continuation of economic changes.

that time looked upon as a great disaster, lessening as it did the yeoman class, in which the strength of England was supposed to reside. The Legislature, as usual, interfered. Acts were passed against the formation of large farms. No cottage was allowed to be built without a plot of four acres attached, while wages, which had begun to be treated as a matter to be settled by the law of supply and demand, were yearly regulated, to suit the varying value of the precious metals. This delicate operation was left in the hands of the county magistrates. Like all other such efforts, these attempts to check the natural growth of society were fruitless. The frequent expeditions threw upon the world a number of disbanded soldiers and sailors, and these, with the day-labourers who could find no work, gave rise to an ever-increasing and dangerous class of vagabonds. It was to meet this growing difficulty that the Parliament of 1597 devoted most of its attention. In the preceding reigns attempts had been made to alleviate the growing poverty by weekly collections in the churches. Authority was given, by a Statute in 1562, to the Bishop to compel the payment of this collection, and to determine the sum paid. This was the first beginning of a compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor. In 1572 a new law was passed, by which vagabonds and rogues were still to be punished with the stocks and otherwise, but at the same time the really indigent were registered, and convenient places established for their habitation, and overseers appointed to find work for those who were not absolutely incapacitated. Two years later, houses of correction, in which this work was exacted, were built. But in 1597, what may be regarded as the first general Poor Law was passed, which was completed in 1601, and continued in force till the new Poor Law (1832). By these laws, which were in spirit the same as the preceding ones, vagabond and sturdy beggars were still whipped and passed from parish to parish; but the assessment for the building of workhouses and the relief of the really destitute, which had hitherto been in the hands of the justices, was now intrusted to parochial officers, the overseers.

Another sign of this transition period was the introduction of greater luxury. Freedom from civil war had rendered the old fortress or castellated mansion useless, and the land was now covered with noble but defenceless mansions, in that style of architecture which is still known as Elizabethan.

As usual, after a period of intense mental and political excitement,

Attempts to check them.

Vagabonds.

The Poor Law.

Growth of luxury.

the literary power of the nation awoke. All the new ideas called into existence by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and

Literature. the discovery of the New World, which had hitherto been held in abeyance by the disturbed condition of the country, assumed a form, and found expression in writing. In every sphere of thought the same vitality made itself evident. Four pre-eminent names in different lines of literary activity mark the time—Shakspeare, Spenser, Bacon, and Hooker. In all these four writers we have, in different ways, distinctly marked the influences of the time. The drama, one of the earliest forms in which the

Shakspeare. literary spirit of the people showed itself, had long existed in England. But, like other literature, it had fallen much into the hands of the Church. Miracles and moralities, in which either sacred histories were exhibited, or moral lessons inculcated by allegorical personages, had been the chief forms which it had assumed. The essential characteristic of the Renaissance was the return of men's minds from what was spiritual and ideal to what was real. Admiration for the beauties of external form took the place in Art of a love of beauty of sentiment. Raphael and Michael Angelo superseded Fra Angelico, with his stiff and conventional drawings, and beautiful, delicate, sentimental countenances. In the same way, upon the stage, men began to long for vigorous exhibitions of external action and of natural passions, where good and bad played their respective parts. Histories and rough comedies and farces began to take the place of the mystery plays. Unformed at first, these by degrees took shape. Already, at the beginning of the reign, Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, who forms a sort of intermediate link between the time of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, had written a regular tragedy called "Ferrex and Porrex." Other authors had continued his work, which found its completion however only in Shakspeare, in whose writings all forms of life are shown with marvellous power, and all forms of the drama find their representatives. Deep metaphysical tragedy, regular well-ordered comedy, together with outbursts of the rough fun of the farce, are all to be found in his plays, while his knowledge of the springs of human action, his sympathy with all forms of human feeling, the comparative sobriety with which he clothes even his most passionate characters, satisfied the cravings of an age when, in the midst of strong excitement, Art

Spenser. was beginning to resume its sway. The allegory of Spenser had also been foreshadowed by Lord Buckhurst. In his "Induction to the Mirror of Magistrates" are specimens of

powerful imaginative allegory unequalled even by Spenser. But as Shakspeare brought drama to its perfection, so did Spenser allegory. The sensuous sweetness of his verse, the high tone in which his sentiment is pitched, the air of heroic knightly adventure which breathes through his works, are an exact expression of that side of English life which was called into existence by the daring adventures of our seamen, by the quaint and somewhat unreal chivalry of the Court, and by the religious element which was mingled in every question of the time. But if these two great poets represent the return to nature and the rebirth of modern knighthood which had been awakened by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the dangerous position of a Queen, exciting at once loyalty and chivalry, both the philosophic and political character of the time is fairly represented by the prose writers—Hooker and Bacon.

Hooker. The one undertook the defence of the Church, not upon religious but upon political grounds, and in so doing touched the real spring of modern sovereignty. For this he rests as much as Locke subsequently did upon the ultimate will of the people, and an implied contract between King and people. In Bacon, *Bacon.* on the other hand, we meet a system fated under one form or another to subvert for ever the philosophy of the Schoolmen. Bacon's system rests upon fact, upon experience, upon inquiry; the system of the older metaphysicians upon authority. And in this difference, in fact, is summed up the whole claim of the Reformers, whether religious or political. Henceforward reasonable and intellectual grounds are in all matters to take the place of mere assertion, however venerable or well supported.

The year 1598 was a very important one both for England and Europe. *Importance of the year 1598.* Abroad it was marked by the death of Philip II. and the change of policy of Henry IV. This king, finding it impossible to establish his position in opposition to the Catholics, having changed his religion, determined to attempt the difficult part of King of both parties. For this purpose he had first of all secured toleration to his former associates by issuing the Edict of Nantes. He had *Abroad.* then to play a somewhat double part, which he performed successfully, but which a good deal shook the confidence that England had hitherto placed in him. For England the year was rendered important by the death of Burghley, whose sagacity had so triumphantly carried his mistress through her perilous reign. *In England. Death of Burghley.* The habit of intrigue which had long been secretly

existing in England, now found room to exhibit itself in public. The points at issue were partly ambitious and personal, but partly involved principles. There was a contest for the vacant power, the

Rivalry of Essex
and Cecil: their
characters.

rival aspirants to which were Burghley's son Robert and the Earl of Essex. No two men could have exhibited a sharper contrast. The one, educated by his father for the express purpose of succeeding him, was like his father in miniature, crafty, observant, cautious, but without his father's breadth of view. He was a type of the statesman class. Essex was a young soldier, impatient of delay, and full of eager action, but hot-tempered and overbearing, a type of that courtier class which had formed an inner circle round the Queen, and had attained their influence, such as it was, by the Queen's partiality rather than by their own wisdom. The Queen was passionately fond of him, and treated him like a spoilt child. Like a spoilt child he acted. When displeased, he rudely turned his back on her, she boxed his ears, and he went home sulkily and took to his bed. The trick of feigned indisposition nearly always brought his fond old mistress round again. He had managed to make enemies on all sides, and had quarrelled with Raleigh and the Howards by attributing lukewarmness to them at the siege of Cadiz in 1596. He thus stood almost alone in the Council.

But besides this personal rivalry there was involved the question of the succession, on which it was not safe to speak to the Queen. There were four possible claimants,¹ all of whom had something to be said for them. There was James of Scotland, the representative of the elder sister of Henry VIII. and the legitimate heir. Secondly, there was Lord Beauchamp, son of Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford, the representative of Henry VIII.'s second sister Mary, and heir in accordance with that monarch's will. Thirdly, the supporters of hereditary descent, who at the same time disliked the idea of an alien and a Scotchman, favoured the pretensions of Arabella Stuart, the daughter of the younger brother of Darnley, and like James a direct descendant from Henry's eldest sister, but through her second marriage with Lord Angus. Lastly, the Jesuits and vehement Catholics, with reminiscences of the last reign, desiring connection with Philip II. as head of their religion, were ready to uphold the claims of Isabella the Infanta, a direct descendant of John of Gaunt, who had married Constance, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel. Practically, before the close of the reign, all question as to the succession disappeared, and except the extreme Catholics, who hoped that it might be possible to make good the

¹ See page 355.

claims of the Infanta by force of arms, all England was ready to accept James. With him both Cecil and Essex were in correspondence. Their advice was characteristic. Essex urged the assembly of an army on the Borders and a demand of instant recognition as heir. Cecil, who saw how things were tending, recommended silence and delay, assuring James that all parties were gradually inclining in his favour.

Advice of Cecil
and Essex
to James.

But though at one in their views of the succession, Essex and Cecil were bitter enemies; and an event soon happened which gave the crafty statesman an opportunity of allowing his rival to destroy himself. Affairs in Ireland demanded active interference; throughout the reign there had been much trouble there, and the Queen had somewhat neglected it in her constant attention to English and Continental politics. After the suppression of the revolt of Desmond, O'Neil, who had hitherto been faithful and rewarded with the title of Earl of Tyrone, rose in insurrection. Various governors, left without much assistance from England, had attempted in vain to suppress him, and lately Bagnal had suffered a complete defeat at Blackwater. There were rumours also that Tyrone was expecting assistance from Spain, and it became necessary to act with energy. When the subject was discussed in the Council, Essex found objections to every name mentioned as Deputy, and it was evident to his enemies that he was himself desirous of the place. Conscious of the dangers which attended the position, especially to so aspiring and hot-tempered a man as Essex, his enemies were only too glad to let him go, especially as he was thus removed from the Council. Nor was the Queen, in spite of her fondness for him, blind to his faults. She was therefore glad to get rid of him without inflicting disgrace.

Irish affairs.

Armed with fuller powers than had ever before been intrusted to a viceroy,—the right of pardoning even treason, and of making either peace or war,—and attended by a powerful army, Essex set out for his new destination. His reception by the Irish was enthusiastic, and seems to have overturned his not too well-balanced character. Instead of at once marching in strength to the North, where O'Neil's power was, he wasted his time in an idle parade through Limerick and Kilkenny, and finally, when he found his army dwindling from him, he held a meeting with Tyrone upon the river Brenny, and admitted him to peace on terms that could hardly fail to be distasteful to the English Government. There were indeed some points in them which lead to the belief that he aimed at estab-

Essex goes
to Ireland.
Triumph of
Cecil.
March 1599.

Conduct of
Essex in
Ireland.

lishing himself as in some sort independent Governor of Ireland. Tyrone demanded that half the army should consist of Irishmen, that the judges and chief officials should be Irish, that his lands and those of Desmond should be restored, and added the suspicious clause that some great Earl should be sent over to represent the Crown. The whole course of Essex's conduct was such as to draw down upon him a reprimand from the English Council which his hasty temper could ill brook. It is possible that he designed to use his Irish army against his enemies in the Council, but he first determined to make a final trial of that personal influence

over the Queen which had so often served him. He hurried across the Channel, and hastened to the Queen's presence, using all the freedom of a favoured lover. All soiled as he was from his long journey, he burst into her room before she was dressed, for her hair was hanging loose about her, and throwing himself upon his knees and kissing her dress, sought to revive her old affection for him. For the moment he was successful. But that wiser and more queenly part of her, which was so frequently opposed to her inclination, rapidly awoke, and no sooner had he left her presence than her anger rose, and she never saw him again.

He was finally, after some questioning, committed to free custody, but his temper could not bear even this moderate restraint. Believing that his disgrace was the work of his private enemies, he was hurried into a violent course of action. He sought partisans among the disaffected of all parties. The penal laws at that time pressed heavily upon the Catholics. An affectation of religion gathered round him the Puritans, and to these he added some of the more violent Catholics, ready to make common cause with any who would oppose the Government. Among the number were some who played a part afterwards in the Gunpowder treason; Tresham, Catesby, and Mounteagle were among his followers. His house was filled with armed men, and the Council at length determined to take action against him. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief-Justice, and other members of the Council, went to his house to inquire into the cause of the assembly. Essex, who seems to have believed that the critical moment had arrived, and that he must either strike at once or be destroyed, led them into an inner chamber and locked them in, and then, with the Earl of Southampton, rode through the streets with swords drawn, attempting to raise the populace. He had expected that a crowd, and many of his own partisans, would have been gathered at Paul's Cross, hearing a sermon. Measures had been

His hasty return and disgrace.

His treason. 1601.

taken to prevent the meeting. The attempt to rouse the city was a complete failure. No man stirred on his behalf, and before many hours were over the Council thought it safe to order his apprehension, and set a price upon his head. He was tried by the Peers, on the whole fairly, though the trial was not without those marks of tyranny which characterize the State trials of the period. He was found guilty and beheaded. Essex asserted to the end that he was free from treason to the Queen, and desirous only to save his own life, threatened by the intrigues of Raleigh and Cobham. That he was technically guilty of treason is obvious. On all grounds, it seems probable that he was aiming at playing a part resembling that of the Duke of Guise in France. Against the Queen's person it may well be believed he had no designs, but a complete and violent change of the Government was almost certainly his object. Lord Mountjoy succeeded him in his Irish command. The Spaniards who had been expected arrived, in number about 4000, at Kinsale. Tyrone joined them with 6000 Irish. The united army was defeated, and Tyrone yielded on condition that his life and land should be spared.

The end of Elizabeth's reign is marked by one other characteristic event. Among the unwise exertions of her power of which the Queen had been guilty was the grant of numerous monopolies. The effect of these was to raise the price of the monopolized articles, to the great detriment of her people. The Queen's last Parliament, which assembled in October 1601, complained of this exercise of the prerogative, and an Act was introduced by Lawrence Hyde against them. While the Bill was still pending, a message was brought from the Queen, in which she declared, that as she understood that patents she had granted were grievous to her people, they should be looked to immediately, and none be put into execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law, for the good of the people. This declaration was received with enthusiasm, and a large deputation from the Commons waited to return thanks. She answered them with words full of kindness and dignity, declaring that "she appealed to the judgment of God, but never thought was cherished in her heart that tended not to her people's good." She closed her address, the last she ever uttered to the Commons, with these words: "Though you have had, and may have, many Princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you

Trial and death. Feb. 1601.

Sequel of Irish affairs. Nov. 1602.

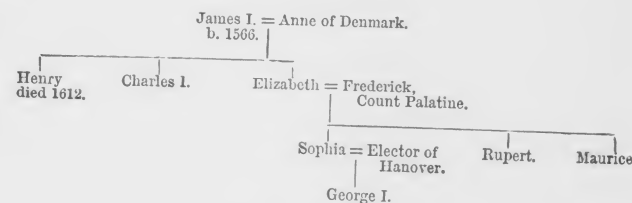
Queen's last Parliament. 1601.

Her wise withdrawal of monopolies.

never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." It was this real sympathy which existed between the Queen and her people, this real desire to reign for their good, and this readiness to acknowledge and retract her errors, when once they were made plain to her, which has covered the multitude of her whimsical oddities and arbitrary exertions of authority, and fixed the love of her so deeply in the heart of the nation, that her reign has ever been looked back to as the most glorious era of England's history.

JAMES I.

1603-1625.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.
Henry IV., 1589.
Louis XIII., 1610.

Germany.
Rodolph II., 1576
Matthias, 1612.
Ferdinand II., 1619.

Spain.
Philip III., 1598.
Philip IV., 1621.

POPES.—Clement VIII., 1502. Leo XI., 1605. Paul V., 1605. Gregory XV., 1621.
Urban VIII., 1624.

Archbishops.
John Whitgift, 1583.
Richard Bancroft, 1604
George Abbot, 1611.

Chancellors.
Lord Ellesmere, 1596.
Francis Bacon, 1617.
John Williams, 1621.

THE period which has now been reached is one of marked change. No one can compare the position of Elizabeth with that of one of the earlier Kings of the Hanoverian house, without being struck with the complete alteration that had taken place in the position of royalty. Two classes of men had exercised influence during the reign of the Queen; on the one hand her counsellors, such as Burghley and Walsingham, whose claim to her trust was their fidelity and wisdom, on the other hand the courtiers, such as Essex and Raleigh, whose influence rested upon the personal attachment which the Queen felt for them. But both courtiers and counsellors had found it necessary constantly to earn the Queen's approval; the wisest among them could only get his views put into action by dressing them in a shape which would be

Change in the
position of
royalty.

agreeable to the Queen. In fact, in all externals she was absolute, and is the central figure of her own reign. With the Hanoverian Kings the very reverse is the case, the position of King and Minister appears to be inverted; it was the King who now found it difficult to get his wishes put into execution, and could only do so by rendering them acceptable to his aristocratic masters.

This change in the condition of the monarchy is the main feature of the time, and was the fruit of two great convulsions, the one popular, and the other aristocratic. The first, as is usual in exhibitions of popular force, rested upon enthusiasm and violence, at once the fruit and parent of rich and pregnant ideas. It was, in its character, destructive. For enthusiasm is in its nature evanescent, and want of material force, of education, and of political practice preclude a popular party from founding institutions and putting the stamp of permanence on their work. The other was aristocratic, and marked by the constructive wisdom which is the characteristic of aristocratic movements. For aristocracies, not fertile in new ideas, are well capable of appropriating and rendering permanent the ideas of others. On many occasions, in English history, the aristocracy has shown itself willing to take the lead in patriotic movements. Indeed, the strength of English liberty depends on the union of classes which has produced it. But in this instance, as in all others, the aristocracy has sought its own ends in its patriotic action. When those ends had been attained it settled back into its natural exclusive conservatism, and became an obstacle at once in the way of the ruler who desired to govern and the people who desired to be free. The interest of the period is centred in tracing the cause and history of these two great convulsions.

But there is something more than the facts to be observed. For political changes are not the products of fortuitous circumstance, but depend upon the growth of ideas. Many causes had led to a complete change in the idea of royalty. The original royal relation of clan or tribal chief had disappeared before the advance of feudalism. The two most prominent ideas of feudalism were the double ownership of land, and the dependence of authority both judicial and executive on the possession of land. In accordance with the first of these, every man knew that, while absolute master of his own property as regards those below him, there was some one above him to whom the land belonged also. Working backwards from the base towards the summit, any one examining this theory would arrive at length at the King, and naturally putting him in the same position with regard to his subjects as that

Two causes
for it.

The original
idea of a King.

as proprietor
of the land.

occupied by any other feudal lord, would regard him as absolute possessor of the land over which he ruled, subject only to some superior authority, if such could be found. There thus arose the notion that the King was the real possessor of the country, and thus, in the time of Henry VIII., the King was allowed to deal with the kingdom by will, exactly as ordinary property was dealt with. This may be called the proprietary idea of sovereignty. But the theory, pushed even beyond the King, gave rise to the mediæval notions of the still higher authority of either Emperor or Pope. Schism, mal-administration, and loss of practical power prevented men from any longer accepting either of these superiors. When the question then was asked, Who then is the superior lord of the King? His Divine right. the only answer that could be given was "God." There thus arose the idea of the Divine right of kings. And these two were the only theories of royalty as yet prevalent.

But reverting to the second feudal notion, the connection of authority with the possession of land, everywhere, in England more especially, judicial and executive authority had been divorced from land, and had been placed in the hands of officials. In many instances those officials were elective. Thus the feudal notion with regard to authority had received a death-blow. Moreover, the agitation of the Reformation had given birth to Presbyterianism, or Church government by the congregation, as contrasted with the government by divinely-ordained priests; and thus even in the sphere of religion the idea of official government had begun to supplant the idea of authority based upon Divine right. There then arose the question, Is not the King after all, instead of being the proprietor, an official? and if an official, whence is his authority derived, if not from the source of all official authority, the people? There thus arose, in the place of territorial royalty, or Divine right royalty, the idea of official royalty depending on the will of the nation, in other words, of constitutional royalty. Such was the view held by the Puritan party, and later on by the Whig party. And most of the events which happened during the reign of the Stuart Kings are closely connected with this change of ideas.

The new King entered upon his kingdom with the fullest idea of his own prerogative and belief in the Divine right of kings. Nothing else could be expected. Elizabeth had, to all appearance, regained, after its temporary relaxation in the reign of her sister, the absolute position of the Tudors. The separation from Rome which had followed her accession had re-established her power over the Church. That authority had been

The idea of official
royalty.

James's view of
his prerogative.

wielded with determination, and the close of her reign appeared to exhibit her as mistress alike of Church and State. But even in Henry VIII.'s reign signs had been visible that the great personal power of the Crown rested at bottom upon the national approbation. It was because his will was so much in harmony with that of his people that Henry had been allowed to become so entirely its representative. In Elizabeth's reign this connection was even more evident. The ease with which, on several occasions, she yielded to the demands of the Commons showed that she was herself conscious of it. The growth of the Puritan party, and the political ideas indissolubly connected with their religious creed, had given back to the Commons something of their former independence. But the grandeur and success of the reign, the general popularity of the Queen, and the pride which the people, as a whole, felt in her greatness, had veiled the amount of influence which popular feeling had exerted upon her. It was the misappreciation of this power which was the mistake of James and the ruin of his house. Strong in his Divine right, in his evident mastery of both Church and State, he attempted to carry out his views without regard to the people's wishes. The inevitable consequence arose. The Parliament—more freely elected than it had hitherto been, grown more powerful by the increased wealth of the middle classes, and Puritan in its tendencies—found itself opposed instead of being humoured, and began to remember its old greatness. Traditions of its position under the Plantagenets and Lancastrians began to gain ground, and the rival ideas of a King, the official head of a national legislative body, and a King whose Divine right authorized him to pursue an independent course of his own, and to act if he chose even in opposition to the advice of his Parliament, came into inevitable collision. The increased importance of Parliament is visible from the very beginning of the reign. It is no longer the King, but the Parliament, against which the efforts of the Jesuits were directed. But it was not till the line of conduct adopted by James in his foreign policy directly crossed the national wishes that the rising opposition found its first formidable expression in the great Protest of 1622.

The death of Elizabeth was reported at once to James. But he acted in accordance with Cecil's advice, waited until the information was formally sent him by the English Council, and even then showed no unseemly hurry to take possession of his inheritance. There was indeed no danger to be dreaded; Cecil's view proved quite correct. Not

Rising opposition of Parliament.

James well received by Puritans and Catholics. 1603.

only were the people, as a whole, willing to receive their new King, but both extreme parties looked forward with hope to his accession. He had been educated among the Presbyterians, and had often expressed himself as an admirer of the Scotch Kirk; and the Puritans could not know that he was at heart very weary of the meddling dictatorial character of its chief members, and likely to use his new opportunities to oppose them; they hoped from him a relaxation of those restraints which Elizabeth had put upon them. At the same time, his feelings with regard to royalty, and his book entitled "The Basilicon Doron," gave Catholics reason to believe that he would ameliorate the penal laws. It was the disappointment of these hopes which led to the disturbances at the beginning of his reign.

At the same time the uncertainty which hung over the probable conduct of the new King again gave opportunity for the intrigues of foreign courts. Again France and Spain entered the lists to secure the friendship of England. Thus, immediately upon his accession, Henry IV. of France despatched his great minister, Sully, to demand a continuance of the friendly relations between France and England, while Spain, in the same way and for the same object, sent over its minister, Artemberg. While Sully was himself in England, his character and address secured the success of his mission. He even induced James to go so far in opposition to the Spanish as secretly to supply the Dutch (still engaged in their war of independence) with money. But when Sully left the country, James's natural inclinations came into play. His great wish was for a general peace; his great principle the supremacy of royalty. He did not see why he should continue the war with Spain; he had little fancy for supporting the cause of rebel subjects. He therefore, in the following year, after some little negotiations, made a treaty with Spain also. Advantage was taken of the eager rivalry of foreign ambassadors at the English Court by those who were displeased with the turn affairs had taken. The enemies of Cecil had hoped much from the change of dynasty, but found their enemy as firmly established and as influential as ever. Raleigh, Cobham and Northumberland entered into correspondence with the French ambassador, and attempted to induce him to assist them in overthrowing their rival, but the French Court, feeling that it was gaining its end by diplomatic means, rejected their overtures. Upon this Northumberland withdrew, but Raleigh and Cobham addressed themselves to Count Artemberg, who, deeply anxious to gain England for the Spanish interests on the Continent, and aware that Cecil inclined towards French and Protestant alliances, listened to their pro-

Both France and Spain seek his alliance.

The Main Plot.

positions. From this correspondence arose what is known as the "Main Plot," the object of which was probably the overthrow of Cecil, perhaps even a more complete revolution, by the establishment of Arabella Stuart¹ on the throne by means of Spanish influence.

There was at the same time a second plot set on foot, known as the "Bye" or Surprise Plot. The chief conspirators were a gentleman called Markham, and George Brooke, Lord Cobham's brother. Their idea, as that of Essex had been, was to join the extreme parties, who had already begun to see that their hopes of favour were likely to be disappointed. They therefore joined with themselves Watson, a Catholic missionary, prominent among the English Roman Catholic party, and Lord Grey, a staunch Puritan. Their project was to surprise and take possession of the King's person, and to win by violence that toleration which they desired. But the combination was ill-cemented; and Watson formed a plan of his own, intending with his Catholics to rescue the King after he had been seized, and thus to win his object from the royal gratitude. He communicated the plan to the Jesuits, who did not approve of it, and informed Cecil.

That minister at once saw the opportunity for destroying his rivals. The presence of Brooke, Cobham's brother, in the lesser plot seemed sufficient ground to connect the two. Raleigh, Cobham and Grey were apprehended. The two plots were artfully mixed by Coke, the Attorney-General, and the conviction of all the leaders, both Commoners and Lords, was secured. Much mystery hangs over the story, caused chiefly by this union of the plots and by the strange conduct of Cobham, a man of extreme weakness, who repeatedly confessed, and as often withdrew his confession. Even on the trial of Raleigh, two letters were produced, in one of which Cobham declared that Raleigh was wholly guiltless, in the other that he was the chief instigator in the business, and the very person who had persuaded Cobham to join it. Whatever the truth may have been, the verdicts were obtained—Watson and another priest were executed; Raleigh imprisoned for many years, and Cobham, Grey, and Markham, by a curious trick of the King, brought each separately to the scaffold, there induced, as usual, to confess, and then withdrawn. Finally, to their great astonishment, they were all three produced simultaneously, and reprieved. The failure of this political intrigue opened the eyes of those Puritans whose hopes had been raised by James's toleration of the Scotch Presbyterians.

Cecil gets rid of his rivals by mixing the plots.

¹ See page 355.

A conference was almost immediately opened between the Puritans and the Bishops at Hampton Court. This conference was held in consequence of a great petition, which had been presented to James during his progress from Scotland, known as the Millenary Petition, so called because it was intended to represent the feelings of a thousand Puritan clergy; it demanded the abolition of those ceremonies which they could not conscientiously accept. These Puritans, it must be remembered, were not Dissenters, but members of the Church of England. But James had now the opportunity of displaying his real feelings on religious matters. Four ministers were called to meet the King and the Bishops and other Church dignitaries. It has been frequently said that this was a very unfair arrangement, throwing the whole weight of authority on one party. It is more just to regard it as the natural and proper way of discussing the petition among the leaders of the Church, a certain number of the petitioners being allowed to be present to support their claims. But though justly formed, it soon became evident that the result was predetermined. Smarting under the restraint which the Church had put upon him in his own country, James was charmed with the obsequiousness of the English Bishops; for in England the Church was before all things a creation of the royalty. He was delighted too with the opportunity of displaying his theological erudition. He threw himself heartily on the side of the High Church party, and condescended to enter personally into the dispute. The English Churchmen were much pleased, and lowered themselves to the basest flattery. The King, they declared, was speaking by the direct inspiration of the Spirit. As a natural consequence, the claims of the petitioners, though they were confined really to slight matters which to us appear almost immaterial, were rejected, and the only upshot of the conference worth mentioning was the project of the Authorized Version of the Bible. The rejection of the claims of the Puritans was followed by an outrageous infraction of law—the imprisonment of ten of those who had presented the petition, the Star Chamber having declared that it tended to sedition and rebellion.

Such conduct showed the fixed intention of the King in Church matters, opened the eyes of the Puritans, and caused a bitter discontent, which speedily found means to show itself in Parliament. Even in Elizabeth's reign the Parliament had been inclined to Puritanism. The love of political liberty in fact went hand in hand with dislike of an arbitrary and ceremonious Church. And the Commons,

Conference at Hampton Court. Jan. 1604.

Triumph of the High Church party.

who had ventured, and ventured sometimes successfully, to oppose the great Queen, were not inclined to be submissive to their new Scotch monarch. Nor had he taken steps to conciliate them.

James displeased to his Parliament, March 1604.

In the proclamation by which they had been summoned the King had put his own authority ostentatiously forward, and had seemed to dictate to the electors the sort of members whom they should elect; and immediately upon their assembling a quarrel had arisen upon the point of privilege. A certain Goodwin had been elected for Buckinghamshire; some years previously he had been outlawed; the proclamation had forbidden the election of outlawed men; the King therefore declared the election void, and secured the return of Sir John Fortescue, a member of the Council. The Commons insisted upon their right of inquiring into the election of their own members. The King tried to settle the question by an appeal to the Judges. The Commons refused to listen to such a decision, but, after much controversy, the King so far prevailed as to bring about a Conference between the Parliament and the Judges in his presence. A compromise was hit upon, both elections were declared void, and a new writ issued; the King confessed that the

They insist on their privileges.

House of Commons was "a Court of Record."¹ From this time onward their privilege to decide upon elections has never been questioned. This disastrous opening was followed by a stormy session, in which the grievances of the Commons were fully urged, and which closed by a protest in which they declared the King's miscomprehension of their position. He regarded their privileges, they said, as not of right but of grace, and was inclined to refuse them the position of a Court of Record. In opposition they asserted that their position and privileges were their right and heritage, and that the High Court of Parliament was the supreme Court of the land. While thus defending their privileges, they carried the war into the enemy's country, by still further increasing the severities of the penal laws against the Catholics, to whom, as they thought, the King was inclined to show favour.

To vindicate himself from this charge, James thought it necessary to exact the legal fine of £20 a month from all Catholics, and even to demand the arrears due for the preceding period during which the law had been in abeyance.

To appease them he persecutes the Catholics.

¹ The Superior Courts are Courts of Record, so called because their proceedings are enrolled on parchment. Such records are authoritative and held to prove themselves Courts of Record have further the right to fine for contempt and to examine on oath. County Courts, Hundred Courts, Courts Baron, are not Courts of Record, nor, properly speaking, are the Courts of Equity.

Many Catholics were thus wholly ruined, and the King excited general displeasure by giving these fines as presents to his Scotch friends. At the same time the clergy in ^{New body of Canons.} convocation passed a new body of Canons, laying down rules for the celebration of public worship, and excommunicating all such as should deny the supremacy of the Crown, separate from the Church, or attack the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles. These Canons, though fortified by letters patent under the Great Seal, were held by the Courts of Westminster to be binding on the clergy only. On them they pressed heavily, and a considerable number of the clergy, variously given between the numbers of 50 and 300, found themselves obliged to vacate their livings. The King's conduct had thus disappointed both Puritan and Catholic. He had adopted fully the secular view of the Church, based upon the complete supremacy of the Crown in spiritual matters. The Puritans had found means to express their disappointment by opposition in Parliament; the Catholics, equally disappointed, and harassed by new persecutions, were driven to conspiracy.

The consequence was the Gunpowder Plot, which originated in the mind of Catesby, one of the sufferers by the late enact- ^{Gunpowder Plot. 1604.} ments. He was a gentleman from Ashby St. Legers, who had joined in the treason of Essex, and had subsequently been a member of the Spanish party. When all other hope seemed to have disappeared, he determined to destroy those whom he regarded as the cause of the oppression of the Catholics, hoping, in the confusion thus caused, that the Catholics throughout England would rise. He opened his mind to other kindred spirits—to Winter and Fawkes, who had already acted as agents to the Spanish party, to Wright, an old partisan of Essex, and to Percy, the steward and relative of the Earl of Northumberland, who is said to have had a private cause of anger against the King, because he had failed to keep some engagements he had entered into with him. Catesby got his monstrous plan ratified by the Jesuits, as Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits, to whom he applied, declares, not by explaining his own plot, but by substituting a hypothetical case. He obtained leave to take a commission under the Austrian Archdukes,¹ at that time engaged in the war against the Netherlands, and thus got a pretext for raising armed men, and then set about his plan with considerable skill. He engaged an empty house next to the Houses of Parliament. With great labour

¹ Archduke Albert, son of Ferdinand I., had married the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II.; and they jointly governed the Netherlands under the name of the Archdukes.

he and his confederates proceeded to dig through the wall, burying at night in the garden the rubbish made during the day. The work was very laborious, and they were rejoiced to find a vacant cellar immediately under the Parliament House. This they engaged; and hiring a house at Lambeth, there prepared their materials, which they brought across the water, and secreted in the cellar as though it were fuel. They had expected the Parliament to meet in September; it was prorogued till October, and the conspirators dispersed, leaving their mine in the cellar. A few more ardent Catholics were admitted into the secret; among others, Rookwood, a Suffolk man, a breeder of horses, which it was thought would be useful for the insurrection. Fawkes went abroad to enlist soldiers. All was again ready, when they were disappointed by a fresh prorogation.

Their resources had come to an end, and they were compelled to recruit them by adding to their number two wealthy young men, Digby, and Tresham, a man of somewhat uncertain character, but who, like so many of the other conspirators, had been a partisan of Essex. It was the admission of this last confederate which ruined their plot. It was natural that wholesale destruction of innocent men, as well as those whom they regarded as guilty, should excite qualms in the minds of the conspirators. Some arrangements were certainly made to keep, if possible, the Catholic Peers from Parliament. But this precaution was not enough for Tresham, who was very anxious to save Lord Mounteagle, who had married his sister. His difficulty was how to do this without revealing his associates. The means he took were circuitous. In all probability he discussed the matter with Lord Mounteagle. At all events, that nobleman, contrary to his usual practice, dined and slept one day at a country house belonging to him. There was there brought to him a mysterious letter, warning him to avoid the meeting of Parliament, containing these words, "The danger is over as soon as you shall have burnt this letter." Lord Mounteagle put the letter into the hands of one of his gentlemen to read, and the very next morning this same gentleman told Winter that the letter had been laid

Discovered by
the Council.
1605.

before the Council. It was doubtless the object of Mounteagle and Tresham that the conspirators should take the opportunity to withdraw, and any sign of movement on Cecil's part would probably have had that effect. But Cecil, whose inquiries probably disclosed the complicity of Percy in the plot, and who saw the hold thus given him on his rival, Northumberland, was not likely to fall into such an error. He remained perfectly quiet. On the 1st of November the letter was laid before the King on

his return from hunting at Royston, and the enigmatical passage explained.

The news that this consultation had been held, and that the existence of the mine was known, was again conveyed to Winter by Mounteagle's servant. But even this information did not deter him from pursuing his project. Percy, Winter, and Fawkes remained in London to carry their measures to completion. The other conspirators withdrew to Dunchurch, where Sir Everard Digby, under pretext of a great hunting party, had collected a great body of Catholics. On the evening of the 4th, the Lord Chamberlain, with Lord Mounteagle, visited the cellars, there found Fawkes, and remarked on the large stack of fuel. A little after midnight Fawkes, opening the door of the vault, was suddenly seized by a party of soldiers. The news of his apprehension speedily reached his accomplices, who rode off directly to Dunchurch. The hunting party, seeing that the opportunity was gone, dispersed; while the leaders of the plot rode to Holbeach, in Worcestershire, and there, about fifty in number, turned upon their pursuers, for the counties had been raised in pursuit of them. An accidental explosion wounded some of them. Others continued their flight still further, but Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights were killed; the two Winters, Rookwood, Digby, and some others taken prisoners. Three Jesuits were also apprehended; Garnet being discovered in hiding at Henlip in a secret chamber.

Flight of the
conspirators.

The lay prisoners were speedily convicted and executed. The trial of Garnet was more difficult, but his knowledge of the plot was at last proved by a conversation between himself and one of his fellow-prisoners, treacherously devised and overheard. It is probable that he might even then have escaped his fate, had it not been for his open avowal of the lawfulness of equivocation and mental reservation on any point which might criminate himself. This destroyed all credit in his assertions, and took from him all chance of popular sympathy. He was executed, and for long afterwards regarded as a martyr by the English Catholics. Three Lords, whose intended absence from the Parliament was held to imply their knowledge of the Plot, were kept in custody; and Cecil also contrived to rid himself of his opponent Northumberland and to procure his imprisonment for life, though there was little to connect him with the conspiracy except his name. The Catholics reaped the inevitable fruit of an abortive conspiracy; the Parliament which they had intended to destroy not unnaturally devoted its time to a still further increase of the penal statutes. Catholic recusants were

Their capture
and execution.

deprived of nearly all their civil rights, heavy fines were levied if their children remained unchristened, and if they absented themselves from church, while if the children were sent abroad to be educated they became incapable of inheriting, and their property passed to the nearest Protestant successor. They were all too, by the mere fact of their being Catholics, excommunicated. At the same time this conspiracy temporarily threw the King decidedly into the Protestant cause in Europe.

All opposition to the accession of James was now over. He was henceforward safely seated on the throne, and able to exhibit himself in all his true colours; and the real point of interest of the reign, the beginning and gradual increase of the opposition to that Divine right of which he was the representative, may now be said to begin. It may be traced primarily, no doubt, to the disappointment caused to the English by the person and character of the King. Much shrewd sense, considerable learning, a good knowledge of the intricacies of European policy, and a by no means unstatesmanlike view of the necessity of European peace, and the means of procuring it, were veiled by faults and weaknesses which completely neutralized them. The old nobility found him reckless in the distribution of favour; soldiers and men of action found him peaceful and careless of the national honour; both Puritans and Catholics found him a narrow-minded persecutor; the House of Commons found him a spendthrift and an arrogant upholder of prerogative; while all respectable men were disgusted at the lavish and gluttonous exhibitions which characterized his Court. In person ungainly, with rolling walk, with a tongue too big for his mouth, of unclean habits (for we are told he never washed his hands), he gave himself up, in his delight of new-found wealth, to a course of half-barbaric pageantry and profusion. His revels were marked by an intemperance in which even his ladies joined. He was for ever tippling, though not often very drunk; and, as he fell into the hands of favourites, had a nauseous habit of "hugging and kissing the dear one" which must have been most offensive to English dignity.

But the opposition to the high prerogative notions rested also upon grounds more real and efficient than mere personal dis-
Consequent opposition. appointment or disgust. The political consequences of James's profusion and his love of favourites were more important than the contempt which they caused. The King was constantly in want of money, and was thus brought frequently into collision with his Parliament; for Cecil and his other ministers, driven to ex-

temity to supply him, and with strong views themselves as to the royal rights, did not shrink from the employment of the most illegal means of filling the Treasury.

Indirectly, in another way, the extravagance of James touched the labouring and unrepresented classes. As was natural, the example of the Court spread to the nobility. The receptions of the King in his progress were extravagant beyond even those of Elizabeth's reign, and the want of money thus engendered carried the nobles forward in the course which has already been mentioned as begun under the Tudors. The enclosure of commons and open grounds was so rife, that in 1607 an insurrection broke out in the midland counties among the peasantry, under the leadership of a man who took the name of Captain Pouch. He was so called from a leathern bag which he carried round his shoulder, and which he declared contained a talisman to secure his success. For some time they took their course unchecked, breaking down park railings and enclosures of commons. At length the gentry armed, and the outbreak was suppressed without much difficulty; and it is to James's credit that he showed some sympathy with the offenders, and though a few were executed, on the whole they were leniently treated. Parliament met for the third time in 1609, when the natural consequences of extravagant government showed themselves, and the battle which was to end only with the Revolution began. The treasury had to be filled, and it was necessary to ask the help of the Commons to fill it; but not before all other methods had been tried. When Cecil became Lord-
Cecil's attempts to get money. Treasurer he found the debt amounted to £1,300,000, while there was an annual deficit of upwards of £80,000. He had recourse to all possible means of raising money; he collected loans under privy seals, and going a step further in illegality, he considerably increased the customs. The courts of law had in the case of one Bates decided that the King was able thus to increase the customs; and the judges, Clark and Fleming, in giving judgment in the case, had stated views in favour of very high prerogative. Sustained by this decision, the minister issued, in 1608, a book of rates, by which all the customs were considerably raised. Even these resources proved insufficient, and Cecil found himself obliged to demand a supply of £600,000, and an increase of yearly income amounting to £200,000. On bringing forward this demand, he invited the Commons to state their grievances. They took him at his word. It then became plain, that though the power of the purse supplied them with the opportunity of making known their grievances, though illegal

taxation was the most obvious abuse against which to direct their attacks, the leaders of the Parliament did not confine themselves to money questions, but regarded the illegal exactions of imposts merely as one part of a general system, and intended to assault the whole structure of absolute monarchy. The gentry, always conservative in their tendencies, at length felt themselves strong enough to step into the place of the nobility who had in old times guided the constitutional advances of the nation. They were determined, if possible, to bring back the constitution of England to the position it had occupied before circumstances had allowed the Tudors to establish their new and all but absolute monarchy. When called upon to state their grievances, the Parliament complained of the new impositions, as the increased customs were called, of the extra legal authority of the Court of High Commission, and of the Court of Wales—a court which had been created to withdraw the four counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Shropshire from the ordinary jurisdiction of common law, on the plea that they were the Welsh Marches—and lastly, they complained of the free use of royal proclamations, which were held as binding as statutes. The anxiety of the Commons on these points was well grounded. Many signs showed how firmly the idea of absolute Divine monarchy was rooting itself. The language used by the Church with regard to the royal prerogative was full of danger. The ecclesiastical courts used the civil or Roman law, and not the common law of the land. A law dictionary had lately been brought out by an eminent civilian of the name of Cowell, which had stated the claims of the Crown in the broadest and most unqualified form. This book was mentioned in the House and condemned. Cowell suffered a short imprisonment. The monarchical tendencies of the civil lawyers, who wished to put the King into the same position as the Emperor had occupied in the Roman theory of law, were shared by the lawyers of the equity courts, which also used forms of process distinct from those of the common law courts, and claimed their authority as representatives of the old royal Council. As the old Council had been a court of final resort, its authority had been frequently used to establish practical justice where the technical law of the common law courts failed. The Chancellor, the head of the equity courts, had, for instance, taken upon himself the duty of insisting upon the performance of trusts. When property had been left to one man for the benefit of another, the common law recognized the first owner only, who might thus appropriate the property, to the detriment of the man for whose use it was left. In such and similar

cases the Chancellor had stepped in to see justice done. This interference with the course of law, an interference resting originally on the authority of the King in Council, gave great umbrage to the common lawyers, while it inclined the equity lawyers to take a high view of the King's power. This may tend to explain the great number of common-law lawyers who gave their very valuable aid to the constitutional opposition of this time.

No redress was obtained to the grievances of the Commons, and the grant of money became a matter of bargain upon another point. Though feudalism as a social institution had disappeared, the feudal tenure of land still existed, still bringing with it its old legal burdens. This the Commons now wished to be absolutely abolished, and were willing to give the King the equivalent for the rights he thus lost. James had a notion that his own respectability and that of the gentry of England depended on this peculiar tenure. He therefore refused to abolish it, but offered to give up the incidents, such as aids, purveyance and wardship, which accompanied it, for an equivalent. After much haggling, the price was settled at £200,000 a year, and Cecil believed that he had gained his object. But during a prorogation the Commons changed their mind, upon reassembling refused to complete the arrangement, and the Parliament was dissolved in anger.

Shortly afterwards Cecil died; it is said that his health was destroyed by his failure. Although an arbitrary and ^{Death of Cecil.} time-serving statesman, he had yet retained some of the ^{1612.} traditions of the great reign of Elizabeth, especially in regard to foreign policy. His influence had been consistently exerted to restrain the King from throwing himself into an alliance with Spain, which, with its magnificent pretensions and absolute monarchy, exercised a strong fascination upon James. Under Cecil's guidance, and in the temporary return to Protestant policy which followed the Gunpowder Plot, England had even played no inconsiderable part in the conclusion of the great twelve years' truce between Spain and her revolted colonies in the year 1609. Again, in the question of the succession of Juliers and Cleves, which was exciting the minds of all European statesmen, England had sided decidedly with the Protestant claimant. Those provinces were claimed by the Princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg, as well as by both branches of the Saxon house, and, pending a settlement, had been arbitrarily sequestered by the Emperor, and placed in the hand of his relative the Archduke Leopold. Irritated at this stretch of imperial power, the Prince Palatine of Neuburg and the Duke of Brandenburg made common

cause, and came to an agreement by which they jointly occupied the disputed territories. The point at issue was generally understood to be not so much the possession of the provinces as the establishment of Austrian and Catholic influence in that part of Germany. Henry IV. and the United Provinces, together with the German Protestant Union, proceeded to arm in defence of the two Princes in possession, and James was induced to join them and despatch 4000 troops to their aid. Just before the execution of the plan, which involved enterprises of much greater moment against the house of Austria, Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravaillac. Nevertheless, as far as Juliers was concerned, the expedition was completed, and the English assisted in establishing the two Protestant Princes in the country.

The last traces of Cecil's policy may be found in the marriages arranged for the Princess Elizabeth and for Henry Prince of Wales. On the death of Henry IV., James was regarded for the time as the head of the party opposed to Austria. He went so far as to enter into close alliance with the German Protestant Union. It was in pursuance of this line of policy that, of the various suitors for the hand of Elizabeth, the one preferred was Frederick V., Elector Palatine, closely connected with the leaders of the Protestants both in Holland and in France. And a further step in the same direction was the intended marriage of Prince Henry with the second daughter of Henry IV. It was apparently intended that she should be brought up a Protestant, but

Death of Prince
Henry.
Nov. 6, 1612.

on the very day that the question of the marriage was to be decided, the young Prince was taken ill with a mortal disease. The gravity and energy of his character, the adventurous and eager spirit which he showed, and the language he was in the habit of holding with regard to his duties as King, led men to believe that he would, had he lived, have rendered his reign stirring and important; it was not unlikely that he would have followed the wishes of the more eager part of the nation, and have plunged vigorously into the Thirty Years' War. It may have been a desire to strengthen his position in England that made James so eager to find marriages for his children. Already, before the French match was proposed, he had been treating both with Spain and Savoy on the same point. Certainly he appears to have been conscious that his claims to the throne were not wholly unquestioned. It is only by this supposition that we can explain the severity of his conduct to the Lady Arabella Stuart. She had secretly married William Seymour, the son of Lord Beauchamp. Both husband and

wife were descended from Henry VII. The alliance excited James's jealousy. They were both placed in custody. Arabella Stuart escaped from Highgate in male dress, and got on board a French ship in the river. There she was to have been joined by Seymour, who had escaped from the Tower. The French vessel, however, sailed without him, and was captured off the Nore, and Arabella was confined in the Tower for the rest of her life. She died mad four years afterwards. Seymour escaped to the Continent.

The death of Cecil and of Prince Henry left James more completely at liberty to follow the bent of his own character, and henceforward the Government fell into the hands of worthless favourites. The first of these was Robert Carr, for whom the King acquired a peculiar affection while he was lying wounded from an accident at a tournament. Carr had been his page in Scotland, and the King, feeling a natural interest in him, visited him, and fell in love with his beauty. Carr was skilful enough to take advantage of this affection. "The King," says Harrington in his "*Nugæ Antiquæ*," "leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, and smoothes his ruffled garments;" while the young man "hath changed his tailor entirely many times, and all to please the Prince." Already, before the death of Cecil, the presents he received to win the King's favour had made his fortune. His royal lover had made him Viscount Rochester and Knight of the Garter. The death of Cecil threw open a career for his ambition. The Court was divided between the factions of the young favourite and the two Howards, Earls of Suffolk and Northampton. The distribution of places was left incomplete for a year, but during that time Rochester transacted the whole public business. The feud was at length healed by the marriage of Rochester with Frances Howard, the daughter of Lord Suffolk, till lately Countess of Essex; and upon the death of the other Howard (the Earl of Northampton) Suffolk became Lord Treasurer, while Rochester succeeded him as Chamberlain, with the duties also of Lord Privy Seal.

The marriage, which thus secured the favourite (who had by this time been made Earl of Somerset) his position in the ministry, was the cause of his ruin. All the events that had accompanied that marriage had been mean and scandalous. Frances Howard had been married in her childhood to Lord Essex, and an intrigue had for some time existed between her and Somerset.

Imprisonment
of Arabella
Stuart.
1611.

The first
favourite,
Robert Carr.

His marriage
and disgrace.

Her father, privy to this intrigue, for the sake of gaining the favour of the favourite had basely recommended a divorce from Essex on the most indelicate ground. The King himself had used all his influence to procure it. Worse than that, the lady, finding herself opposed by the advice of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was Somerset's chief adviser, had procured the imprisonment and subsequent murder of that gentleman, a murder in which it is pretty certain that Somerset had borne a share. In another way events had turned out unfavourably for Somerset. On the death of Northampton there had been a rush for office, and the King, to fill his coffers, had put vacant places up for sale, and thus George Villiers, a gentleman of Leicestershire, had been able to purchase the office of cupbearer. The overbearing character of Somerset had secured him many enemies. While his alliance with the Howards gave just cause of apprehension to the Puritan party; he had acted so entirely as the minister and adviser of the Crown that the counsellors felt themselves virtually put aside. They therefore fixed upon young Villiers—who at that time showed signs of an amiable and pliant disposition, and was as good-looking and more courtier-like than Somerset—to supplant him, and persuaded Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Puritanic in his tendencies, to use his influence with the Queen to induce her to recommend the new favourite. The King was speedily caught by his beauty, and he rose rapidly in favour. But something was wanted to complete the overthrow of Somerset, and this was found in the circumstances attending his marriage. Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, desirous of obtaining the favour of Winwood, the Secretary of State, divulged to him the suspicious circumstances attending Overbury's death. James, weary of his old friend, and longing for his new one, allowed the matter to be carried forward; and, with detestable double-dealing, suffered Somerset to be apprehended in his very presence, while he was still lavishing on him his usual repulsive tokens of affection. It is needless to follow the details of the nauseous story. There was sufficient proof that the Countess had employed a certain Mrs. Turner to supply poisons for the destruction of Overbury. The lesser agents were condemned and executed. An unsolved mystery hangs over the rest of the story. Both the Earl and Countess were found guilty. The Countess indeed confessed her crime, but the Earl not only refused to acknowledge his guilt, but threatened James with certain revelations if the charge were pressed. What those were was never known;

The second
favourite,
Villiers.
1615.

but that he held the King in his power was very plain, for James showed every sign of fear, and finally both the chief actors in the tragedy were pardoned. Somerset's enemies had, however, obtained their object, and from this time forward the destiny of England was in the hands of Villiers.

The reign of James had in fact entered into a second period at the death of Cecil. The government of statesmen had given place to that of favourites. The same phenomenon was to be observed both in France and Spain, and the consequence was a general want of determined outline in the foreign policy of the three countries. In England all high national policy, all idea of assuming vigorously and in arms the leadership of the Protestant party, entirely disappeared. Even Cecil had been averse to a war with Spain if it could be honourably avoided. But now James and his favourites desired peace at any price, and sought that peace by entering into very friendly relations with Spain. James was always strongly attracted by the thoroughness of the monarchical institutions of Spain, and hoped by close alliance with that country, and at the same time by keeping up his relations with the Protestant powers of Germany, to be able to play the part of peace-maker in Europe. Lerma, the Spanish prime minister, had somewhat similar views. He believed that Spain had need of rest, and that its position would be best secured by marriage treaties with the nations most likely to be hostile to it, namely, France and England. When then, after the death of Prince Henry, negotiations with France for the substitution of Charles in his brother's place as the husband of the French Princess Christine came to nothing, the Spanish Government suggested a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta Mary, daughter of Philip III. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, in intimate relation both with Rochester and Villiers, obtained by his ready wit and social character much influence with the King, and the Spanish match thus became a fixed idea in his mind, for which he was willing to make great concessions.

It is impossible not to connect the peaceful policy of the King and his favourites with their position at home. James had never liked the necessity of summoning Parliaments. His wishes had been more than once thwarted by them, and the language used in 1609 by no means harmonized with his own view of his prerogative. An attempt to produce a more docile assembly in 1614 was singularly unsuccessful. Certain members of Parliament, who thought they understood the temper of the Commons,

Consequent de-
gradation of
English politics.

The Addled
Parliament.
1614.

undertook to manage that House for the King. They were spoken of at Court as the Undertakers. Both the fact and the title became known, and the attempt at indirect influence was not calculated to improve the temper of the Commons. They at once proceeded to their old grievances, especially discussing the legality of the impositions (as the additions to the customs were called) and of monopolies. In anger at the total failure of his scheme, James hurriedly dissolved the Parliament before it had completed a single piece of business. The humour of the time christened this futile Parliament "The Addled Parliament." With these experiences, neither the King nor his friends wished to be driven to the necessity of again appealing to the Commons. But such an appeal would have been inevitable to supply the money necessary for a war. For seven years, therefore, between 1614 and 1621, there was no Parliament summoned; and the King devoted all his skill in statecraft, of which he was inordinately proud, to the maintenance of peace in Europe.

During the ministry of Cecil, encroachments on the right of self-taxation had been common enough, yet, on the whole, constitutional means of raising money had been chiefly employed. These now gave way to illegal means. The cautionary towns, which the Dutch had lodged in the hands of the English as security for the money Elizabeth had advanced, were resold at about a third of their value. Free gifts were demanded from the nobility. Benevolences were collected, some of which appear never to have been repaid. Money was raised by writs under the Privy Seal. Patents and monopolies were multiplied, and finally peerages below earldoms were publicly sold.

The growing attachment between the King and Spain was not regarded favourably by the nation. It speedily produced effects which excited much angry feeling. In the first place, it was impossible for the King to carry out his foreign policy without granting considerable concessions to the Catholics; he was obliged, in order to gain credit with the Spaniards, to allow the sharpest of the persecuting laws to remain in abeyance. And again the popular voice accused him of meanly truckling to Spain in his treatment of Raleigh.

Weary with his imprisonment, Raleigh had at length found means to gain his freedom by judicious bribery of the family of Villiers, and by mentioning to Winwood, the Secretary, his belief that he could, if allowed to command a fleet, open a mine on the Orinoco river first discovered by Captain Keymis in 1596. To secure this prize, James granted him liberty,

Raleigh's last
voyage to
Guiana.
1617.

and put him in command of several ships; but, to please the Spaniards, gave him strict instructions not in any way to come to hostilities with them. He seems also to have placed the whole plan of the expedition in the hands of his intimate Gondomar, by whom it was at once forwarded to the Spanish Court and thence to South America, so that on Raleigh's arrival at the river full preparations had been made to receive him. The consequence was an inevitable collision. Raleigh had arrived with forces much weakened by disease, and himself in a high fever. The expedition he sent up to discover the mine was attacked by the Spaniards; it in turn assaulted and took the town of St. Thomas, where Raleigh's son was killed. The expedition proceeded further upwards under the command of Captain Keymis, but there were such signs of preparation and opposition everywhere that that commander thought it more prudent to retire. Among the spoils taken at St. Thomas were the despatches, which disclosed the King's treachery; and, excited by the failure of his plans, by the loss of his much-loved son, and by the gloomy prospects which these despatches opened before him, Raleigh censured Keymis so sharply that in despair he killed himself. Thoroughly disheartened, and aware of what was awaiting him, Raleigh returned home. He there found his Spanish enemies ready for him. He was at once apprehended, and, by a strange stretch of law, the old attainder of thirteen years before was revived against him; and though he justly argued that public service, with the right of life and death, had condoned his previous offence, the disappointment of James and the vengeance of Gondomar was too strong for him, he was condemned ^{His execution.} and executed. In prison, by his "History of the ^{1618.} World," and by his chemical studies, he had given proof of powers with which the world had before scarcely credited him; and now the death of so eminent a man caused bitter anger among the people, who regarded him, and justly, as a victim of Spanish intrigue.

At length, in the year 1618, it seemed as if James's policy of mediation could no longer be pursued. Questions in ^{Beginning of} which he was deeply interested had arisen in Germany. ^{the Thirty} Protestantism had spread widely through the dominions ^{Years' War.} of the house of Austria. Matthias, the reigning Emperor, had in his youth supported that religion. But the Catholic reaction, which, under the influence of the Jesuits, had been making its way in Europe, had laid hold especially of the higher ranks and of the younger men. Pre-eminent as its champions were the Duke of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic League, and Ferdinand of Gratz, a

member of the younger branch of the Austrian house. Afraid of the democratic tendencies of the Reformers, which he knew by his own previous experience, Matthias, as he grew older, changed his policy, and when seeking for a successor, chose this Ferdinand of Gratz, in whose favour he induced the other Austrian Princes to renounce their claims. The kingdom of Bohemia was at once elective and hereditary. Ferdinand assumed by this double title the position of future king; although it was understood that he was bound not to interfere in the government, a change in the character of the administration became at once visible. Irritated by the destruction of some churches, which they believed they had had a right to build, the Bohemian Protestants rose under Count Thurm, stormed the Council Chamber at Prague, threw two obnoxious ministers out of the window, and, in conjunction with Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary, formed a vast insurrection, which was pressing victoriously onward when Matthias died. The insurgents sought assistance from the Protestant Princes. Ferdinand, the new King, called in the help of Spain, while his own dominions were still in danger. He succeeded in getting himself elected at Frankfort Emperor of Germany, and almost at the same time the crown of Bohemia was offered to the Elector Palatine; for the Protestants declared that the throne of that country was entirely elective, and refused therefore to give it to Ferdinand as the heir of Matthias. The Elector at once consulted his father-in-law; in fact, it depended upon James whether the throne should be accepted or not. But the desire of family aggrandizement on the one side, and the dread of touching the hereditary right of princes on the other, together with his generally wavering policy, induced him to give a perfectly equivocal answer. The general impression was that he meant to support the Elector, who therefore accepted the throne. In October 1619 he was crowned. The contest

Sympathy in
England for the
Protestant side.

gradually assumed the proportions of a general religious war, and excited violent enthusiasm in England. The Protestant party, though numerically powerful, were politically weakened by various causes, such as the dislike which existed between the Lutherans and Calvinists, the jealousy of the rising power of the Elector Palatine felt by Saxony, which had hitherto been the chief Protestant State of Germany, and finally the neutrality of France, on which country the Reforming Princes of Germany had formerly relied, but which had now fallen under Spanish influence during the regency of Mary de Medici. The undecided conduct of James, who should have been their head, completed the weakness of the party; while, on the

other hand, Spain contrived to keep together the whole power of her house and the friendship of her chief allies. With regard to his son-in-law, James had refused to interfere in the main issue, as he himself said, "for conscience, because it was unlawful to dethrone a king on religious grounds; for honour, because the Elector had sought, but not followed his advice; for example, because he liked not that subjects should dethrone their king." But he consented to send a small and inefficient army for the protection of Frederick's hereditary dominions. His real policy, nowever, rested upon the hope, which nothing but an overweening belief in his own position could have inspired, that, once allied with Spain, that country would join with him in mediating a peace. He thus looked calmly on, busied in his idle negotiations, while the battle of Prague drove the Elector from his new-won kingdom, and the Spanish army, under Spinola, possessed itself step by step of the Palatinate.

But James
refuses to
interfere.

It nevertheless seemed to him desirable to turn the popular excitement to account; he therefore summoned a Parliament, hoping that it would grant him supplies for the defence of his son-in-law's dominions, and that the visible agreement between himself and his people would improve his position with regard to Spain. His expectations were not answered, though in his opening speech he apologized for his conduct to his last Parliament. "In my last Parliament," said he, "there was a kind of beast called undertakers, a dozen of whom undertook to govern my Parliament, and they led me." The Commons would not be enticed away from their chief object. Two subsidies were indeed granted, but the House then at once proceeded to draw up a petition against any alleviation of the penal laws against Catholics. Under the direction of Sir Edward Coke they then proceeded to attack the chief monopolists, Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, not only because monopolies were in themselves odious, but because they denied the power of the Crown to grant them. They flew even at higher game, and Francis Bacon, who had been Lord Chancellor since 1617, with the title first of Lord Verulam, and afterwards of Lord St. Albans, was impeached for taking bribes. It was not the love of judicial purity alone which urged the Commons. Throughout the quarrel between the equity courts and the common law courts, which, as we have seen, involved the question of royal prerogative, Bacon had systematically upheld the royal claims. This conduct had been dictated, not probably by a

Takes advantage of the
popular feeling
to call a
Parliament.
1621.

Their time
spent in the
impeachment
of Bacon.

mean love of power, but from an opinion that constitutional questions require to be judged from a higher and more political point of view than that afforded by technical law, and that that point of view was more likely to be occupied by the Chancellor, who was a great political officer, than by the judges, who were mere lawyers. The charges against him, which were very heavy, were unfortunately but too well grounded, no less than twenty-two instances in which he had received bribes were fully made out. He pleaded guilty—only alleging in excuse that the course of justice had never been influenced by them—was removed from his office, and heavily fined. Having finished these domestic questions, the House was proceeding to take note of foreign affairs. But its view was very different from that of the King; it was desirous that the country should act immediately and energetically in the interests of the Protestants abroad. The King regarded the discussion of international relations as trenching on his prerogative, and adjourned the House. During the recess he did not improve his position with regard to the Commons. He indeed reformed some abuses, but he did

James's behaviour during the recess,

this by proclamation, one of those assertions of prerogative of which they were very jealous. He issued a second proclamation, forbidding all men to speak of state affairs. He appointed Williams, a clergyman whom he raised to the rank of Bishop of Lincoln, and who was a creature of Buckingham's, to the position of Lord Keeper, while the futility of his negotiations became evident when the Palatinate was transferred to the Elector of Bavaria. The

makes them more angry. They protest against priests.

Parliament therefore when it met in November was more angry than before. It renewed its protest against priests and Jesuits, and begged that the Prince might be married to a Protestant. A long and angry dispute ensued, which terminated in a strong protest, in which the Commons declared that their privileges were not the gift of the Crown but the natural birth-right of English subjects, and that matters of public interest were

Parliament dissolved in anger. Jan. 1622.

within their province. This protest so angered the King that he tore it from the record with his own hand, and at once dissolved the Parliament. The dissolution was followed by the usual acts of vengeance. The most prominent of the opposition, the Lords Oxford and Southampton, with the Commoners Philip, Pym, Coke, and Mallory, were imprisoned.

The old course was then pursued. Digby, afterwards Lord Bristol, was sent on the death of Philip III. to conclude, if possible, the Spanish match, and nothing of importance was done for the Palatinate. But at the same time it was

Negotiations for Spanish match continued.

evident, that while English troops were garrisoning the fortresses there, and the troops of the League were gradually conquering the province, the completion of the match would be impossible. James insisted on the restoration of his son-in-law's dominions as a necessary preliminary to the marriage. He promised that if that step were taken he would himself join his troops with the Spaniards against their enemies. But while trusting to these idle negotiations, the troops of the League were gradually driving the English from all their strong posts; and upon the King's complaints, he was told that this conquest was in fact necessary before the Palatinate could be restored. It was then that, rather than give up the match entirely, the Prince and Buckingham forced on the King the strange expedient of a personal visit on the part of Charles to the Court of Spain. For some time all went well; they met with a most flattering reception, and articles securing the perfect freedom of worship for the Infanta, together with the custody of her children till the age of ten, and a private promise that the worship of the Catholics should be tolerated at least in their own houses, were accepted, and sworn to both by King and Prince. But the behaviour of Buckingham, now raised to the rank of Duke, and as the Spaniards thought indecorously familiar with the Prince, rendered him very distasteful at Madrid. Besides this, he quarrelled completely with Olivarez, the all-powerful minister. He determined to break off the match, to secure which Bristol, the authorized ambassador, was in the meanwhile using his best endeavours. Afraid of that nobleman's influence in England, he returned thither, and persuaded the King to introduce what had hitherto not been mentioned, a clause in the treaty securing the Palatinate. The production of this new claim, after the preparations for the marriage had already been made, was regarded by the Spanish King as such an insult that he refused to proceed any further in the matter.

Charles and Buckingham go to Spain. 1623.

The match broken off.

Buckingham at once rose to a high place in the popular esteem. He was credited with all virtues for having broken off the hated alliance. He allied himself with all the popular leaders, and at his instigation a new Parliament was summoned. He appeared before both Houses with the Prince standing by his side to support his story, and there gave his version of what had happened in Madrid. Although Bristol's friends and the Spanish ambassador accused him of want of veracity in his account, the Parliament believed him. The policy of Government was suddenly changed. A match was set on foot between Charles and

Buckingham's popularity.

the French Princess Henrietta Maria. The Parliament voted fresh subsidies and three-fifteenths, and Mansfeld, the Protestant general, was allowed to raise 12,000 troops in England. In the midst of this sudden change of scene, and while the marriage was yet uncompleted, James died.

In following the course of English history it must not be forgotten that the King of England was now King also of Scotland and of Ireland. In both those countries events of some importance had happened during the reign. In Ireland James had shown some of that political wisdom which was mingled so strangely with his folly; in his own country he had acted as foolishly and as arbitrarily as in England. Enamoured of the Church of England, which had so readily accepted his claims to Divine right, and had received him in so humble a spirit, he had adopted the maxim, "no Bishop, no King." He determined, therefore, to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland. As early as 1606, he had induced the

James tries
to introduce
Episcopacy.
1606.

Estates to order the restoration of Bishops. At first this made little practical difference. The Bishops worked only as parish priests in the diocese to which they were appointed. In 1610, the Church was re-organized, but even then the Presbyterian system was in a great degree preserved. The General Assembly of the Church was allowed to exist, but distinctly under the authorization of the Crown. Provincial synods were also continued, but the Bishops became their permanent presidents. It was observed, also, that there was no room left for the lesser assemblies, called presbyteries. Matters which had hitherto been in their hands were now referred to the Bishops. In this mitigated form, Episcopacy was, in 1612, authorized by the Estates. The real difficulty which met the King was the endowment of the bishoprics. The Church property had been secularized, and could not be regained from the lay-holders. For many years the Bishops continually complained of their poverty. It was not till the year 1616, when James visited Scotland in person, that the full meaning of the change became obvious. The eyes of the citizens of Edinburgh were then shocked by the ornaments lavished on the Chapel of Holyrood, and the performances of the showy ceremonies of the English Church. Deans and chapters were also re-established. Bishops were ordered henceforward to be re-elected in the English fashion, by a royal *congé d'élire*, and the law was brought in, asserting that "whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, by the advice

Authorized by
the Estates.
1612.

of the Bishops and a competent number of ministers, should have the strength of law." The Presbyterians, who said "that this was like to cut the cords of the remanent liberties of their Kirk," protested, and the protesters were punished.

The King's assault upon the Presbyterian system was completed when, in 1621, the Estates ratified the Five Articles which had already been carried in the General Assembly at Perth. These Five Articles introduced innovations very distasteful to the Scotch. The Presbyterians, who had always given exclusive prominence to the social character of the Lord's Supper, regarding it as a meal to be taken in common, as a sign of communion, and who therefore received it sitting, were now obliged to receive it on their knees. It was also allowed to be given in private houses, which was again opposed to their view of its public and social nature. Private baptism was allowed, and that rite thus rendered a sort of process to be carried out between the priest and the person baptized, rather than the public reception by the Church of the baptized person. Episcopal confirmation was ordered, and what was perhaps the greatest grievance of all, especially when taken in connection with the recent relaxation of the observance of the Sabbath in England, the observance of the five great Church holydays was enjoined. It was not without much difficulty that obedience to these ordinances was obtained. The rising influence of Laud is visible in these enactments. As the King's chaplain, he had already succeeded in persuading James to accept the Arminian rather than the Calvinistic view of grace and free-will, although, earlier in his life, James had been so eager a Calvinist that he had persuaded the Dutch to persecute and expel their Arminian teachers, and had even, as late as 1618, been instrumental in securing the death of Barnevelt, the patriotic grand pensionary of Holland, for his heretical views. Before the close of the reign, Laud, at the instigation of Lord Keeper Williams, had been made Bishop of St. David's.

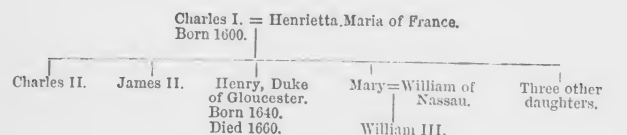
Anger excited
by the Five
Articles of
Perth.
1621.

In Ireland the King had succeeded in a great degree in carrying out those plans of colonization in which Elizabeth had failed, and had planted or colonized with Scotch Protestants a considerable portion of the province of Ulster. This subject will be more fully mentioned, when Ireland comes more prominently forward, in the next reign.

Scotch colonies
in Ireland.

CHARLES I.

1625-1649.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	Germany.	Spain.	Denmark & Norway.	Sweden.
Louis XIII., 1610.	Ferdinand II., 1619.	Philip IV., 1621.	Christian IV., 1588. Frederick III., 1643.	Gustavus Adolphus 1611. Christina, 1632.
Louis XIV. 1643.	Ferdinand III., 1637.			

POPES. —Urban VIII., 1624. Innocent X., 1644.

Archbishops.
George Abbot, 1611.
William Laud, 1633-1645.
Vacancy for fourteen years.

Chancellors.
Sir Thomas Coventry, 1625.
Sir John Finch, 1640.
Sir Edward Littleton, 1641.
Sir Richard Lane, 1645.

THE accession of Charles I. was regarded by his contemporaries with joy and hope. The late change of policy, which he and his favourite had been chiefly instrumental in producing, was highly popular in the country, and it was believed that changes of the same character would take place in other branches of the Government. This was a mistake. His accession in fact did not in any sense form the beginning of a new period, and the history of his reign is but a continuation of that of his father. The interests are identical, but strengthened and exaggerated. This is due principally to the character of the King. The kingcraft on which he prided himself had at all events taught

Characters of
James and
Charles
compared.

1625]

CHARACTER OF CHARLES

609

James the necessity of occasional pliancy. It is true that his total misapprehension of the character of the English sovereignty rendered his views of domestic government fundamentally false; while, from his mistaken belief in the power of Spain, and in the excellence of strong monarchical government, his foreign policy was constantly erroneous. But for all that his was not the character to irritate wilfully. On the other hand, Charles had been bred in the same school and imbibed the same ideas, but was wanting in that experience of the danger of popular opposition which James's youth had given him. He relied no less completely upon the advice of the shallow and impulsive Buckingham; but behind this apparent surrender of his will, he was possessed of an obstinacy which prevented him from making those prudent concessions which the temper of the times rendered necessary. Sir Ferdinand Fairfax gives the popular view of this defect when he says, "The King is in his own nature very stiff." Consequently, while the same abuses were perpetuated, the opposition to them met with a far stronger obstacle than in the preceding reign. The jar was proportionately stronger, and parties more embittered. It will be seen, in fact, that in the three first years of his reign Charles had succeeded in putting every branch of the nation—the Lords, the Commons, and the Church—in an attitude of hostility.

Consequent
hostility of
the nation.

We must be careful to recollect that the House of Commons, with which the King at first quarrelled, was not in any sense a popular one. It consisted of wealthy and powerful gentry, and of great lawyers, whose knowledge of constitutional precedent rendered them the natural and formidable opponents of the encroachments of the Crown. The changes of the last century, especially the freedom with which property was alienated, and the commercial wealth which followed on the new life of the Renaissance, had filled England with wealthy and independent gentlemen, among whom the old aristocratic spirit of liberty, no longer existing in the new Court nobility, had found a home. It is from this class that the representatives of the people were chosen, and against this spirit that the King had first to struggle.

Character of
the House
of Commons.

There is another point to be borne in mind if we would understand the importance of the coming contest. It was in Parliament alone that any successful opposition to the Crown could be attempted. The character of the government of the Tudors had vastly increased the power of the executive. This is an essential part of that system of popular absolutism which

Nothing to re-
strain the King
but the Parlia-
ment.

they had established, and may be illustrated by the state of France during the Second Empire. The only hold which the nation had upon the action of the Crown was the Parliamentary power of granting supplies. In no other way, short of armed insurrection, could the royal power be withstood. The events of the two last reigns had rendered the national feeling intensely Protestant. Apart from their fear of loss of liberty at home, there was no point on which the whole body of the people felt so strongly as religion. In their own country this feeling was exhibited in the stringent laws enacted against Roman Catholics, and in the popular jealousy of any mitigation of them. Abroad, it was shown in the sympathy which was felt for the Protestant cause, at that time in danger of absolute ruin from the Catholic successes in the European war. It was mainly as a step against Catholicism, and as a blow to Spain, which was regarded as the head of Catholicism, that the French match had been hailed in England with such joy. The opposition of Richelieu, the great French minister, to the Austrian house was already understood; the purely political character of that opposition was not yet known.

The position of affairs abroad was indeed such as to excite the gravest apprehensions. After his great defeat at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, Frederick, the Elector Palatine and nominal King of Bohemia, had trusted his affairs to three generals—Mansfeld, the Margrave of Baden, and Christian of Brunswick. The attempts of these generals to carry the war into the south or Catholic part of Germany had met with the worst success. Baden, in attempting to enter Bavaria, had been defeated at Wimpfen; Christian of Brunswick had crossed the river Main, only to be defeated at Höchst; Mansfeld's army was alone left. In these disastrous circumstances Frederick had trusted himself to the foolish advice of his father-in-law. James, always blinded by trust in his own diplomatic skill and in the good intentions of Spain, advised him to dismiss his troops. Thus Mansfeld and Christian found themselves masterless, and in the position of land pirates. They sought and found a refuge in the service of the Dutch, but were constantly kept in check by the skill of the Imperial General Tilly. These victories, and the Treaty of Niclasburg (1622), which relieved Austria from all pressure from Hungary, enabled the Emperor so to dominate Germany that he secured the transference of the Palatinate and the Electorship from Frederick to the Duke of Bavaria (the head of the Roman Catholic League). At the same time he bribed Saxony,

Protestant
feelings of
the country.

Position of
foreign affairs.

the chief of the Protestant powers, with the gift of the Province of Lusatia, and when the Huguenot insurrection in France was closed by the Treaty of Montpellier, there was extreme danger that the Protestant religion would be virtually annihilated.

Danger of
the Protestant
cause.

It was at this crisis that Richelieu appears on the scene. Under his influence a great League was formed, embracing Holland, Denmark, Venice and Savoy. To this League England was added, the price of its adherence being the French match. The parts the different nations had to play were accurately marked out. To England was given the war upon the sea coasts; to Holland, India; to Venice and Savoy, Italy; to the Northern Protestants, Germany; while Richelieu kept for himself the Valteline, a little strip of country terminating at the northern end of the Lake of Como, which formed the only road between the Austrian dominions north and south of the Alps, and the possession of which would go far to paralyze the power of that house. Of all this vast plan the French part alone took effect. Satisfied with the possession of the Valteline, and with the blow he had thus dealt to the Austrians, Richelieu suddenly concluded the Treaty of Monçon in 1626. Already, in the preceding year, Christian IV. of Denmark had undertaken the defence of the Northern German Protestants, and in 1626 suffered a disastrous and final defeat at the hands of Tilly at the battle of Lutter. It was the Protestants themselves who were chiefly to blame for the sudden collapse of Richelieu's plan. Absolutely careless of political considerations, and thinking only of their own selfish interests, the French Huguenots, who were closely connected with the great turbulent French nobles, had taken the opportunity of foreign war to renew their insurrection. The eyes of Richelieu were open to the fact that unity at home was necessary for powerful action abroad.

Richelieu forms
the League.

Treaty of
Monçon.

It was just while Richelieu was making his great League, and seeking, as has been said, the co-operation of England, that the French match had been entered into. To the English it had first appeared a pledge of a consistent Protestant policy. But no such idea existed in the minds of either Charles or Buckingham; with them it was a mere whim, an act of spiteful insult to the Spanish Court, and nothing more. To Richelieu it was a political bargain without reference to religion. Its true character was soon displayed, and the disappointment of the English was proportionate to their hopes. It was soon known that the terms of the marriage-treaty

were almost identical with those of the proposed Spanish marriage, and at least equally favourable to the Roman Catholics. The consummation of the marriage therefore, accompanied with the installation in the palace of the whole apparatus of Roman Catholic worship, dealt a heavy blow to Buckingham's new-born popularity, and excited the jealousy of the Protestants, which was still further augmented by an evident tendency towards toleration on the part of the Court. Again, not only had favour been shown to the Catholics, as an instance of which may be mentioned the pardoning of twenty priests, but the tone of the Court had become Arminian. Though the point at issue between Arminius and Gomar, his opponent in Holland, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was of a very abstruse nature, and not calculated in itself to produce much practical result, the Calvinistic Puritans of England held, and held rightly, that the attack of Arminius upon their doctrine of absolute predestination would soon lead to other deviations from their doctrine and discipline. As a fact, in England the Arminians were much less bitter against the Roman Catholics, admitting that, but for the temporal claims of the Pope, there was but little to separate them. They were also admirers of the more pompous and showy worship of the English Church, and, to crown all, in most cases, strong upholders of the Divine right of kings. An instance of these tendencies had lately been given by Dr. Montague, one of the royal chaplains, in a tract called "An Appeal to Cæsar."

At the same time, Buckingham was the object of a strong opposition in the Council. Bristol had felt keenly the Duke's conduct to him with regard to the Spanish match, and a large party of the Lords, headed by the Earl of Pembroke, joined in his feelings of enmity towards him. The popularity therefore of Buckingham and the King had almost disappeared before the first Parliament, which assembled on June 18, came together. The Commons already felt considerable mistrust of the honesty of the Court and of their change of policy—a mistrust which the slowness with which the preparations for the promised war with Spain had been carried on tended to increase. This mistrust at once showed itself in an attack upon the Arminian writings of Montague, backed by a petition for the more stringent execution of the laws against recusants, and assumed a still more formidable shape when the King's demands for supplies came before the House. The Commons were told that, besides the heavy debts of the late King, large

Unpopularity
of the
French match.

Arminian character of the
Court religion.

Dislike of
Buckingham.

First
Parliament,
June 18.

subsidies had been promised to the German Protestants, and a sum but little short of £1,000,000 was demanded from them. They only granted two subsidies,¹ which would amount to perhaps £150,000, and even went so far as to grant, for one year only, tonnage and poundage² (which, ever since Henry VI., had been granted for the King's life). The King was unwilling to receive it with this limitation, the proposition was therefore thrown out in the Lords, and the grant was not made at all. The King attempted to take the case of Montague into his own hands; and this matter and the grant of tonnage and poundage were still under discussion when an outbreak of the plague compelled the Parliament to adjourn to Oxford.

During the recess, an event happened which much increased the bitterness of the opposition. It seemed to change the indefinite suspicions which had existed, as to the purely political character of the French alliance, into a certainty. This event was the loan of eight ships to Richelieu to assist him in reducing La Rochelle, the stronghold of the French Protestants. Charles and Buckingham were indeed in an awkward position. To secure the match with France, they had promised to lend these ships to be used against any enemy of the Crown of France except the King of England, and they now found themselves compelled to risk their popularity by allowing them to serve against the Huguenots. They used their best efforts to put off the evil day, and it was not till news arrived that a peace had been made between Louis and the Protestants, that peremptory orders were issued to the English captains to surrender their ships. The anger of the crews was so great that they deserted, and the ships had to be manned by French soldiers. Great was the dismay of the King and Buckingham when they heard that the negotiations between Louis and his subjects had come to an end, and that the ships would after all be used against La Rochelle. It was thus after a complete failure of their policy, and with all the odium attaching to this unpopular act, that they had to meet the Parliament at its next session, which proved even more stormy than the

¹ A subsidy was 4s. on the pound on real property, and 2s. 8d. on the personal estates of £3 and upwards. Aliens and Popish recusants paid double this sum.

² Customs were the duties levied upon the staple commodities—wool, sheepskin, leather, and tin; these duties were granted in 3rd Edward I.; also duties upon woollen cloth, granted 21st Edward III. Tonnage and poundage was a tax varying from 1s. 6d. to 3s. upon every tun of wine or beer, and from 6d. to 1s. on every pound of merchandize imported or exported, except on the staple commodities. It was granted sometimes for a term of years, sometimes for life. It was originally given in 47th Edward III. Tonnage and poundage at this time was farmed for about £160,000 a year.

Loan of ships
to Richelieu.

preceding one. Discontented with the amount which had been granted, Charles asked for two subsidies and two-fifteenths more. His demand was met by a renewed petition against the Catholics, with an implied charge of insincerity against the King, who since the last occasion had granted a pardon to eleven Papists; and the debates were directed so plainly against Buckingham, charging him with maladministration of the war, and with the loan of the French ships, that the King thought it necessary to order the Duke to make an explanation of his conduct before the two Houses. In his explanation Buckingham seemed to imply that the King would be satisfied with a new grant of £40,000.

Parliament
dissolved.
Aug. 12.

But when it became evident, after several attempts to hurry supplies, that even the small sum thus demanded would not be granted till grievances were redressed, Charles thought it better to dissolve the Parliament.

The temper of the Parliament had been clearly shown in the last session. The King and Buckingham could not but see that a distinct and successful Protestant policy was the only thing that could render

In hope of
popularity, a
fleet sent
to Cadiz.

the Government tolerable to the nation. They resolved to strike a great blow for popularity. The expedition, the slowness and uncertainty of which had been one of the charges against Buckingham, was hastened forward. At the same time orders were given to disarm Popish recusants; and when the destination of the fleet was made public, it was found to be Cadiz. A grand attack was to be made upon Spain. But the same want of wisdom which pursued Charles through his life was already visible. These measures, in themselves popular, were rendered hateful by the way in which they were carried out. The necessary money was collected by the arbitrary and illegal use of demands under the Privy Seal; and when completed the fleet was intrusted, not to a trustworthy and popular officer, but, upon no grounds except favour, to Sir Edward Cecil, now Lord Wimbledon, a man universally acknowledged

Its complete
failure.

as unfit for the work. The consequence was a disastrous failure. Cadiz was reached, but the shipping, which might have been destroyed, was left unharmed, and the drunkenness of many of the men induced the commanders to re-embark the army in haste after the capture of one unimportant fort. The main object of the expedition had thus failed; but it was still possible to intercept the Plate fleet from the West Indies. By some carelessness it was suffered to pass unobserved, and after twenty days of futile watching, a fierce contagious disease compelled the fleet to return to England (Dec. 8), having done absolutely nothing.

The King had promised to summon a new Parliament quickly, and the state of the finances rendered the step necessary.

Second
Parliament
Feb. 6, 1626.

On the 6th of February 1626, the second Parliament met. It was in no good temper, and the foolish means taken by the King to weaken the opposition were not likely to soothe it. When the list of those gentlemen who were fitted for the office of Sheriff was presented to him according to custom, he pricked¹ off the names of those who had been the leaders of the opposition in the last Parliament, including Sir Edward Coke and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford. As the office of Sheriff prevented its holder from sitting in Parliament, he thought thus to rid himself of his chief enemies. Coke indeed disputed this view of the Sheriff's duties, and was elected for another county; but neither he, nor any of the other Sheriffs, appear to have sat in Parliament.² The Parliament at once proceeded to appoint three great Committees—one for Religion, one for Grievances, and the third for Evils and their remedies. ^{Appoints three Committees.} It was again against Montague that the Committee on Religion was pointed, and the King, finding himself unable to protect his chaplain, allowed him to be proceeded against and punished by the Commons. The Committee of Grievances found no difficulty in drawing up a formidable list. At the head stood illegal taxation. The expenses of Government had formerly, they said, been met by regular taxes granted by Parliament, by subsidies and fifteenths, by tonnage and poundage, by customs, according to a rate fixed from time immemorial, and by an occasional loan. But now, loans were raised arbitrarily under the Privy Seal; tonnage and poundage was collected, although not granted by Parliament; the customs were largely increased according to a new book of rates established by James I.; while the money thus illegally collected was wasted by the bad management of the Council of War, and produced nothing but loss of honour.

Meanwhile, the King was waiting anxiously for his supplies. His spokesman in the House said, "His Majesty desires me to tell you he wishes to know, without further delaying of time, ^{Charles's irritating speeches.} what supplies you will give for his present occasion." The answer he received was a list of grievances to be remedied. The King replied in anger, "I will be willing to hear your

¹ The King completes the election of Sheriffs by pricking the parchment opposite the names of the gentlemen eligible for the office.

² Rushworth gives a speech of Sir T. Wentworth in this Parliament; he must have confused Sir Thomas Wentworth and Mr. Wentworth.

grievances, as my predecessors have been, so that you will apply yourselves to redress grievances, and not to inquire after grievances. I must let you know that I will not let any of my servants be questioned by you; much less such as are of eminent place and near to me. I see you specially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves, for if any ill happen I think I shall be the last to feel it." This threat produced the very thing it was intended to avoid. Dr. Turner rose and proposed six questions, aimed against the mismanagement of the Duke, and resting upon common fame. It was questioned whether common fame was ground sufficient for a charge, but the great lawyers, especially Selden, held that no other evidence was possible in settling the preliminary question whether an impeachment of Buckingham was desirable. Upon this the Commons determined upon the impeachment, and resolved to "proceed to the great affair of Buckingham, morning and afternoon, till it was done, to the end that they might proceed to consider his Majesty's demand for supply." The threatened assault was met by Buckingham by a counter attack on the Earl of Bristol, whom he knew would be the chief witness against him.

Again the folly of the King ruined his hopes of success. The Lords, before whom the trial must ultimately come on, might have been supposed well affected to the King. He had taken measures to make them his enemies. Not only had he, from the moment of Bristol's arrival in England, kept him in confinement, he had also refused to send him his usual writ of summons to this Parliament. Of this Bristol had complained. The writ had then been sent, accompanied by a private letter, forbidding his attendance. The whole correspondence was placed before the House. Again, for some private matter, the King had issued his own warrant, and imprisoned Arundel, the Earl Marshal, an avowed enemy of Buckingham, and the holder of no less than six proxies in the House. The Lords had voted this a breach of privilege, and, after a quarrel of three months, obliged the King to restore the Earl to liberty.

With its dignity thus offended, the House was not inclined to listen to Charles's representations on behalf of his favourite. It ruled that the charge against Buckingham should be first heard, and then that against Bristol, and also permitted Bristol to be heard by counsel, which the King had refused to allow. On the 8th of May the impeachment took place. The chief speakers on the side of the Commons were Sir Dudley Digges and

Impeachment of
Buckingham.
Charges against
Buckingham.

Sir John Elliot. The charges were, that Buckingham had mismanaged the revenue, bought and sold offices, lent ships to France to the detriment of the Protestant religion, and finally had poisoned the late King. The last charge was entirely frivolous, and, as it threw an implied blame upon Charles, marks the extreme animosity felt by the Commons. The speeches of Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, the latter of whom compared Buckingham to Sejanus, so enraged the King, that he at once apprehended them. Buckingham replied to the charge, and the Commons were preparing a rejoinder, when the King, after again trying to procure supplies by threats, determined at all events to save his favourite, and in spite of the remonstrances of the House of Lords, dissolved Parliament. He did not succeed in doing this quickly enough to prevent the Commons from drawing up a Remonstrance, so vigorous, that the King thought it necessary to have it publicly burnt.

Parliament
dissolved to
save him.
June 15.

Two unsuccessful attempts at managing the Parliament made the King determined to try what he could do without one. From June 1626 to March 1628 the attempt was made. The conduct of public affairs during this interval was such as to supply the third Parliament, when it assembled, with a plentiful list of grievances. Money was an absolute necessity, and though the last Parliament had promised the King two subsidies and three-fifteenths, the promise was only provisional, and the grant never completed. All sorts of illegal means had therefore to be employed. Tonnage and poundage was collected under the Great Seal. Roman Catholic recusants were by law bound to pay monthly fines; in practice these had often been remitted; commissioners were now appointed to make arrangements with them, not exacting their fines to the full, but compounding for some immediate payment. From the City of London £150,000 was peremptorily demanded as a loan, and all the seaports in the country were ordered to supply ships. It was in vain that they pleaded precedents. They were met with the reply that they need not look for precedents, "the one precedent was obedience." Writs under the Privy Seal were largely issued for loans, and the soldiers and trainbands were called out and inspected, and billeted on the inhabitants. They were nominally under strict martial law, practically they pillaged mercilessly.

Money obtained
by illegal
means.

All this was done under the specious pretext that it was absolutely necessary to secure the country from an invasion. There were certainly no signs of any such invasion, but it was urged that the weakness shown by the ill success of the

under the
pretext of
an invasion.

expedition to Cadiz could not but excite the Spaniards to reprisals. Another opportunity for still more extended operations shortly presented itself. Upon the defeat of the King of Denmark at the battle of Lutter (August 1626), a general loan was ordered. It was at the rate of cent. per cent. on landed property, though somewhat less upon goods. The instructions given to the judges upon whom the duty of collecting this loan devolved show the spirit in which it was levied. They were directed to choose their first victims from among those most likely to be frightened into paying; never to address themselves to bodies of men, to whom numbers might give courage, but to deal separately with each individual, and to send up to the Council the names of all those who refused to lend. It would seem plain, from this gathering of troops and money, that the idea had already entered into the minds of the King and his Court of ruling altogether without Parliament. This is rendered almost certain by the enlistment of a considerable body of German horse.

Attempt to govern without Parliament.

Nor were other signs wanting of the arbitrary tendencies of the Government. The Arminian and High Church clergy began to speak quite openly. In the course of 1627, sermons were preached advocating the absolute prerogative of the King in the plainest language. Thus Dr. Sibthorpe, preaching on the text "Render therefore to all their dues," asserted that "the Prince doth whatsoever pleaseth him. If princes command anything which subjects may not perform because it is against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without either resistance or railing, and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one." This Sibthorpe was the cause of the disgrace of two important clergymen. He brought information against Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, for allowing Puritans in his diocese; and Abbot, the Archbishop, fell into disfavour for refusing to license the sermon above quoted, a duty which Laud, at that time Bishop of Bath and Wells, and who was now rising in importance, performed for him.

Dr. Manwaring's sermon.

Again, Dr. Manwaring preached that "the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes without common consent in Parliament doth oblige the subject's conscience on pain of eternal damnation." No wonder such doctrines as these from the pulpit excited uneasiness. Nor was the dread of the reintroduction of Catholicism so absurd as

it now seems. A reaction had set in throughout Europe, supported by the great successes of the imperial arms under Wallenstein and Tilly. In every instance that reaction had sprung from very small beginnings, and been carried out by the Jesuits. There was every appearance of the same process having been begun in England. The Queen's chapels were constantly crowded. It was becoming a fashionable thing to attend mass there. It seemed by no means improbable, especially in the presence of the growing High Church tendencies of the clergy, that the same success would attend the efforts of the Jesuits in England as abroad. On this point, however, we may fairly acquit Charles. He loved the High Church chiefly because it supported his prerogative, but he was firmly attached to the Church of England. At this very time he refused all applications for the increase of church room for the Catholics. "If the Queen's chapel was not big enough, she might hold her service in the hall. If the hall was not big enough, there was the park."

Danger of a Catholic reaction.

However, illegal taxation, the gathering of armed men, the apparent growth of Catholicism, and the open assertion of the doctrine of passive obedience, excited grave discontent. These discontents were brought to a head by the imprisonment of many important gentlemen who refused to pay the loan. The King was much incensed at their refusal. "None dare," we are told, "move the King on behalf of any gentleman refuser, for his heart is so inflamed in this business that he vows a perpetual remembrance as well as present punishment." The gentry who were apprehended were confined, some of them to certain districts, and others distributed among the prisons. The poorer class were ordered to assemble in London, and were thrust into the army.

Discontent increases.

The King's imprisonment of those who refused to pay the loan.

Five of the imprisoned gentlemen, Corbett, Darnell, Earle, Edward Hampden, and Heveningham, demanded a writ of Habeas Corpus. This is a writ directed to the gaoler, ordering him to produce his prisoner for trial, and to state the cause of his detention. On this occasion, the return made to the writ stated no cause of imprisonment, alleging that the prisoners were detained by special command of the King, signified by warrant of the Privy Council. Upon this return the prisoners were produced, and the legality of their detention argued. The point at issue was a very important one. The right of every man to be tried when detained in prison rests on the 29th section of the Magna Charta: "No free man shall be taken and imprisoned unless by lawful judgment of his peers, or

its legality questioned.

the law of the land." This enactment had been frequently overruled by the King's Council, which claimed extraordinary powers, a grievance which was provided against in the 25th of Edward III.: "No one shall be taken by petition or suggestion to the King, unless it be by indictment or presentment, or by writ original at the common law." It seems, however, to have been unquestioned that the Privy Council were allowed to commit a man to prison, and the real point to be decided was, Were they not, like any other magistrate, bound to show cause for such committal? To this it was replied that these prisoners were committed by special command of the King, and that that altered the case. All old precedents led to the belief that it was impossible for the King to supersede law, yet the decision of the judges was in favour of the Crown. The authority on which the Chief-Justice, Sir Nicholas Hyde, rested, was a petition or declaration of the judges in the thirty-fourth year of Elizabeth, addressed to Hatton and Cecil, which seemed to imply that if the committal were made at the King's special command the ordinary course of law was overruled: "We think that if any person shall be committed by her Majesty's special commandment or by order from the Council Board, is good cause for the same Court (the King's Bench) to leave the said person in custody." The sentence being ungrammatical, is not very clear, but such as it is it formed the chief basis of a judgment which virtually annihilated one of the most important clauses of the great Charter.

While this great trial was pending, the money and troops which the King had collected had been employed. The expedition directed against a new enemy had been as disastrous as its predecessor. Not content with having a war with Spain upon his hands, as well as his domestic difficulties, Charles had plunged into a war with France, and sent a great armament against the Isle of Rhé.

The junction between France and England had been a mere whim of Charles and Buckingham, but they had found that the hopes it held out of a Protestant policy had brought them popularity. Unable to understand the great views of Richelieu, the necessity under which he was of establishing domestic unity, and the importance to the general cause of Protestantism of united action, and bent solely upon the acquisition of popularity at home, the King and his Minister had been rapidly estranged from the French Court. The Treaty of Monçon, which appeared to them a desertion, gave the first blow to their friendship. Disappointed

Judges decide
for the Crown.

War with
France.

Charles's reasons
for helping the
Huguenots.

at the failure of the negotiations between Louis and the Protestants, which they had been mainly instrumental in setting on foot, and vexed at finding themselves after all compelled to bear the unpopularity which attended the loan of the ships, Charles and Buckingham had lent a willing ear to the persuasions of the Huguenot envoys. They had more than once interfered in no very conciliatory manner on behalf of the Protestants; and now, believing that an open support of that party would secure their immediate popularity, did not shrink from an entire reversal of their late policy. Private reasons made them the more ready to adopt this line of action. Buckingham quarrelled with Richelieu, as he had quarrelled with Olivarez, and is said to have insulted the French by his vanity in aspiring to the love of the Queen. Charles had found his wife's household so disagreeable, so inclined to make mischief between himself and his wife, and in their ostentatious Catholicism so repulsive to the nation, that he had felt himself compelled, after several stormy scenes, to drive them ignominiously from the country. The great fleet and army therefore, which was nominally intended for an attack upon the Algerines, directed its course towards La Rochelle. No step could have been devised more injurious to the Protestant interests; it drove France and Spain for the moment to lay aside their enmity, and to join to uphold the Catholic cause. Nor had proper measures been taken for the reception of the fleet at La Rochelle. Unable to understand so sudden a change of policy on the part of England, the inhabitants at first refused admission to the fleet, and were only after much persuasion induced to assume a position of open rebellion. Meanwhile Buckingham had attempted to secure a basis of operations by conquering the Isle of Rhé. The open country was easily mastered, but Toyras, the governor, retired to the strong fortress of St. Martin, and when a blockade of eleven weeks was rendered futile by the revictualling of the fort, Buckingham found himself compelled to withdraw his troops. He re-embarked them, after a disastrous action in which he lost more than 1200 men; and this second expedition of the reign returned home with as little success as the one which had preceded it. Its arrival added fresh difficulties to the King, fresh grievances to the people. Honour forbade that the Huguenots should be thus deserted. Without money any renewed effort was impossible. It became necessary to summon a new Parliament. Meanwhile the nation felt bitterly its loss of honour, and the country groaned under the outrages of the mutinous and unpaid soldiery.

Disastrous
expedition
to Rhé.

The third Parliament of the reign assembled March 17, 1628. The King did what he could to secure a favourable election. More than seventy gentry who had been imprisoned for refusing the loan were liberated. Arundel and Bristol, who had been restored to confinement after the last Parliament, with Abbot the Archbishop, whose Puritan tendencies had brought him into disgrace, were allowed to take their seats in the House of Lords. These steps were taken in vain. Many of the released prisoners were returned to the Parliament. Even in Westminster the opposition candidates were elected, and all the four members for London were men who had suffered for refusing the loan. The King's opening speech was not conciliatory. "Take not this for threatening," he said, "I scorn to threaten any but my equals." The Lord Keeper Coventry, who had succeeded Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, on his disgrace in that office, added, "His Majesty is resolved that his affairs cannot permit him to expect aid over long." Unmoved by these admonitions, the House at once proceeded to consider grievances, and following the tactics they had already adopted, they promised five subsidies, but refused to pass the Bill granting them till grievances were redressed. The first point brought forward was naturally the late trial with reference to the Habeas Corpus. The discussion was long, and frequently interrupted by messages from the Crown to hasten supply.

With an ill-judged assumption of power, the King declared there should be no Easter holidays. This was a flagrant breach of Parliamentary privileges. "This House," said Coke "always adjourns itself." A fresh message demanded that a day should be appointed for the completion of the five subsidies. Then Sir Thomas Wentworth moved, in plain words, that "grievances and supplies should go hand in hand." On this the House acted; a succession of petitions were sent up against grievances, which were ultimately incorporated in one great petition, known as the Petition of Right. The points of that petition were four, meeting the great grievances under which the nation was at that time suffering. (1) That no man be compelled to pay loan, benevolence, or tax, without consent of Parliament, or be molested or disquieted for the refusal of it. (2) That no subject should be imprisoned without cause shown. (3) That soldiers and mariners should not be billeted on the people without their will. (4) That no commission should be issued in time of peace to try subjects by martial law. It was usual, when the King gave his consent to a petition, to use the words, "Let right be done as is desired." Instead of this comprehensive formula, the King

Third
Parliament.
March 17, 1628.

The Petition
of Right.
May 28.

returned a lengthened reply in the following terms: "The King willeth that right be done according to the customs and laws of the realm, and that the Statute be put in execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrongs or oppression contrary to their rights and privileges, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as well obliged as of his prerogative."

The King's
evasive answer.
June 2.

This answer appeared very unsatisfactory to the House; it was regarded as the work of Buckingham. Till that time the Duke's name had been carefully kept in the background. "All this time," said Selden, "we have cast a mantle on what was done last Parliament, but now, being driven again to look on that man, let us proceed with what was then well begun." A message came from the King announcing the speedy close of the Parliament, and bidding them undertake no new business, and least of all cast aspersions on the ministers. Sir John Elliot, speaking on this point, was checked by Finch, the Speaker, a creature of the Court. The House was much excited. "Let us sit in silence," said Sir Dudley Digges; "we are miserable." The excitement rose to such a pitch that tears were freely shed. At length Sir Edward Coke spoke the feeling of the House in a direct attack upon the Duke. The Speaker begged leave to retire for half an hour; and the House, that it might speak more freely, dissolved itself into Committee. The Speaker was absent three hours in conference with the King, during which time the House gave free vent to its pent-up indignation. On his return, the Speaker announced that the King would meet the Houses on the following morning. The members separated in full expectation of a sudden dissolution, but the Speaker seems to have made the King clearly understand the determined feeling of the House, and when Charles met them the following day (June 7th) he tore his evasive answer from the petition, and ordered the usual words, "Soit droit fait comme il est désiré," to be appended in its place.

Scene in the
House.
June 8.

The Commons and the nation were alike triumphant at this success; their gratitude for it was at once shown by the completion of the grant of the five subsidies. But they naturally concluded that, having obtained sanction for the Petition of Right, they were at liberty to act at once upon it. They therefore proceeded to examine into those grievances which were most obviously in contravention of it. They first of all attacked and declared the illegality of a Commission, established just before the beginning of this Parliament, for examining into the possible means of raising

Triumph of
the House.

money. This they regarded, not unnaturally, as an apparatus for discovering the best methods of illegal taxation. They then proceeded with their attack on Buckingham, and drew up a Remonstrance, declaring him the cause of all the evils which the Petition was to rectify. Thirdly, they asserted the illegality of the collection of tonnage and poundage in accordance with the Petition of Right. In all probability the King had really not understood these customs to be included; in the bill itself the word "imposition," which would have been the natural one to use for such a tax, had been omitted, and it is almost impossible not to regard this claim on the part of the Commons as an attempt to force on the King indirectly a new limitation of his power. They were still engaged in their remonstrance on this head, when the King, disgusted with the slight advantages his concessions had gained him, fearing for his favourite, and determined not to lose the tonnage and poundage, suddenly prorogued the House. This he did in a speech, putting his own interpretation on the Petition of Right, and concluding with the words: "That as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot be without, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure, to grant." The Parliament would not admit this interpretation of the Petition, they held that there was no ground for distinguishing tonnage and poundage from other sources of the revenue. It has been usual to assert that Charles's real intention was made clear the next day, when he stopped the printer, who had already struck off copies of the Petition and answer, and caused the first evasive answer to be reappended in the printed forms. In fact, however, he had both answers printed side by side, most probably with the intention of showing that their meaning was the same, though the expressions were different.

The Parliament was to reassemble in January 1629. In the interval affairs of considerable importance had taken place. In the first place, the Duke of Buckingham, the man whom the Commons had regarded as the cause of all evil, and who had kept their anger from falling direct upon the King, was assassinated. It had been thought necessary to continue the war-like attempts of the preceding year. An army was collected to relieve La Rochelle, against which the whole strength of the French kingdom, under the immediate orders of Richelieu, was now directed. Buckingham was to take charge of the expedition in person, to remove if possible the bad effects of his disaster. Preparations were being hurried on at Portsmouth, and the Duke was personally

Parliament
prorogued.
June 26.

Assassination
of Buckingham.
Aug. 23.

superintending them, when, as he was conversing with some of his subordinates, he was stabbed to the heart by Felton, who had served as a lieutenant in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé. The murderer declared that he had no accomplices, and was inspired solely by patriotic and religious zeal. It was indeed impossible but that the assaults upon Buckingham in Parliament should have produced an effect upon the popular mind. Already, before the adjournment, Dr. Lamb, the Duke's physician, had been murdered in London. Placards had been posted in the streets, asking "Who rules the Kingdom?—The King. Who rules the King?—Buckingham. Who rules Buckingham?—The Devil;" and the doggerel lines,

"Let George and Charles do what they can,
The Duke shall die like Dr. Lamb,"

were current in men's mouths. It was in spite of frequent warnings of the danger he would incur that the Duke had insisted on going to Portsmouth. There is no reason to disbelieve Felton's account, that it was the conviction of Buckingham's crimes that induced him to commit the murder. Buckingham had owed his elevation to his personal beauty, and to the dashing and attractive qualities he no doubt possessed. As a statesman he was absolutely inefficient. The cause of his extreme unpopularity among his contemporaries may well have been jealousy at the vast accumulation of titles and ranks which had been heaped upon him,¹ and the frivolous and overweening vanity which marked his public conduct. Graver charges, in the eyes of a student of history, are his misappreciation of the growth of popular force, and the ignorance of foreign politics, which induced him in mere caprice to plunge England into two important wars. He thus neutralized the power of both France and England, and by throwing France into alliance with Spain, in fact secured the defeat of that Protestant cause he was pretending to uphold.

On the immediate conduct of affairs in England his death produced no change. The King intended henceforward to be his own minister. Weston, lately made Lord Treasurer, hoped for a moment to secure some of the Duke's influence, but a greater man than he had now joined the Council of the King. The Court had induced several of its old opponents to throw aside their opposition. Saville and the lawyers Noy and Littleton had become devout courtiers; and

¹ He had been made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Knight of the Garter, Lord High Admiral, Chief-Justice in Eyre, Master of the King's Bench, High Steward of Westminster, Constable of Windsor Castle, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Warden of the Cinque Ports.

Buckingham's
character.

Wentworth, finding, it is probable, no career in what he regarded as a losing cause, had accepted a peerage, and became henceforward the mainstay of the Court. Meanwhile, the liberties of the subject, especially with regard to tonnage and poundage, were infringed as before. A man named Vassall had been imprisoned, and his goods seized, for refusing to pay extra customs, and the merchandize of Richard Chambers of London had been seized because he declined to pay tonnage and poundage. Nor had the sensitive religious jealousy of the people been left without fresh causes of irritation. Laud had been raised to the Bishopric of London, and Montague and Manwaring, though censured and condemned by Parliament, were pardoned and rewarded, the one with the Bishopric of Chichester, the other with large Church preferments. The mistrust with regard to religion had been still further increased by the discovery of a letter, among the papers of a Jesuit Society at Clerkenwell, which distinctly set forth that Arminianism was but the small end of the wedge, which the Jesuits had good hope of driving home.¹

The death of Buckingham, then, which might have softened the opposition, had had no such effect, and Parliament assembled, sore at the desertion of its leaders, at the continued disregard of the Petition of Right, and at what they regarded as a systematic effort to thwart their religious views. The violations of the Petition of Right were referred to a committee, which produced a speech from the Crown, urging the House at once to grant tonnage and poundage, and thus put an end to the matter. They chose rather to turn to their religious grievances. At the suggestion of Sir John Elliot, a general engagement was entered into to preserve the religion of the country; and the subject of the pardon of the Arminian clergy was again and again brought forward. The same spirit displayed itself with regard to the arbitrary taxes. All the instances of the neglect of the Petition of Right were brought forward; and at length Elliot made a personal assault on Laud, on Neil, Bishop of Winchester, and on the Lord Treasurer Weston. Upon the Speaker being requested to put to the vote the question before the House, he refused, saying he had received an order of adjournment from the King. Once again, after reassembling, the House was adjourned.

Finally, on the 2nd of March, the Speaker again declared that the

¹ "Now we have planted that sovereign drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their heresy; and it flourisheth and bears fruit in due season."

Wentworth the
mainstay of
the Court.

Parliament
reassembles.
Jan. 20.

King had ordered him to adjourn the House, and refused to put the question. In expectation of what might happen, and fearing a speedy dissolution, two members of the opposition, Denzel Holles and Valentine, had placed themselves on either side of the chair, and by force held the Speaker down when he strove to leave it. A scene of considerable disturbance ensued. In spite of his tears and entreaties, the Speaker was kept in his seat till Holles had read a protest, declaring that any one who should favour or countenance Popery or Arminianism, or counsel and advise the levying of subsidies not granted by Parliament, or should voluntarily pay any such subsidy, should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. While this was being read, the doors were locked, to guard against interruption; nor were the expectations of the Commons mistaken, for the King was intending an immediate dissolution. He sent for the Serjeant of the House, who was however forbidden to obey. He then sent the Usher of the House of Lords with a message. He was refused admittance. Finally, the Guard was sent with orders to break open the door. The appeal to force was not necessary; the protest having been read, the House had hurriedly adjourned and dispersed. The King immediately, without summoning the Commons, dissolved Parliament.¹ The chief actors in this scene, Holles, Elliot, Selden, Valentine, and others, were at once apprehended by orders of the Council.

Parliament
dissolved.
March 10.

Holles, Elliot and Valentine, were committed close prisoners to the Tower, and their studies and papers sealed up. The conduct of the King throughout this session leads to the supposition that he had little hope of establishing amicable relations with Parliament. At all events the effort was now over. He was determined to rule without one. The false notion of the Stuarts with regard to the position of the sovereign in England, and their favourite theory of Divine right, had produced the natural result. Popular sovereignty was at an end, an undisguised arbitrary government had taken its place.

Clarendon asserts of this time, that it was one of such order and prosperity, that England was the envy of foreign countries; but on more than one occasion he suffers to escape him a list of evils which much modifies the assertion. In fact, it is probable that, as is frequently the case with despotic governments, Government without Parliaments, commerce was protected, wealth was acquired, and an external show of prosperity was the result. But the Government was such, that beneath the outward calm, violent passions and universal

Government
without
Parliaments.

¹ The Proclamation of Dissolution, signed March 2, was issued March 10.

discontent were concealed; and this discontent was excited not only in England, but in the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland also. In the absence of the Parliament, by which alone money can be legally granted, the great difficulty which must beset a government is the collection of revenue. For this purpose Charles had recourse to means all illegal, or at all events touching the verge of illegality, and all of them onerous. He at first proceeded on the assumption that the subsidy promised, but not completed, was fairly his. It was raised with the greatest severity throughout the country. He next revived obsolete laws, from which he hoped to derive revenue, and for this purpose he caused an examination of the boundaries of the forests. Grants, and the growth of cultivation, had undoubtedly much diminished the old extent of the forests. The object of the examination was to restore to the Crown all that had been separated from them, or at least to compel the present owners to pay heavy fines or large annual rents for what they held. It is said that the jurors in such cases were men living in the forest purlieus, and consequently open to undue influences, and liable to give unjust verdicts. Two or three instances will explain the importance of this measure. A correspondent, in 1635, writes to the Lord-Deputy of Ireland that "all Essex has become forest, and so they say will all the counties of England but three—Kent, Surrey, and Sussex." Lord Southampton, who held part of the New Forest, found his income likely to be changed from £2500 to £500. The bounds of Rockingham Forest were increased from six to sixty miles; and holders of grants in it from Queen Elizabeth were fined sums varying from £20,000 to £3000. In the same way Charles revived the old law of knighthood. All £40 holders who had not taken up their knighthood were fined, and as the change in the value of money rendered many men of that class wholly unfit for the rank of knighthood, they preferred being fined to taking the title. £100,000 is said to have been thus collected. The Statute of the 31st Elizabeth, passed with the intention of checking the extension of large holdings, had forbidden the erection of cottages on less than four acres of land. The execution of this law is said by a contemporary "to vex the poor mightily, it is far more burdensome than the ship-money." All sorts of matters beyond the cognizance of common law, such as quarrels, or speaking ill of the Government, were brought before the Star Chamber, and enormous and exorbitant fines exacted. No less than £6,000,000 is said to have been raised by fines during this period. The severity of these fines, and the trivial grounds on which they were exacted, is shown

Financial
schemes.

by the fact, that Lord Morley was on one occasion fined no less than £20,000; while we find Strafford urging that Sir David Fowles and his son should be fined £2000 apiece to the King, and £2000 to himself, for having said that he, Strafford, was no more accounted of at Court than an ordinary man. In addition to these, the King found means to raise large sums of money by the establishment and sale of monopolies. Scarcely anything even of the most common use was exempted from this indirect form of taxation. Coal, salt, iron, soap, leather, tobacco, beer, butter, linen, hops, and buttons, were all in the hands of monopolists. The patents were usually granted to companies, who paid largely for them. Thus the patentees for a new soap, which experience proved to be very bad, agreed to pay £30,000 for two years, and £40,000 for ever after.

But these were after all temporary and extraordinary means. A fixed revenue was desirable, and a plan was devised by the renegade lawyer Noy, in 1634, for supplying this want. This was the famous ship-money, by which the counties were called upon to supply shipping, nominally for the defence of the country. It was at first inflicted on the maritime parts of the kingdom only; and the excuses that were alleged were the incursions of the Algerine pirates and the naval supremacy of the Dutch. From the first it was very unpopular. "I had rather," writes Garrard, the same correspondent of the Lord Deputy that has been before mentioned, "give ten subsidies in Parliament than this old new plan of Noy's." Subsequently, by the advice of Finch, Speaker of the third Parliament, and afterwards Chief-Justice, it was extended to all the counties. "When the whole kingdom was in danger," he said, "the whole charge ought to be maintained by all the subjects of the realm." It amounted to about £220,000 a year, and was at first employed according to its original intention. A large English fleet was kept in the narrow seas, with orders to assert the supremacy of the national flag. But the principle was so obviously capable of extension that Strafford said of it: "Let the King only abstain from war for three years, that he may habituate his subjects to the payment of this tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors." It is not to be supposed that so large a measure as this could be carried out without opposition, although Finch, a well-known and subservient instrument of the Court, had been made Chief-Justice for the express purpose of giving his judgment in favour of it, and had succeeded in persuading his fellow Judges to join him for that purpose. It was a gentleman

Ship-money.
1634.

of the name of John Hampden who undertook to bring the question of the legality of ship-money before the courts of law. Hampden's opposition to it. The trial was as important as the preceding one on the Habeas Corpus. In that the personal freedom of all Englishmen was at stake, in this nothing less than the possibility of the establishment of a non-parliamentary rule. The issue was tried on a small point. In 1637, John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, was assessed at twenty shillings for his property in Stoke Mandeville. On his refusing to pay, the question was tried before all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber. For six days the argument continued—Banks and Littleton were counsels for the Crown; Oliver St. John for Hampden. The chief points relied on by Hampden's counsel were, that the precedents were not applicable, that the necessity was not urgent, and that the imposition of the tax was in distinct opposition not only to the old statutes, but to the Petition of Right. But the Judges, with Finch at their head, were creatures of the Court. Their judgments were couched in the strongest language in favour of the prerogative. "No Act of Parliament," said Finch, "can bar the King of his regality. Acts of Parliament to take away his royal power in defence of his kingdom are void, or Acts to bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons, their property, and, I say, their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any difference." Importance of the decision to the Crown. Seven of the Judges gave their judgments in favour of the Crown, five in favour of Hampden, but of these, two only, Hutton and Crook, upon the merits of the case. The judgment seemed to make the King's position unassailable.

If illegal oppression, for a moment triumphant, was producing a vast amount of suppressed discontent, the action of the High Church party was even more disastrous. Unpopular action of the Church. The principle of popular sovereignty, which lay at the bottom of both their creeds, closely united the patriotic party with the Puritans, and forced into strict alliance the upholders of high prerogative and the High Church. As the King's chief adviser in secular matters was Wentworth, though he was generally absent from England, so in Church matters was Laud, and they were both devoted to a plan of action which they called by the name of "Thorough," and which consisted in suppressing, with a strong hand and immediately, all attempts to question their authority. There were many things which excited the fears of the Puritans. Arminianism had become the Court religion. Laud was known to look with no great dislike upon the reli-

gion of Rome; and a plan of reconciliation with that Church had been formed. A Cardinal's hat had been demanded from Rome; it was at first believed for Laud himself, but as subsequently appeared for a Papal agent of the name of Conn. An accredited agent from the Roman Court was accepted in London; and a considerable number both of courtiers and Bishops had expressed to him their willingness to accept some scheme of comprehension. Moreover, the Court of High Commission had rendered itself disagreeable by intermeddling in private morality, and by the infliction of exorbitant fines, backed up by the authority of the Star Chamber. Laud, too, was evidently aiming at restoring the Church to something of its old political importance. He was himself in fact Prime Minister, and introduced Juxon, Bishop of London, to the Council, in the position of Lord-Treasurer.

Popular dislike to this conduct showed itself in four notable instances. In 1630, a clergyman of the name of Leighton Four instances of opposition. had written a book called "Sion's Plea against Prelacy," full of strong language against the Bishops and against the Queen. At Laud's instigation he was brought before the Star Chamber, fined £10,000, whipped, pilloried, branded, slit in the nostrils, and imprisoned for life. Prynne, a lawyer, had, in 1632, published a work against stage-plays called "Histrio-Mastix," which was held to reflect upon the conduct of the Queen in taking part in the Court masks. He also was Star-Chambered, fined heavily, deprived of his ears, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. From his prison he continued to write, and published a work called "News from Ipswich," in which the Bishops are spoken of by the somewhat scurrilous title of "Luciferian Lords." John Bastwick, a fellow-prisoner, followed his example in a book called "Elenchus Papismi." Henry Burton also produced his "Apology." The language of all these books is undoubtedly strong. With one the Bishops are like "devils in surplises," with another "dumb dogs, antichristian mushrooms, and limbs of the Beast;" but the punishment of the writers was scarcely proportionate to their offence. They were brought before the Star Chamber, and, besides being fined and cropped, were imprisoned for life beyond the limits of England; Bastwick in the Scilly Isles, Burton and Prynne in the Channel Islands. It might have shown the Government something of the hidden feeling of the country, that not less than 100,000 people are said to have lined the roads to watch their departure, as though it were a triumph.

The chief machinery on which the upholders of the "Thorough"

system relied was the Star Chamber and the venal courts of law. How the Judges acted has been mentioned with regard to the ship-money. The Star Chamber was in fact the Privy Council acting in its judicial capacity. Historically the lineal descendant of the old "Concilium ordinarium" of the Plantagenets, its power, as a judicial body, had been reconstituted by Wolsey for the purpose of taking cognizance of failures of justice, or of illegal acts on the part of men too important to be safely left to the action of common law. This undefined authority the Council had now increased, till, as has been seen, nearly any speech or action, by which the authority of Government was questioned, was brought within its cognizance, to the total subversion of that personal freedom which the common law secures.

While thus, under a show of successful and even prosperous despotism, the seeds of the bitterest discontent were being sown in England, the same process was going on both in Ireland and Scotland. Wentworth, shortly after his desertion of the popular cause, had been appointed President of the Council of the North, a Council originally established in 1536, after the great Northern insurrection. Under Wentworth it was re-organized into an arbitrary court upon the model of the Star Chamber, with a right of staying proceedings at common law by injunction, and of apprehending persons by its serjeant in any part of the realm. In 1633, Wentworth was able to extend his arbitrary rule still further. In that year he was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland, without resigning his position in the North.

On the accession of James I. all the bygone treasons of the Irish were for the moment forgiven. O'Donnell, one of the rebel chiefs, was made Earl of Tyrconnel, and O'Neil reinstated in his position. Gentleness was mistaken for cowardice, and Tyrconnel and O'Neil were soon again conspiring against England. The failure of their conspiracy and their flight from the country allowed their property to be confiscated to the Crown, and a large part of Ulster, including Derry, Tyrone, Cavan, and Armagh, fell into the hands of the Crown—in all some 2,000,000 acres. Three quarters of the worst land was restored to the Irish, the rest was retained for systematic colonization. There was no difficulty in finding volunteers, mostly of Puritan opinions, who were willing to submit to the conditions imposed upon the intending colonists. The effect was extraordinary; the decaying trade revived; new industries were opened, especially the manufac-

The Star Chamber.

Wentworth President of the North and Lord-Deputy.

Colonization of Ulster. 1608.

ture of linen, the breeding of cattle, and the growing of wool. In this prosperity the industrious Irish shared; all diversities of race were, as far as possible, destroyed.

There was, however, a large population of dispossessed landowners, who lived a life of idleness and disturbance, and against whom Acts of Parliament had to be passed. These formed a dangerous class, and the policy of England would have been to unite all the Protestant interests of the country to oppose it. Unfortunately there were two classes of Protestants, the one consisting of the Scotch colonists in the North, and many of the new settlers who were Puritans, and the other of those English who had passed over in Elizabeth's time, and who were drawn from a higher class, to whom Puritanism was hateful. Of course, to Laud and to Charles it appeared necessary, before all things, that this party should be raised to prominence, and the Northern Puritans suppressed. It was felt, too, that Ireland might supply troops, which, in case of difficulty, might help to suppress any Puritan movement in England. To carry out these views, Wentworth assumed the viceroyalty. His first measures were directed towards allaying the discontent which the Government of the last few years had caused, and which bade fair to neutralize all the advantages gained in the preceding reign.

The old Irish difficulties were reviving in all their vehemence, and Papists, Churchmen, and Puritans were on the verge of open fighting. The army had almost disappeared, 1350 foot and 200 horse were all that remained, and these consisted chiefly of substitutes, receiving about a fourth of their nominal pay, their officers (for the most part Privy Councillors) appropriating the remainder. A more efficient army was absolutely necessary. The country was put under the government of Lord Falkland. But the only way of supporting the new army was by putting it at free quarters. Driven to despair by this project, the Irish offered to pay a large voluntary contribution, £100,000, at the rate of £10,000 a quarter, if they could get certain concessions or *graces* granted. The list of these *graces* explains from what they suffered. They desired relief from illegal taxation by the courts, from illegal payments to the soldiery, from illegal monopolies, from the religious penal statutes, and from the constant inquiry into titles, which was a fruitful source of revenue, but which rendered every man's property insecure. All this was to be ratified by an Irish Parliament. But Falkland unfortunately issued the writs for that Parliament without attention to the requirements of Poyning's Law. Consequently the Parliament was declared null. Still the Catholics, believing that the relief contained in the *graces* would be

Falkland's government. 1628.

given them, began openly to declare their rights, and to establish a Roman Catholic seminary. When Falkland issued a proclamation against their proceedings, the Catholics, full of anger, joined the Protestants in demanding the promised graces, and in refusing to pay the voluntary contribution till they were conceded. His government having proved a failure, Falkland withdrew to England. For a few months the government by Lords-Justices made things worse. Voluntary contribution was threatening to cease altogether.

The sole hope now lay in Wentworth. He at once changed the character of the government. He wrote to prohibit the action of the justices, and when they declared that the legal fine of a shilling a Sunday upon all recusants was the only visible resource left, he declared himself against it, as destroying the whole confidence of the Catholics, and asserted that he could with ease secure a new voluntary subscription. He came with almost full power. "It is impossible for me," he said, "to remedy the evils, unless I be entirely trusted and livelily assisted and countenanced by his Majesty." His views were the same as they had been in the North. In Ireland he had more scope for carrying them out. There, as in a conquered country, the King in Council had originally had the power of superseding the common law. By degrees, as civilization gathered strength, this privilege had sunk into disuse; Falkland had wholly abandoned it. But Wentworth did not intend to allow so good a means of establishing his arbitrary authority to lie dormant; whatever his words may have been, it is certain that he intended to treat Ireland again as a conquered country. "These lawyers," he writes, "would monopolize all judicature, as if no honour or justice could be rightly administered but under one of their bencher's gowns. I am sure they little understand the unsettled state of this kingdom that could advise the King to lessen the power of his Deputy. Therefore, I beseech you, assist me therein; I shall be answerable for my head." Consequently the Castle Court assumed as dominant a position as the Star Chamber or the Court of York in England. Wentworth's personal predominance secured the renewal of the voluntary grant. But he was not contented. He wanted an army to suppress opposition, the army must be paid, and the payment must not be precarious; there was no way to secure such an income but by Parliament. It was not without persuasion that he overcame Charles's dislike to such assemblies. In a most curious despatch he explained his plans, and removed his master's objections. His chief reliance was on Poynings' Law. By that law nothing could be proposed in the Irish Parliament which had not first been approved by

Wentworth's
government.
1633.

the English Council. The Act was doubtless intended to place the initiative in the English Council as a safeguard against the influence of the great Irish chiefs or overweening deputies. But the letter of the law was with Wentworth; he made the best of it. "The mighty power," he said, "gotten by the wisdom of former ages must be preserved with hallowed care." It was thus he made use of it: the Parliament which was to be summoned was to be divided into two sessions—the first to be occupied entirely with matters of finance; the second, it was promised, should be given to the confirmation of the graces. The letter in which he explains his plans lays bare what is simply a monstrous trick to secure absolutism. The first session having been successful, and the money granted, in the second session, in virtue of Poynings' Law, only such graces should be introduced as the King may please. In other words, the money was to be taken and the price refused. If the Parliament refused the money, the world would approve of extreme measures, if they started aside, the general peace abroad admitted of their chastisement. But such extremes were not likely to be necessary; the Parliament was to be judiciously packed. A number of military officers were to be elected, while the remainder of the members were to be balanced equally between Catholics and Protestants. If the Catholics made objections to the supplies, the weekly shilling for recusancy was to be demanded from them; if the Protestants objected, they were to be told that the voluntary subscription must remain in force. With his usual pomp, and with the words, that "if they expected protection without contribution towards it, they looked for more than had ever been the portion of a conquered kingdom," Wentworth opened the session. His "bullying manner," he says, "answered well." Six subsidies were granted. But in the second session the Parliament found how they had been duped. Wentworth openly asserted that he had not even sent the graces to England, and, justifying himself with Poynings' Law, refused to introduce them. The Catholics made some feeble resistance, but before the close of the session Wentworth wrote, "The King is now as absolute here as any prince in the world can be, and may be still, if not spoiled on that side."

The Ulster Protestants were to be forced to become Episcopalians. High Church Bishops were sent among them, a Court of High Commission established, the Act of Uniformity universally applied, a new body of Canons passed, and Commissioners sent down to the North to secure the dismissal of Puritan ministers. The persecution was so severe that many men took refuge in the woods. The

He explains his
plans in a letter.

threatening position of the Roman Catholic Irish prevented the Puritans, thus persecuted, from thinking of insurrection. It was upon England alone, in some shape or other, that they could rely. Wentworth knew this when persecuting them. He felt he was secure from any effort of theirs.

Nor had he the least intention of letting Ireland fall back into its native anarchy. On the contrary, he determined to proceed with the colonization, and to settle Connaught. This country was still exclusively Irish. In order to get possession of it, Wentworth insisted on the examination of title-deeds. A vast number of the proprietors had no such deeds to show, and four-fifths of the land fell into the hands of the Crown. Wentworth's proceedings were of the most high-handed character. In spite of the King's promise, that no claim beyond sixty years should be revived, he set no limits to his inquiries; and the juries who failed to find verdicts according to his wishes fared but badly. He had thus succeeded in exciting the anger both of the Celtic Roman Catholic population and of the Puritans of the North. But he was still able, when the contest between parties was growing to a head, to take advantage of deep-set religious differences, and to array against the Puritans from Scotland an army of Roman Catholics. But when that army was subsequently disbanded on the demand of Parliament, the Puritans being hostile and the Roman Catholics estranged, there was no important party whom the King could trust, and the Great Rebellion of 1641 was the consequence.

The same ecclesiastical policy which had thus alienated the Puritans of Ireland was the chief cause of the hostility of Scotland. Charles determined to follow up the designs of his father. It will be remembered that the great difficulty that King had found in the restoration of Episcopacy was the transference which had taken place of Church property into the hands of the laity. In 1626 and 1628, Charles announced that all grants would be resumed, whether they had been given before or after the great Act of 1587. Even tithes were to be restored: "An Act which was the groundstone," says Sir John Balfour, "of all the mischief that followed it." To attempt the restoration of Church property was to touch the nobility in their tenderest point; and they thenceforward became the determined opponents of the Crown. Finally, after much disputing, the lay proprietors agreed to arbitration, and a series of private lawsuits settled the question. The tithes were

He attempts the colonization of Connaught. 1636.

Consequent discontent of natives and Puritans.

Scotland.

Church property resumed. 1628.

changed into a fixed rent charge; and these arbitrations and arrangements were ratified by the Parliament in 1633. Still there was much mistrust on the part of the laity, and they still feared, we are told, that the Church would find means, in spite of the arrangements, to get back all its property, which would amount to about a third of the kingdom.

In this same year Charles visited his Northern kingdom, and was there crowned; but, with his usual want of tact, contrived to quarrel with his Parliament. In the first place, he tampered with the election of the Lords of the Articles, as that Committee was called which prepared measures to be introduced into the Scotch Parliament. This body was very different in structure from the English Parliament. It consisted of Lords spiritual and temporal, deputies from the royal burghs, and representatives of the lesser tenants *in capite*; but though the voting was by order, there was no division into Houses, all orders sat together, and the vote was taken by a simple Yes or No on the measures introduced by the Lords of the Articles, no amendment being allowed. The consequence of this arrangement was to give the Lords of the Articles great influence, and they were frequently able to tack obnoxious clauses to bills which were too good to be wholly rejected; thus, on the present occasion, to a bill declaring the royal prerogative was added a clause arranging the apparel of the clergy. To make matters worse, Charles himself sat in the Parliament, and made note of those who voted against his wishes. This question of the apparel of the clergy gained more importance from the ritualistic observances of the King's Chapel, and when Laud returned to London, he issued an order that "the whites," as the clerical dress was called, should be universally worn. The whites were much hated by the Presbyterians; by some they were even regarded as an idolatrous remnant of the dress of the priests of Isis. From this time onward the efforts of Laud to assimilate the Church of Scotland with that of England were continued. He made Spottiswood of St. Andrews High Chancellor and President of the Council, and in pursuance of his plan for introducing the Church into the secular government, he obtained the admission of four other Bishops to the Council. Having become Archbishop of Canterbury, he assumed supremacy over the Scotch Church. At his orders, and without any ecclesiastical meeting, Canons were introduced. Thus arbitrarily promulgated, they were generally regarded at once as illegal and as "subjecting the nation to the discipline of a

Charles visits Scotland, and quarrels with the Parliament. 1633.

Laud's ritualistic measures.

His illegal Canons.

foreign Church." Thus, by the year 1636, everything had been done to excite discontent. The powers and privileges of Parliament had been tampered with by the King's presence, and in the election of the Lords of the Articles; the royal prerogative had encroached upon the freedom of the nation, by the publication of the Canons on its own authority; a forced submission to the English Church discipline had hurt the national feeling; ritualism had shocked

*Introduction of
the Service
Book.*

the religious prejudices of the Presbyterians; the nobles had lost much of their ecclesiastical property. The introduction of the new Service Book was the spark which lighted the conflagration. Service Books had not been unknown in Scotland. Knox himself had issued one; but the use of such books was now rendered imperative; and not only were English forms introduced, but in the Communion Service changes were made which seemed to tend towards Popery. The new Service Book was to be read at Easter 1637. It was unwisely put off till July, during which time opposition grew stronger. The reading of it in St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh produced an uproar. A stool was thrown at the reader's head; the Bishop was with difficulty smuggled to his house. The opposition to the book was universal. By most of the clergy it was given up; but the Bishop of Brechin, we are told, did contrive to read the service, surrounded by his wife and servants, all armed, with locked doors. On coming out, however, he had to run for his life. The opposition took the form of supplications or petitions against the book. These were innumerable. At length a reply came to them, punishing Edinburgh by removing the Government to Linlithgow, and ordering the expulsion of all strangers. The effect of this was to make the excitement stronger. The Town Council was besieged; the Bishop of Galloway attacked; Lord Traquair, the Treasurer, hustled.

At last, so great was the disturbance, that, by the consent of all parties, an organization called The Tables was arranged. The Tables or Boards consisted of four representatives from each of the classes—nobles, lesser barons, burgesses and clergy, and being representative, it was virtually a Parliament, while the usual parliamentary balance of parties was wanting, as it consisted entirely of members of the opposition. The Tables and the Council entered into a constitutional struggle. Every proclamation of the Crown was met by a protest, which in Scotch law is held to postpone, at all events, the validity of the document against which it is directed. A game of hide and seek, ridiculous enough but for the important point at

*Uproars in
Edinburgh.*

The Tables.

issue, was played between the Council and the Protesters, who made a point of being present with a protest whenever a proclamation was read. At length, on the advice of Hope, the King's advocate, and of Johnstone of Warriston, it was determined to renew the Covenant, which had been originally drawn up in Elizabeth's reign at the time of the Catholic crisis. The document was accepted in its old form, with all the vehement language due to the critical time in which it had been written.¹ It was first signed in the Greyfriars' churchyard, and then sent through Scotland for signatures. People crowded to the churches to accept it; some, we are told, in their excitement keeping their seats there from Friday to Sunday.

*Renewal of
the Covenant.
1638.*

Things had reached such a pitch that the King thought it necessary to send a High Commissioner. Hamilton, the King's cousin, was chosen. The Covenanters demanded the abolition of the Court of High Commission, of the Service Book and Canons, a free Parliament, and a General Assembly. The Commissioners required an entire renunciation of the Covenant. After a lengthened struggle, to the surprise of all men, the King suddenly surrendered. All the claims of the Covenanters were granted, and a General Assembly was summoned to meet at Glasgow, in which the Bishops were to be brought to trial. The meaning of this sudden change of policy was, that the King had determined to appeal to arms, and had desired Hamilton to gain time by any means in his power. In 1637, the outbreak of popular anger against the Service Book had occurred in Edinburgh. In April 1638 the unsuccessful issue of Hampden's appeal to law against the ship-money had been made known. In October of the same year the Tables had been organized, and the Covenant accepted by Scotland; and now, in November, the General Assembly met at Glasgow. The course of that Assembly was grand and orderly. The Tables had contrived that there should be a considerable number of lay members present in it, and these drawn from the highest ranks of the nobility. It thus became virtually, although not in name, a Parliament. It busied itself, however, as was its duty, with ecclesiastical matters. Hopes were entertained that Hamilton, the Commissioner who held it, would remain till it had completed its work, and give it a show of legality. He remained while the preliminary work was being done, but when the Assembly proceeded to its real business, and declaring itself competent to inquire into the conduct of the Bishops, prepared to hear charges against them,

*Claims of the
Covenanters
granted to
gain time.*

*General Assembly
of 1638.*

¹ See pp. 496, 534.

he withdrew, and made public declaration that the Assembly was dissolved. In spite of this, it continued its work, found all the Bishops guilty of Popish practices and immoral conduct, annulled all the Acts of preceding Assemblies from the year 1606,¹ thus abolishing the Five Articles of Perth, condemned the Service Book and the Canons, and closed its session with declaring that Episcopacy and the acceptance of the Five Articles of Perth were contrary to the Confession of Faith.

It was plain that war was inevitable, and the Tables had been engaged in preparing for it. Nor was the risk in truth very great. Scotland, with the exception of the country round Aberdeen, which was under the influence of the Marquis of Huntly and shared in the views of the Court, was united, and at this time stronger than England. The country was full of experienced soldiers, who had returned from the Thirty Years' War, and were glad to find employment in their own country, under the command of Field-Marshal Alexander Leslie, who had returned from abroad, and had been appointed commander-in-chief. An army thus organized was certain to be vastly superior to the raw levies of England. Moreover, although the ship-money trial had given a fallacious appearance of triumph to the Crown in England, and supplied it with a revenue sufficient for time of peace, the Scots were not ignorant of the real feeling of the bulk of the English nation. Their objects, and those of the English Reformers, were so much alike, that it was impossible but that there should be sympathy between them.

They had also applied successfully to France, where Richelieu was glad of an opportunity of revenging himself upon Charles for his former support of the Huguenots; for having more lately thwarted his plans in the Low Countries against Spain; and for having afforded asylum to Mary de Medici, the particular object of Richelieu's dislike. It was therefore with good heart that the Covenanters entered upon the war, with a formidable and well-drilled force of 22,000 foot and 500 horse. The numbers of this army, enormous in comparison with the population, show the general interest in the cause.

Charles had consulted his Council, and determined on war also. Strafford, indeed, conscious of the superiority of the Scotch discipline, recommended a war of defence, with the army occupying a threatening position on the Borders. But Charles, misled by the appearance of tranquillity in England, believing that

Preparations
for war.
1639.

France helps
the Scotch.

Resources
of England.

¹ See page 606.

the national dislike of Scotland would come to his aid, and with a ridiculous misconception of the strength of the Scotch, was inclined for stronger measures. A large army was to meet at York. Hamilton, with 5000 men, was to join Huntly at Aberdeen. Antrim, with the Irish Scotch, and Strafford, with the Catholic army he was organizing, were to attack the West of Scotland. But the whole preparations were a sham; of Hamilton's troops scarce 200 knew how to fire a musket. Montrose had already decoyed Huntly into his power, and captured Aberdeen, and the temper of England began to be evident when the Lords Brook and Say refused to sign a declaration which the King offered them, asserting that the Covenanters were rebels. The Scotch advance was admirably managed, the commissariat was well supplied, and in the drill and arrangements the knowledge of Leslie and his old soldiers left nothing to be desired. The Covenanters still wished not to drive matters to extremity. They obeyed a proclamation which forbade them to approach within ten miles of the Border, and took up a position on the Hill of Dunse,¹ commanding all the roads from Berwick into Scotland.

Leslie at
Dunse Law.

The King found them so formidable, and had become so conscious of his own weakness, that he thought a treaty would be desirable. Indirect means were taken to convey this news to the Scotch; and before long commissioners appeared in the tent of the English general to discuss a pacification. During the first meeting (June 11), the King himself made his appearance among them, and from that time onwards conducted the negotiations in person. This was a characteristic error on the part of Charles; it rendered any subsequent disagreement a personal attack upon himself; and such a disagreement very speedily followed. The main points of the Pacification were, that a free Assembly and a free Parliament should be held, at which, if possible, Charles himself should be present; that meanwhile the royal castles should be restored, and the forces of the Covenanters disbanded. But though the Articles had been reduced to writing, there was a great deal of verbal matter not very clearly defined between the negotiators. Before the Scotch commissioners left Berwick, their view of the whole bearing of the treaty was drawn up in a paper and distributed among the chiefs of the English army. This paper Charles declared to be full of falsehoods, and caused it to be burnt by the hangman in London. Such conduct made it evident that the Pacification was not a real one. The Scotch,

Treaty of
Berwick.

¹ The Hill of Dunse was within the ten miles, still the halt there may be regarded as a real obedience to the command.

on their part, hesitated to give up the royal castles, and, while disbanding their army, kept together their experienced officers. The Assembly and the Parliament were in due course held, but the King was not present. As the Covenanters well knew would be the case when they made the Pacification, these Assemblies only ratified completely the work of the Assembly of 1638. The Parliament, before the completion of its session, was prorogued by Charles, but resumed its sittings in spite of this order. To set their conduct right with Charles, they had despatched two commissioners to London, one of whom was Lowdon, afterwards

Arrest of
Lowdon.

Chancellor. They were refused admittance to the King, and ordered to return, but were afterwards brought back to London, and Lowdon was there arrested. The cause of this arrest was a letter which had been intercepted, recommending a certain Mr. Colville as Scotch agent to Richelieu. Lowdon's name, with some others of the Scotch nobility, was appended to the letter, and there is indeed no doubt that negotiations were going on with France.

All these things showed the hollowness of the late truce. The King again determined upon war; but his money was now exhausted. He hoped for a moment to procure £150,000 for protecting a Spanish fleet which had been driven by the Dutch to take refuge in the Downs. But De Witt and Van Tromp forestalled the completion of the bargain, and attacked and destroyed the Spanish ships in the presence of the English fleet, which lay idly by. Charles was too weak to resent the insult, and accepted the apology of the Dutch. Disappointed of this means of recruiting his exchequer, he could find no resource left but an appeal to Parliament.

Short Parlia-
ment called in
expectation of
renewed war.

Both the King and his Council seem still to have believed in the general goodwill of the country, which he hoped still further to excite by the production of the Scotch letters to France. He had no intention of governing in a constitutional manner, but hoped that the spirit of England was sufficiently broken to enable him to use the Parliament as a means of obtaining supplies. The spirit in which it was assembled (April 13, 1640) is shown by the fact that the illegal exaction of ship-money and Privy Seals was continued without intermission. But when the opening for which they had been longing was once afforded them, the leaders of the popular party had no intention of allowing the oppor-

Parliament,
proceeding to
grievances,
is dissolved.

tunity to slip. No sooner was the Parliament opened, than Pym began the old tale of grievances. In vain the King begged them for subsidies, in vain did he offer

in exchange for twelve subsidies to resign for ever his claim on ship-money, the Commons felt that this would be acknowledging the legality of its previous exaction. The bargain was refused, or was on the point of being so, when the King in anger suddenly dissolved the Parliament, which had sat only from the 13th of April to the 5th of May.

With strange infatuation, all the old measures of exaction were continued with renewed energy. Laud, blind to the national feeling, insisted on the Convocation sitting illegally after the dissolution, and establishing a new code of Canons. These commanded that every clergyman should instruct his people in the sin of resistance to the Government, while in addition an oath was drawn up, in wide and indefinite terms, to be taken by all clergymen and all graduates, to uphold the doctrine and discipline of the English Church.

The army which was to be assembled at York was placed under the command of Lord Northumberland, while Lord Conway, as General of the Horse, was stationed at Newcastle. The English commanders still dreamed of a triumphant march. Northumberland writes to Conway that "there is no use thinking of fortifying towns, for we are going upon a conquest with such power, that nothing in that kingdom will be able to resist us." But when they came to assemble their army, their eyes began to be opened. Funds were scarcely procurable. The Londoners refused to pay when a forced loan was laid upon them, and it had to be given up. A scheme for the debasement of the coin had also to yield to the opposition of the merchants. It was with the greatest difficulty that the ship-money was collected; and the troops, as they were brought to the rendezvous, frequently mutinied and put their officers to death.¹ The army indeed was so little formidable that the Scotch, acting perhaps upon a forged letter which Lord Saville had shown to Lowdon and his fellow-commissioner when in England, and which promised support from the English Reformers, crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, beat Conway's forces at Newburn upon the Tyne, and established themselves in Northumberland and Durham; thus commanding the coal-fields of England, and putting a strong pressure upon the industry of the country.

Scotch invade
England.

¹ Colonel Lumford writes that a large number of his troops "had run away, that the hue and cry of the country have no effect in regaining them; we are daily assaulted by sometimes 500 of them together, and have hurt and killed some in our own defence, and are driven to keep together upon our guard." And again, "The Dorsetshire men in a barbarous manner murdered Lieutenant Moon, and threatened the rest of their commanders, insomuch that they all ran away, and the soldiers being now at liberty, in all probability will endanger the towns and country."—Bruce's *Treaty of Ripon*. Camden Society.

The King, now aware of his own weakness, determined to negotiate, and for that purpose summoned a great Council of Peers, a form of meeting which was in fact the old great Council of the Plantagenets, but which had been unused for centuries. Before this Council he laid the difficulties of the situation. A petition from London, signed by 10,000 names, and supported by a similar one from twelve Peers, entreated the King to summon a Parliament. The Council recommended a similar course. It became evident that that step was now necessary, and writs were issued for the 3rd of November. The Council of Peers was so far useful that their credit enabled them to supply the immediate want of money. On their own security they raised £200,000 for public purposes, and formal negotiations were opened at Ripon, where a preliminary arrangement was entered into, that until a final peace should be made, the Scotch army should remain in England, with a monthly payment of £40,000 from the English. The negotiations then adjourned to London, where the Parliament, subsequently known as the Long Parliament, was about to begin its session.

There was every appearance that this Parliament would be very different in character from the late one. The rapid dissolution of that assembly, and the continuation, in spite of its remonstrances, of the illegal actions of the Government, had removed all hope of compromise. The practical coercion which had been put on the King to oblige him to summon the present Parliament seemed to remove the danger of a speedy dissolution, and gave promise of an opportunity of making the national grievances at length heard. Pym had already used the words, "They must now be of another temper, they must not only sweep the house clean below, they must pull down all the cobwebs which hang round the top and corners. To remove all grievances, they must pull up the causes of them by the roots." It was with great unanimity of feeling that this was the necessary course, that the Parliament met. The leaders of the reform

party were not, however, as yet either Destructives or Republicans, nor were they, for the most part, even Puritans. Their views were political, and in the truest sense conservative. They were desirous of removing those abuses which the Stuart Kings had introduced into the Government, and which overlaid the Constitution, and that ecclesiastical tyranny which, in the hands of Laud, had gone so far to extinguish all liberty of conscience. But in doing this they were but restoring the old constitution of England,

Great Council.
Sept. 22.

Treaty of Ripon.
Oct.

The Long Parliament meets.

The reform party.

rewinning those privileges which had been the fruit of centuries of parliamentary action. Behind these leaders, however, there were men of other views. Puritanism, which had taken its rise in the reign of Elizabeth, clung to that form of Church government which Calvin had founded. This was modelled largely upon the republic of Geneva, which had afforded him refuge, and where he was all-powerful. In accordance with his tenets, moreover, his followers held that the State ought to be subservient to the Church, that God's government, as they would have phrased it, should be superior to man's. The inevitable consequence of these views was a tendency towards Republicanism wherever Presbyterianism existed: it had already shown itself in the United Provinces of Holland and among the Huguenot Protestants of France. Roughly speaking, then, the Reformers formed two classes—one political, one religious. As was certain from the nature of things, the most enthusiastic and vehement of these classes was the religious one. Therefore, without any particular interest in the religious questions, the political party found it necessary to make use of the strength this enthusiasm gave to assist them in carrying out their own reforms, and to supply that warmth and energy in which mere political parties are apt to be deficient. It is thus that we must explain the constant introduction of religious topics, and that close connection between politics and religion which is characteristic of the epoch. Pym well expressed the position when, during the "No Bishop" riots at the end of 1642, he refused to interfere, declaring that it would not do to discourage friends.

It was in pursuance of the policy that the cobwebs which hung at the top of the house must be pulled down, that, after a few days had been spent in bringing before the notice of the House, by means of county petitions, the chief grievances of the country, Pym caused the door of the House to be locked and the key laid upon the Speaker's table, and proceeded with much solemnity to introduce the impeachment of Lord Strafford. "That ancient gentleman of great experience in parliamentary affairs," as the historian May calls Pym, was determined not to be thwarted, as the Earl of Bristol had once been in his attack on Buckingham, by the interposition of an impeachment on himself, which he knew Strafford was preparing. Before the doors were unlocked, the impeachment had been carried, and was at once taken up to the House of Lords. Strafford, at that moment with the King, heard with dismay the rapid action of his enemies. He hurried, with his usual

Its Puritan and
Republican
element.

Impeachment
of Strafford.
Nov. 11.

overbearing manners, into the House, only to be met with cries of "Withdraw, withdraw," and to find himself compelled submissively to listen to the charges against him, and to be carried off a prisoner, in charge of the Usher of the Black Rod. He saw at once that the charm of his personal authority was broken, and with extraordinary power of adapting himself to circumstances, assumed from this moment a submissive bearing very unusual to him. He directed his whole efforts towards the legal refutation of the charges brought against him, and appeared in a new character as the champion of the law. The charges were indeed heavy; but he at once saw their weakness, and wrote to his wife that he did not believe he could be brought within the law of treason on any of them. They referred to his conduct in each of his three great offices. He was accused of tyrannical and illegal conduct as President of the Council of York; of attempting to establish arbitrary government, and of several instances of personal oppression while Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and as minister of England he was said to have advised the King to employ his Irish army to reduce his English kingdom to obedience. It was difficult to make technical treason out of any of these charges. The real charge which lay below them was one which had been voted without a dissentient voice in the House of Commons,—that he had endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government. This, the Parliament held, was the highest form of treason.

It was on the 11th of November that Pym had laid before the House of Lords the information of the impeachment. The actual trial did not begin till the 22nd of March. It was attended with all the solemn ceremony which the hearing by the Lords of an impeachment by the Commons, a form of trial long unused, required. Westminster Hall was prepared for the purpose. On a platform in the midst sat the Lords as judges; on their right ran the bar, at one end of which stood the managers on the part of the Commons, at the other was a desk for the counsel of the prisoner, who had a small desk for himself and his secretaries in the middle. The rest of the Hall was fitted with scaffolds, which were daily crowded by a thronging multitude, who came in the early morning to secure their places, and in their excitement never left them till the evening adjournment. Behind the Lords were erected boxes in which the King daily sat to listen to the trial of his great minister. It was a curious scene—the benches crowded with ladies eager in favour of the accused, and with his Puritan enemies longing for his blood. Every word and turn of

Charges
against him.

His trial.
March 1641.

the trial was watched with the keenest interest. In the brief intervals of business the Hall was filled with loud talking, and the hungry audience fell upon the provisions they had brought with them, regardless of the august presence they were in. And there, in the midst of the excited throng, with no time allowed him to prepare his answers, Strafford would turn his back for a moment upon his judges, consult in a few words with his counsel, and then proceed with admirable coolness and eloquence to combat every point as it was raised. His whole object was to keep himself clear of the charge of treason.

His defence.

With this view he virtually acknowledged much of what was alleged against him. It was, in fact, impossible to deny that he had received an enlarged commission as President of the North; had given the Council there all the authority of the Star Chamber; had systematically refused to the subject the right of appeal to the common law. It was impossible to deny that he had followed the same line of conduct with regard to the Castle Court in Dublin; that he had so managed the Parliament there, by taking advantage of Poyning's Law, as to escape the necessity of ratifying the graces which the King, during the preceding administration, had promised to the Catholics, and, to use his own words, to render the King "as absolute there as any prince in the world can be;" that he had acted with the grossest despotism towards the juries who had hesitated to find the verdicts he required with regard to the title-deeds of the proprietors of Connaught; that he had raised an army formed almost exclusively of Catholics; or that he had acted, especially in the case of Lord Mount-Norris,¹ with tyrannical severity towards his personal enemies. It was useless to urge as a set-off that the customs had been increased fourfold, that the victualling trade had been established, and the manufacture of linen had been set on foot. Even if each of those improvements had not been clogged by conditions which increased either his own position or the royal power,² the success of his government would have been no justification of the means employed. But granting all this, he urged there was nothing to bring him under the meaning of the Treason Act of Edward III. There was but one point left. This was the advice he was said to have given to employ the Irish army against the English Reformers.

¹ This nobleman had been condemned to death by a court-martial for some trivial and hasty words against the Lord-Deputy. The sentence was indeed remitted, but he had to leave Ireland.

² He had obtained a large income from the tobacco monopoly; and by destroying the woollen trade, and monopolizing salt, had rendered Ireland dependent upon England both for food and clothing.

At this point in the trial the Commons demanded leave to introduce fresh evidence. At the same time, seeing that the trial seemed likely to lead to a conviction of the prisoner for felony, but not for treason, the Commons determined to take the matter into their own hands, to constitute themselves both accusers and judges, and to bring in a Bill of Attainder declaring Lord Strafford guilty. This, like any other Bill, would have to pass both Houses, and to receive the consent of the King, but it entirely nullified the judicial action of the Lords. The new evidence, which was also the ground for the Bill of Attainder, was admitted. It consisted of a copy of some notes purporting to have been taken by Sir Harry Vane the elder during a council. These notes were said to have been found accidentally by the young Sir Harry Vane, who had communicated them to Pym. Repeatedly pressed, the elder Vane confessed the genuineness of the notes. The important passage of them ran thus,—"Your Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man; and you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience, for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." As the question before the Council was the Scotch war, as the words immediately after the doubtful passage refer to Scotland only, a candid reader cannot but believe that "this kingdom" meant Scotland. Had the word been *that* instead of *this*, there could have been no question, and in the hurried blotted notes taken in the midst of the discussion, it was surely easy that the word might have been misreported. The evidence was really worth nothing. From the moment however that the Bill of Attainder was introduced, the trial, although continued, lost all meaning. The Bill itself passed rapidly, though not without opposition, through the House; it was read the third and last time on the 21st of April. In the minority against it there were fifty-nine members, among them Lord Digby, hitherto a staunch Reformer and one of the committee of the impeachment, together with the great lawyer Selden. Digby's speech, which, in spite of the character of the speaker, was a very dignified and noble one, was publicly burned by the hangman, and from this time Lord Digby himself became an ardent Royalist. The names of the whole fifty-nine were published, with the heading, "These are the Straffordians, betrayers of their country;" and the feelings of the people, which had already been exhibited in riotous crowdings about Westminster Hall, were thus still further excited. This pressure from without told upon the

Commons introduced fresh evidence.
April 10,

and a Bill of Attainder.

Vane's notes.

House of Lords, with whom Strafford, as a self-made man, who had never shown much respect to their order, was far from popular. The Bill of Attainder met with no strong resistance in their House. The King's consent was now alone wanting. It seemed almost impossible that he should give it. Already he had committed one breach of privilege during the passage of the Bill, by coming personally to the Lords and entreating them to find Strafford guilty of misdemeanour only. Already twice he had pledged his honour as a king that his late minister should lose neither in person nor in fortune, but the selfishness, which was the great fault of his character, overpowered his better feelings. On the 10th of May, with infinite sorrow, he gave his assent to the Bill, saying as he did so, "The Earl of Strafford is a happier man than I am." The following day he made one more despicable effort to secure even a respite for his friend. But it was not probable that a letter which closed with such words as these: "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday," should have much effect. On the 12th of May, at noon, the great Earl was beheaded.

Charles's consent to the Bill of Attainder.
May 10.

Strafford's execution.

While the showy and dramatic character of the impeachment of Strafford renders it the most striking event of this period, much work as real and important had been carried on in the Commons. In every instance the political and religious parties moved hand in hand. They had each their enemies to overthrow, each their own abuses to remove, and each their future safety to secure. It was natural that the ecclesiastical head of the party of "Thorough," Archbishop Laud, should meet with a similar fate to that of Strafford. In December he was impeached; but, once removed from public life, he was regarded as harmless. More important matters demanded consideration, and his trial was postponed for some years. The two great leaders thus displaced, attention was turned towards other members of the Council. The fact that Mr. Secretary Windebank was a Catholic marked him out for the vengeance of the Puritans. Before three weeks of the session were over, the report of the Committee of Religion warned him that his time was coming. He accepted the warning, and before the articles of impeachment against him, which charged him chiefly with over-leniency to Catholic recusants, were produced, he had fled from England. The conduct of the Lord-Keeper Finch, the royalist Speaker of the third Parliament, the chief of the ship-money judges, made him equally obnoxious to the political reformers. Against him, too, articles of impeachment were produced, and he also sought refuge beyond the sea.

Impeachment of Laud.
Dec. 1640.

Flight of Windebank and Finch.

The vengeance of the Commons was by no means satisfied. All the Bishops were regarded as parties in the guilt of Laud, all the ship-money judges in that of Finch. Rudyard, a reforming member, well expressed the opinion in regard to the Bishops when he said that their real crime was their animosity against the Puritans. "Under the name of Puritan all our religion is branded, while, under cover of assaults upon a few Jesuits, all Roman Catholics are countenanced." The mixture of temporal power with ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the point which most grievously hurt the feelings of the Presbyterians. A Bill was brought in, known as the Restraining Bill, to deprive Bishops of their rights of voting in the House of Lords. The opposition it encountered in that House induced the Commons to follow it up with a more vehement measure, "for the utter abolition of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Prebendaries and Canons," a measure known by the title of the Root and Branch Bill. By the skill of the royal partisans, this Bill was long delayed in Committee.

Meanwhile the measures of the late Convocation were declared illegal; and, passing to political questions, the Commons declared the collection of ship-money contrary to the law; the six judges were impeached for asserting that the right of collecting it was inherent in the Crown, and Berkley, the Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, was carried off from the very judgment-seat by the Usher of the Black Rod; while, to secure the purity of the judges, a law was passed changing the words of their commissions, which were limited no longer by the pleasure of the King, but by their own good behaviour. The work of destruction was completed by the abolition of the three Courts,—the Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the Court of High Commission.

In the midst of all these stringent measures, Parliament had been perpetually beset by the dread of a forcible dissolution. It was doubtless part of the art of Pym to keep alive such fears, just as it was a part of his art to arrange tumultuous gatherings and petitions. It was probably with real pleasure that, in the beginning of May, he received information of the existence of what is known as the Army Plot. The North of England was still burdened with both the Scotch and English armies. The Treaty of Ripon insured the payment of the Scotch army, which Parliament indeed, regarding the Scotch as their natural allies, had been ready enough to secure. The pay of the English army, meanwhile, fell

Root and
Branch Bill.

Ship-money de-
clared illegal.

The three Courts
abolished.

The Army plot
discovered.

largely into arrears; the officers were for the most part hostile to the Parliament. Want of pay bred discontent both among them and their men, and several of them, with Wilmot, the Commissary General, at their head, determined on a threatening petition. Goring, Jermyn, and others, at the advice of the King, were admitted to the officers' counsels, and Goring, a man of no character, had apparently recommended desperate designs, among which were a march towards London and an attempt to rescue Strafford. His ambition led him to desire the position of general, and, on the King's refusal to accede to this request, the plot seems to have dropped; and Goring, whose peculiarity it was to betray his friends, but to choose a time for the betrayal when but little harm could follow to them, gave an account to Pym of the exploded negotiations. It was made the most of. A strong feeling of fear was established. A Protestation, a sort of English Covenant, was drawn up, taken by the members of both Houses, and distributed through the country; and, more important than this, the House of Commons, which had already passed a strict Triennial Bill to ensure the frequent holding of Parliaments, went a step further, and produced a measure securing themselves against dissolution without their own consent, thus depriving the King of his undoubted prerogative of dissolution.

This Bill was presented to Charles for his consent at the same time with Strafford's Bill of Attainder. He probably felt the truth of Pym's remark, who exclaimed, when he heard that he had signed the Bill of Attainder, "Has he given us Strafford? then he can refuse us nothing;" thoroughly beaten and reckless, he assented without scruple to the measure which virtually made Parliament his master. It is possible that at the beginning of his course of concession Charles was honest in his views, that he still hoped that by yielding some points he might keep the bulk of his authority untouched. But the fierce determination with which Strafford had been pursued, the self-contempt caused by his conduct to that minister, and the anger he must have felt against those who had driven him to such base conduct, had removed all real thought of honest compromise. Henceforward, when he yields, he yields with a purpose, the fixed purpose of revenge, and with a hope of one day triumphantly annulling all he may have conceded. He believed that he had still three things from which he could hope for help—the English army, the Scotch nation, and the Irish Catholics. With regard to the English army his plans had already failed; he had thrown the burden of

Triennial Bill
passed.

Bill against
dissolving
Parliament.

Charles's motive
for yielding.

supporting them entirely upon the Parliament, and fostered the discontent to which their want of pay had given birth. And though a second scheme, very much resembling the first, of marching upon the Parliament was subsequently set on foot, it also came to nothing. Parliament, warned by the danger, took measures, by the imposition of a large Poll tax, to raise sufficient money to get the army paid and disbanded.

Charles had more hope of Scotland. In the midst of their most treasonable actions, the Scotch had always both expressed and felt great respect for Charles's person. The King had found means to tamper with the Commissioners in London, he had won Lord Rothes to his side, and even Alexander Henderson, the leader of the Covenanting clergy, had given signs of wavering. In Scotland itself, Montrose (whose influence with the Covenanters was eclipsed by Argyle, and who hoped, if he adopted the King's cause, to supplant Hamilton as his minister) had formed a Royalist party; and the King had been told that if the Scotch had satisfaction as to their religious and political liberties, they might be relied on. He determined to go thither, to grant everything that was asked, and to use the popularity thus acquired as a support against his own people. The English Commons, suspecting some such plan, were very slow to let him leave London. It was only on the urgent request of the Scotch Commissioners, with whom they were compelled to be on good terms, that they allowed him to begin his journey. It was in vain that, on giving his assent to the Bills for the abolition of illegal courts, he urged them to let him go, recapitulating all the concessions he had made. "I hope you will remember I have granted that the judges hereafter shall hold their places *quamdiu se bene jesserint*. I have bounded the forests not according to my right, but according to the late customs. I have established the property of the subject, as witness the free giving up, not the taking away the ship-money. I have established by Act of Parliament the property of the subject in tonnage and poundage, which never was done in any of my predecessors' times. I have granted a law for a Triennial Parliament, and have given way to an Act for securing of moneys advanced for the disbanding of the armies. I have given free course of justice against delinquents. I have put the laws in execution against Papists. Nay, I have given way to everything that you have asked of me."

The suspicion of the Commons was thoroughly roused, especially by the King's reluctance, even while disbanding the English and

Scotch armies, to get rid of the army of Ireland. When therefore he started at length for the North, care was taken that a Parliamentary Commission should attend him, nominally to advise, really to watch him, and to keep up that close connection which had already proved so useful between the malcontents of the two kingdoms. On reaching Scotland he followed to the full the line of policy which Montrose and his friends there (known as the Plotters) had marked out for him. There was no demand the Parliament could make which he was not ready to grant. "The end of my coming," he said in his opening speech, "is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised." In pursuance of this policy all the Acts of the doubtful Parliament of 1640¹ were acknowledged, the Committee, called the Lords of the Articles, was reorganized on a more popular basis; an act of pacification and oblivion was passed, omitting by name some of the more ardent Royalists, and the whole royal patronage was surrendered and vested in the Estates. Charles's friends in England watched these concessions with fear, expecting that the English Parliament would make equal demands. A note in the King's hand, appended to a letter of remonstrance which they had sent him, shows his own views on the point:—"I believe when all be done, they (the English Parliament) will not have such great cause for joy." The reconciliation was concluded by a distribution of offices and titles among his former enemies. Lowdon was made Chancellor; Leslie, Earl of Leven; Johnston of Warriston, a Knight and Lord of Session; even Henderson was given a pension of 4000 marks, and made Dean of the Chapel.

The King believed that he had been quite successful, and he could say to his Parliament on his return to London, "I have left that nation a most peaceable, contented people, so that I was not deceived in the end of my going." Yet events had happened there which had but increased the mistrust of Parliament. A curious and somewhat mysterious event, known as "The Incident," had taken place, which was never cleared up. This was a plot, probably set on foot by Montrose, for killing or kidnapping Argyle and Hamilton. Although the King strenuously declared that he knew nothing of it, he never completely cleared himself of suspicion; and the leaders in England thought they saw in it an instance of a settled policy to seize and destroy the opposition leaders as occasion offered, a policy the existence of which the subsequent attempt on the five members renders probable.

¹ The Parliament had continued to sit after its formal prorogation.

Charles goes
to Scotland.
Aug. 10.

The Incident
Oct. 11.

Much worse than this was the Irish insurrection, which broke out just before the King's return to England. In that country, as has been seen, there were three great parties. The Scotch population of the North, Puritan in its religion, strongly reforming in its views; with them may be classed the English Protestants round Dublin, in fact the bulk of the Protestant population of Ireland. Of the Catholics there were two classes; first the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, headed by the Lords Antrim, Gormanstown, Fingal, and Castlehaven; Ormond, himself an Anglican, but in other respects sympathizing with them, was their chief; they were loyal Royalist in their views, full of hatred to the Puritans, anxious to continue the connection with England, and hoping for toleration as a reward for their allegiance. And secondly, the native Irish, Catholic also in religion, but before all things eager to dissolve the connection with the English, whom they hated as a conquering race, which had but lately deprived them of much of their lands both in Ulster and Connaught. It is certain that the King looked to the Lords of the Pale for assistance. He applied directly to them, ordering them to seize the Castle of Dublin, where the arms of the disbanded army were stored, and to keep the soldiers together as much as possible. Antrim and the other leaders were in hopes of being able to carry out their plans in a parliamentary way, but such were not the views of the native Irish, with whom they were compelled to ally themselves. Early in October, a meeting was held in Westmeath to make their plans. At that meeting the majority were for moderate counsels, but the minority, refusing to be bound by their decisions, determined on instant and violent action. They chose for their leaders Sir Phelim O'Neil, the nephew of Owen Roe O'Neil, who was their natural leader, and joined with him the Lords Maguire and O'Reilly and the two Macmahons, one of whom was Bishop of Clogher. They chose their time well. Parliament was to meet in November, and on the first of that month taxes and rents were due. A blow struck immediately before that period would find the taxes collected, but not yet sent to the Dublin Treasury. The 23rd of October was fixed on as the day of insurrection, because it offered the advantage of being a market-day, when the presence of strangers would be unobserved in Dublin. Well laid though it was, their plot in part failed. The Lord Chief-Justice, Sir William Parsons, was informed of the scheme by a certain renegade Roman Catholic, called O'Connelly. His vigorous measures saved Dublin, but in all the open country scenes of

Irish
insurrection.

Three parties
in Ireland.

Failure of the
plot in Dublin.

Massacre
in Ulster

horrible violence took place, accompanied by all the horrors which mark the sudden insurrection of a savage people. Neither men, women, nor children were spared, and where their lives were given them, the wretched English settlers were stripped, and driven in naked, shivering herds by their savage pursuers to the nearest towns of refuge.

Such an insurrection was not what Charles desired, but it is impossible to free him from the charge of having called to his assistance a wild and barbarous people whom he could not restrain. The rebels continued to act nominally as the King's army, and displayed a commission under the Royal Seal of Scotland. This seal is said by many to have been torn from an old charter, but it is curious to observe, that on the very day on which the commission was purported to be issued the Great Seal of Scotland was not in the hands of the Lord-Keeper; it had already left Hamilton's possession, and had not yet been placed in the custody of Lowdon, the new Chancellor. The King, at all events, pretended extreme horror at what had happened, and followed one of his usual devices for making the Parliament unpopular by at once shifting the whole responsibility of suppressing the insurrection upon them. In the full belief that he had secured the allegiance of the Scotch, and unconscious, apparently, of the mistrust which the Irish rebellion and the "Incident" had created, he returned to London, expecting to find there too a party not opposed to him. In fact, there was a rising feeling among those classes, who had aimed solely at reform, that enough had been done, and that the King's concessions were sufficient to secure public liberty, as indeed, had they been honestly made, with no afterthought of revenge, they would probably have been.

Under these circumstances, the King determined to follow the same course in England that he had followed in Scotland. The Lord Mayor was a Royalist, and, apparently at the instigation of the Queen, had succeeded in winning the consent of the Common Council of London to give the King a magnificent reception. He was therefore received on his return to his capital with signs of joy and popularity to which he had been long a stranger. This still further raised his hopes, and, as in Scotland he had established a reforming ministry, so now he drew to him some of those who had hitherto been his enemies. St. John was already Solicitor-General, Falkland and Colepepper took office, and Hyde, though he did not actually accept any office, became one of the King's most intimate advisers. Charles was thus ostensibly pursuing a liberal course. But behind those ministers there was a more intimate

Question of
Charles's
complicity.

Loyally received
on his return
to London.
Nov. 25.

band of advisers, headed by Lord Digby, who were the real confidants of the royal schemes.

But the leaders of the Commons were not to be deceived. They had probably been already warned by their Commissioners in Scotland that information had been there collected with a view to their impeachment, and they determined to meet the reaction which was setting in by a declaration which is known by the name of the Great Remonstrance. This was a recapitulation of every act of unconstitutional tyranny which had marked the reign, couched in strong language. It was in fact an appeal to the people, and a vindication of all that the Commons had done. To those, however, who trusted Charles, and could not see the necessity of it, it looked like a mere factious move, taken at a particularly ungracious time, just as the King appeared to be willing to accept constitutional government. It therefore met with much opposition in the House, and was carried, after a fierce debate, which lasted all through the night, by a small majority of eleven. So fierce was the strife, that an eye-witness¹ thus describes it: "I thought we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death, for we, like Joab and Abner's young men, had caught each other by the locks, and sheathed our swords in each others' bowels, had not the calmness and great sagacity of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate till next morning." The Remonstrance, which was from the Commons' House alone, was not only presented to the King, but published. It was, in fact, an appeal to the nation, and marks that point in the contest where the Commons began to act unconstitutionally, and when the House, hitherto almost unanimous, divided into two great parties, the one who thought enough had been done, the other resolved on more determined measures. Those measures were to be directed towards preventing any reactionary and violent step on the part of the Crown, which the leaders of the Commons, with just reason, dreaded. For that purpose they held it necessary that the command of the army should be in their hands, a wish which ultimately led to the demand that the militia, that was the only army at that time existing, should be put entirely into their hands. There were several intermediate steps leading to the final demand.

The Commons' mistrust of the King's intentions was much increased by his removal of the guard, with which, during his absence in Scotland, they had surrounded themselves.

¹ Sir Philip Warwick.

The Commons, undecieved, issue the Grand Remonstrance.

Again and again did they demand a renewal of this precaution, but the King constantly refused it, or at least refused such a guard as they considered necessary, to be placed under the Earl of Essex, at that time Lord-General South of the Trent, on whom they could rely. Their request was chiefly grounded upon the Constant riots in London. riots, which were of daily occurrence in London, fostered by Pym and the reforming party. These reached their height when the Bill for excluding Bishops from the House of Lords was again brought forward, and rose so high that the Prelates, after the 27th of December, found themselves unable to attend the House. Foolishly, at the instigation of Williams (subsequently Archbishop of York), they sent a formal protest, declaring all acts done without their consent null. For this they were impeached of high treason and imprisoned. But the Commons took advantage of the uproar to make a fresh demand for a guard. They had reason indeed to suspect that a violent *coup d'état* was in preparation. Numbers of gentlemen and discharged officers from the army had collected at Whitehall, where a public table was kept for them. Quarrels had "Roundhead" and "Cavalier." arisen between them and the tumultuous city Petitioners, the nicknames of "Roundhead" and "Cavalier" had already been coined, and on one occasion blood had been shed by the King's partisans. In spite of these disturbances, however, the King refused to give the guard. His presence, he said, would secure the safety of all his subjects. "He would solemnly engage, on the word of a King, the security of every one of them from violence." This answer was given on the 3rd of January (1642).

The word of a King was kept by the exhibition on the very same day of articles of treason against five members of the Lower House, Pym, Hampden, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode, and against Lord Kimbolton or Mandeville (afterwards Lord Manchester) in the Upper House. The King in fact believed that the hour of his revenge was come, and that he could play out the "Incident" on a larger scale than in Scotland. On the next day, having warned the Inns of Court, who were very Royalist in their feelings, to be ready at a moment's notice, he proceeded to the House, surrounded by his Attempt to arrest the five Members. own guard and the Whitehall soldiery, with the intention of arresting the five members. Timely notice had been given, and they had fled. But—leaving his soldiers about the door, where they eagerly waited for orders to act, and demanded with threatening gestures, "When comes the word?"—Charles entered the House. He took the Speaker's chair, looked around at the vacant

They demand a guard in vain.

places of the five members, and after a short address, remarking that the birds had flown, withdrew amid cries of "Privilege, privilege." The birds had indeed flown, and taken refuge among the citizens of London. Thither the House followed them, and appointed a great permanent committee to sit in the Grocers' Hall. It was in vain that the King went himself thither, requesting the city magistrates to surrender the five members. They were not forthcoming. He was reluctantly forced to confess that his blow had failed; and, unable to bear the sight of the triumphant return to Parliament of those he had accused, he left London, never to return to it till just before his death.

He was now in the miserable plight of a plotter whose scheme has miscarried; he felt that his last card had been played, and that nothing was left but war. To carry on this with effect, and to give an opportunity for those who favoured him to rally round him, he determined to betake himself to a new capital, and settled upon York for that purpose. But before he could proceed to extremities, it was necessary to have his hands clear of domestic interests, and at the same time to find some means of collecting money. He therefore determined to send his wife abroad. He purchased a moment's respite by giving his assent to the Bill for the removal of the Bishops, and then hurried with his Queen to Dover, sending with her the Crown jewels, on which to raise money. The Commons, meanwhile, striking while the iron was hot, now demanded security from such violent measures as the King had lately taken. They entreated him to return to London, and to put the militia—that is, the trainbands of the country, the only constitutional army of that time—into their hands. The request was brought to the King at Newmarket. It was peremptorily refused. The King had taken his part, and meant to play it to the last.

The next few months were occupied in preparation by the rival parties. Unable to obtain the King's consent, Parliament passed the ordinance of the militia without it. By this they were empowered to nominate the Lords-Lieutenants of the counties to hold power during their will. The King, on the other hand, retired to York, and was there disappointed to find the feeling by no means so thoroughly in his favour as he expected. What may be called the first instance of armed opposition to his orders took place at Hull. In that town were stored the arms and ammunition of the late Northern army. It was intrusted to Sir John Hotham, and Parliament now

Charles leaves
London
for York.
Jan. 10.

Sends the Queen
to Holland.

ordered that the magazine should be brought to London. The King, on the other hand, claimed it as his own, as no doubt constitutionally it was. On the Parliament's refusal to deliver it up, he attempted to use his personal influence, as he was throughout his life too prone to do. He appeared before the gates in person, but Sir John was true to his trust, and the King withdrew baffled. At once the ordinance of militia was put in force, and to meet it the King issued a Commission of Array. There were thus in every county two recruiting centres, the one attempting to carry out the Parliament's ordinance, and the other the King's commission. Active and energetic members betook themselves to their own counties to assist the Parliamentary claim, and England was filled with petty skirmishes and disputes.

It is difficult to draw a geographical line separating the Royalist from the Puritan party. It may be said roughly that the parts about London were belonging to the Parliament party, and the North and the counties near Wales were inclined towards the King. The only counties which were whole-hearted were those around London, and the Eastern counties, where Cromwell had already become important, and which speedily formed themselves into that great association which supplied subsequently the nucleus of the new-modelled army. As yet, however the levies on the Parliament side were either needy adventurers, to whom the pay was an object, or such men as the personal influence of the Parliamentary leaders could gather. Round the King, meanwhile, collected many nobles and gentry, bringing with them a train of dependants, what may be spoken of as their feudal followers, full of affection and reliance on their immediate leaders. Money was still wanting to the King. The arrival of a ship from Holland supplied this deficiency, while the young Princes of the Rhenish Palatinate, Rupert and Maurice, if they added no wisdom, at least brought military energy to his side. To Essex was given the command of the Parliamentary army, which gradually collected in the Midland counties. The Earl of Lindsey was nominally the Royalist general, but his counsel was practically overruled by the advice of the hot-headed Rupert.

At length the crisis arrived. On the 22nd of August the King raised his standard at Nottingham, and aware at last that he could not rely on the inhabitants of Yorkshire, moved to Shrewsbury, at once to collect the Catholic

Hull refuses
him its arms
and ammunition.
April 23

Ordinance of
Militia, and
Commission
of Array.
June 12.

Division of
the country,
Royalist and
Puritan.

Essex and
Rupert made
generals of the
two armies.

The King raises
his standard.
Aug. 22

gentry of Lancashire and Cheshire, to receive the Royalist levies of Wales, and to secure the valley of the Severn. The movement was successful. In a few days his little army was increased fourfold, and he felt himself strong enough to make a direct march towards the capital. Essex had garrisoned Northampton, Coventry and Warwick, and lay himself at Worcester; but the King, waiting for no sieges, left the garrison towns unmolested and passed on towards London, and Essex received peremptory orders to pursue and interpose if possible between the King and London. On the 22nd of October he was close upon the King's rear at Keynton, between Stratford and Banbury. But his army was by no means at its full strength; some regiments had been left to garrison the West, others, under Hampden, had not yet joined him.

But delay was impossible, and the first battle of the war was fought on the plain at the foot of the north-west slope of Edgehill, over which the royal army descended, turning back on its course to meet Essex. Both parties claimed the victory. In fact it was with the King. The Parliamentary cavalry found themselves wholly unable to withstand the charge of Rupert's cavaliers. Whole regiments turned and fled without striking a blow; but, as usual, want of discipline ruined the royal cause. Rupert's men fell to plundering the Parliamentary baggage, and returned to the field only in time to find that the infantry, under the personal leading of Essex, had re-established the fight. Night closed the battle. The King's army withdrew to the vantage-ground of the hills, and Essex, reinforced by Hampden, passed the night upon the field. But the Royalist army was neither beaten nor checked in its advance, while the rottenness of the Parliamentary troops had been disclosed, so that Cromwell told Hampden, that "it was plain that men of religion were wanted to withstand these gentlemen of honour;"—the secret which ultimately decided the fortune of the war.

The Parliament determined to regard this somewhat doubtful battle as a victory, and formal thanks were voted to Lord-General Essex. At the same time it was plain that the parties were more evenly balanced than had been thought, and the Parliament began to think of making overtures for peace. While the preliminaries of the intended treaty were still undetermined, and while a cessation of arms was still under discussion, the King suddenly moved towards

Charles
approaches
London.
Nov. 13.

London, and having advanced as far as Brentford, there fell upon an outlying regiment of Parliamentary troops. The alarm in London was great. The

citizens were embodied in haste under Skippon; troops lying at Kingston were hurriedly brought through London. Essex himself took the command, and before long an army of no very good material, but sufficiently numerous for the purpose, prevented the further advance of the King. Essex indeed would seem to have been over-cautious, and, in his anxiety to put a strong force between the King and the City, made no attempt to disturb the retreat of the Royalists, who shortly fell back upon Oxford, which henceforward became the centre of their operations. ^{Retires to Oxford.}

The treaty, as was expected by the wiser Parliamentarians, came to nothing. As the terms demanded included the abolition of the Church, and the King's assent to the militia ordinance, it was not indeed likely that anything could have come of it. War was again the only resource, and speedily became universal.

The character of a civil war, when the question at issue is not one of geographical supremacy but of political feeling, ^{Character of the war.} precludes the possibility of any regular plan of action, and renders very difficult any consecutive narrative of events. There was local fighting over the whole of England. But it is possible to form some general notion as to the main centres of action. The headquarters of the King were constantly at Oxford, from which, as from a centre, Rupert would suddenly make rapid raids, now in one direction, now in another. Between him and London, about Reading, Aylesbury, and Thame, lay what may be spoken of as the main army of Parliament, under the command of Lord-General Essex. Not that this army was by any means the largest or best supplied of the Parliamentary forces. There was no very warm feeling between the Parliament and their general, and Essex had frequently to complain of the superior equipment and larger numbers of troops allowed to his subordinates. The other two chief scenes of the war were Yorkshire and the West. In Yorkshire the Fairfaxes, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas, made what head they could against what was known as the Popish army under the command of the Earl, subsequently Marquis of Newcastle, which consisted mainly of the troops of the Northern counties, which had become associated under Newcastle in favour of Charles. Newark, in Nottinghamshire, was early made a royal garrison, and formed the link of connection between the operations in Yorkshire and at Oxford. In the extreme South-west, Lord Stamford, the Parliamentary General, was making a somewhat unsuccessful resistance against Sir Ralph, afterwards Lord Hopton. Wales was wholly Royalist, and one of the chief

objects of Charles's generals was to secure the Severn valley, and thus connect the war in Devonshire with the central operations at Oxford. In the Eastern counties matters assumed rather a different form. The principle of forming several counties into an association, already mentioned in reference to the North, was adopted by the Parliament, and several such associations were formed, but none of these came to much except that of the Eastern counties, which was known by way of pre-eminence as "The Association." Its object was to keep the war entirely beyond the borders of the counties of which it consisted. The reason of its success was the genius and energy of Cromwell, who, though not yet nominally commander of the Association (which was at first under Lord Grey and afterwards under the Earl of Manchester), was in reality its moving spirit. Beyond the exclusion of the war from their own borders, the object of the associated counties was to complete the conquest of Lincolnshire, and thus to connect London with the Fairfaxes in the North. The main obstacle to this—which remained an obstacle throughout the war—was the existence of the garrison of Newark on their north-western frontier.

The year 1643 was on all sides disastrous to the Parliament. The army of Essex lay idle and useless, in spite of the remonstrance of Hampden and the more energetic commanders. A great plan was formed to bring up the armies of the Eastern counties to join it, and to fall upon Oxford; but the cautious disposition of the general brought to nothing what was in itself a hopeful scheme. The fighting was confined to skirmishes with Rupert's horse, which would every now and then beat up the quarters of a regiment. In one of these raids the Royalists got into the rear of the Parliamentary army, piercing as far as Chinner. Such an isolated movement was of course speedily checked. Hampden led the pursuit of the retiring Royalists. In crossing Chalgrove Field a slight skirmish took place, of no importance except that it cost the life of Hampden, whose energy as a commander had been such, that men were beginning to think of him as a more efficient Lord-General than the sluggish Essex. While the chief army lay thus idle, the Fairfaxes had been almost driven from Yorkshire by the superior power of Newcastle; they had been thoroughly defeated at Atherton Moor (June 30), and driven backwards to Hull. The arrival of the Queen (Feb. 22), bringing with her commanders, and arms obtained by the Crown jewels, had also much improved the posi-

Inaction
of Essex.

Death of
Hampden.
June 18.

Royalist
conquest of
Yorkshire.

tion of the Royalists in the North. Even the Hothams, who had shown their apparent devotion to the Parliament in refusing to surrender Hull to the King, now wavered. Timely information was fortunately obtained of their treason; they were brought to London, tried, expelled from Parliament, and subsequently executed. Hull was intrusted to Lord Fairfax, and there he gathered the remnant of his forces. Some timely successes prevented the complete conquest of Yorkshire. His son Sir Thomas, with the Parliamentary cavalry, escaped across the Humber into Lincolnshire, and made a junction with the Eastern troops. In company with Cromwell he succeeded in defeating his pursuers near Horncastle, at what is known as Winceby Fight. Meanwhile Lord Fairfax, breaking out of Hull, defeated Newcastle's army, and thus retaining his foothold in Yorkshire, gave an opportunity for a subsequent re-establishment of Parliamentary affairs in the North. In the West even greater disasters had befallen the Parliament. Lord Stamford had been defeated at Stretton by Sir Ralph Hopton; and Sir William Waller, whose early successes had gained him the title of William the Conqueror, was sent to re-establish the affairs of Parliament there. He was opposed by Hopton and Prince Maurice, suffered a heavy defeat in the neighbourhood of Bath on the 5th of July; and again, on the 13th of the same month, while besieging Hopton in Devizes, he was beaten, with the complete destruction of his whole army, by Lord Wilmot, who had marched from Oxford for the purpose of fighting him. Nathaniel Fiennes, too, to whom Bristol had been intrusted, had let that city fall without difficulty into the hands of Rupert (July 27). The West was thus almost entirely lost. In the East alone the energy of Cromwell had met with constant success. The battle of Horncastle has been already mentioned. Lincolnshire had been for the most part subdued, and added to the Association.

Except in this one point, the affairs of Parliament seemed in a bad condition. They did not, however, despair. Waller, after his defeat, met with an honourable reception, and was even thanked for what he had done; and as hopes were felt that the Scotch might be induced to afford assistance, messengers were despatched to re-establish a treaty between the countries. The acceptance of the Covenant was made an indispensable condition of the alliance. The condition was accepted. The two Houses of Parliament, the army, and subsequently by slow degrees

Checked at Hull
and Winceby.
Oct. 10.

Waller's dis-
asters in
the West.

Cromwell alone
successful
in the East.

To secure Scotch
help the
Covenant
is taken.
Sept. 18.

the nation, the larger part of which was under Parliamentary influence, solemnly took the required oath. The management of the war, hitherto in the hands of a Committee of Safety, was vested in a joint committee known as the Committee of the Two Nations, and the Scotch at once set on foot an army of 22,000 men under Lord Leven. This treaty fully counterbalanced the late disasters of the Parliament.

Meanwhile the King had lost his opportunity. On the destruction of Waller's army he could probably have marched almost unopposed to London. The Lord-General's army had dwindled almost to nothing, he had constantly to be demanding reinforcements of men and money. It is possible that the refusal of the troops of Newcastle to join in the great movement may have been the cause of the King's blunder. However that may be, instead of marching to the

capital, he turned westward to complete the conquest of the Severn valley, and laid siege to Gloucester (Aug. 10), the one important place there still held by the

Parliament, expecting its immediate surrender. But Massey, the commander of the town, aided by the citizens, made a firm defence, and Essex for once exhibited some of those qualities which befitted his high command. His army was raised to 12,000 men, and he was intrusted with the duty of relieving the town. With a steady pertinacity, which was part of his character, he performed this duty. In spite of much opposition, after a march of twenty-six days, he reached

Presbury Hill, overhanging the Severn valley, and made known by cannon shots his presence to the inhabitants.

But the Royalists did not wait to fight; they immediately burnt their camp and withdrew. Having revictualled the place, Essex returned

in the same dogged fashion to London. He chose the road across the Wiltshire Downs, and, as he came off them down to Newbury, he found the place already occupied

by the King's army. A great battle was there fought, as indecisive as the battle of Edgehill. The trainbands of London, however, which formed the bulk of Essex's army, exhibited their soldierly qualities, and held their own against the numerous cavalry of the King. In this battle fell Lord Falkland, who, since the Grand Remonstrance, had been one of the King's chief advisers. A patriot at heart, though he had felt it his duty to follow the King, his chief wish had been the restoration of peace; the continuance of the war had thrown a settled gloom over his life; he seems to have sought rather than avoided death. Essex was able to continue his march to London, and the King again went to Oxford. The close of the year

The siege of Gloucester saves the Parliament.

Essex relieves it. Sept. 5.

Indecisive Battle of Newbury. Sept. 20.

thus saw the fortunes of the rival parties still wholly undetermined, and the great crisis which might have proved fatal to the Parliament had passed.

While the war had thus been going on neither party had been politically idle. On both sides financial difficulties had to be met. On this point the Parliament were in a better position than the King. In the first place, they were backed by the willing generosity of the wealthy population of London, and had besides, in their apparent position as representatives of the nation, the power not only of laying on taxes, but also of pledging the national credit. Besides the collection of the regular taxes, and the tonnage and poundage, their chief financial means were assessments upon the city and upon the counties which owned their government, loans on the national credit, raised at an interest of eight per cent., free gifts and subscriptions, the confiscated or sequestered property of their enemies, and finally, an excise or inland tax levied upon a great number of commodities of home manufacture, especially upon liquors, but extending even to meat. They were even thus barely able to sustain their troops, and, early in the year 1644, we read of complaints addressed to Lord Fairfax by troops in the East, threatening immediate dissolution of the army unless money was forthcoming. One extraordinary tax, though it could not have been very lucrative, is so characteristic that it is worth mentioning. It was customary to have a weekly fast, and commissioners were appointed to collect from each household the price of one meal, whether they fasted or not, on those days.

The King's resources were of a less regular sort. He relied mainly at first upon the large gifts of his devoted followers, and upon the free service which many of them gave him. But subsequently, observing the advantage which the show of legality would give, he summoned to meet him at Oxford, in the form of a Parliament, all members who were his partisans, or had been rejected by the House in London, and any Peers who sided with him. Of the Peers a large majority joined him, of the Commons in all about 180, or about a third of the whole number. This quasi Parliament copied the expedient of the Parliament at Westminster and granted an excise, while the King again had recourse to the old plan of privy seals. This step gave him the further advantage of being able to speak of his opponents at Westminster as a small incendiary remnant, and as no real representative Parliament at all.

Another difficulty which, as King, he contrived to throw in the

Financial resources of the Parliament.

Resources of the King.

way of his opponents, was the adjournment of all the law courts to Oxford. It thus became necessary for the Parliament, for the purpose of carrying on the course of justice, to make a new great seal.¹

Besides these questions, the Parliament was much occupied with ecclesiastical matters. To settle these an Assembly of Divines met at Westminster in the beginning of June.

Assembly at
Westminster.
June 6.

Though the Presbyterians were in considerable majority, the ability of the few Independents amongst them rendered their action very slow, but they did at length produce a Directory in the place of the Prayer Book; and after the Covenant had been taken, and a treaty made with the Scotch, promising as far as possible unity between the two kingdoms, the Presbyterian form of worship may be regarded as established. Yet it never took a firm hold of the people; it was only here and there that it was to be seen in its complete working. This diversity in the form of worship, making each parish in some degree isolated from its neighbours, gradually prepared England for the ascendancy of that Independent party which was rapidly rising in importance.

It must not be supposed that even in the districts most devoted to Parliament there was no opposition. One reason probably for the inaction of the King in the early part of the year was his hope that he could raise a party in London. This hope was frustrated by the discovery of a plot, called Waller's Plot from the part which Edmund Waller the poet took in it. It had been the intention of the conspirators to publish a Commission of Array in London, to raise troops there in the King's name, and with assistance from the royal army to secure the person of the King's children, to apprehend the chief Parliamentary leaders, and to open the city to the King. The conspiracy was found out in time, its chief leaders punished (July 5), and Waller himself, who showed but a mean spirit on the occasion, was allowed to go abroad after paying a fine of £10,000.

In the beginning of the following year (1644) new combatants appear upon the field; on the part of the King the Irish, on the part of the Parliament the Scotch. Since the fearful outbreak of 1641 affairs had become much entangled in Ireland. The disputes at home had paralyzed the efforts of the English in that country. After the first surprise was over, some sort of opposition to the rebels had been organized. An army

Irish and Scotch
take part
in the war.

¹ The Lord-Keeper Littleton having fled to the King, a Commissioner sat in Chancery, and the only three judges who remained true to Parliament, Bacon, Reeve, and Trevor, presided in the three other Courts.

of Scotch, under Munro, had taken possession of Ulster, and Lord Ormond, as the King's Lieutenant, had collected an English army round Dublin. On the other hand, the Irish, headed by their clergy, had established a general council at Kilkenny. They had there received a benediction from the Pope upon their efforts, and had entered into communication with the Catholics abroad. There still existed among them the same diversity of opinion which had marked the beginning of the insurrection, the Catholic Lords of the Pale being desirous to make peace with the King, the Irish and Catholic Churchmen being for more extreme measures. The natural difficulties of the position were still further increased by the turn which affairs had taken in England, which in fact rendered the organization of a combined national effort against the rebels impossible. All these parties—Ormond, the Scotch and the Irish—equally declared that they were fighting for the King: the Scotch, now that their country was in treaty with Parliament, refused to take orders from Ormond, the King's Lieutenant, and held Ulster as in their own right. Ormond's army was Royalist, and took its commands from the King. The Parliament had thus no representative of their own interests. Though the King tried to throw the responsibility of continuing the war upon them, and they in some degree accepted it, their efforts to send assistance were not earnest, and when their commissioners went to Dublin, by the King's orders they were sent home again. In fact, the interests of the parties in England led them to hold exactly opposite views as to the line of policy to be pursued in Ireland. The King, to whom England was more important than Ireland, longed to bring the Irish army to oppose his English enemy. The Parliament hesitated to strengthen what might be an instrument of offence against themselves, and yet could not but be desirous to support the Protestants and Puritans of Ireland. The King thus became anxious for a cessation of the war, which would set the army at liberty; the Parliament, unable to join heartily in the support of Ormond, yet wished to continue the national opposition to the rebels. But the King was in this instance master of the game. Early in 1643 he began to speak of a truce, and before the conclusion of the year, in spite of the remonstrances of Parliament, a cessation of arms for a whole year was arranged.

It was concluded at almost the same time that the siege of Gloucester was raised; and early in the winter such of the Irish army as could be spared from garrison duty landed in Wales under the command of Lord Byron.

Truce with
the rebels
in Ireland.

enables the
King's army to
act. It lands
in Wales.

It was against these troops that the Parliamentary efforts in the next year were first directed. Fairfax was hurried from Lincolnshire into Cheshire, and there, at Nantwich, destroyed the newly arrived Irish, capturing among other prisoners Monk, afterwards so famous, who, after a short imprisonment, took service in the Parliamentary army. On

Is defeated
at Nantwich
Jan. 25.

The Scotch
enter England.

Gathering of
the armies in
Yorkshire.

the very same day as the success at Nantwich the Scotch army crossed the Border. Their advance was not wholly triumphant; they were foiled at Newcastle by the Marquis of Newcastle, but still that nobleman found himself obliged to fall back towards York, fearing to be enclosed by the army of Fairfax coming from the South and the Scotch coming from the North. There seemed every opportunity of at length destroying the royal influence in Yorkshire. There, therefore, all available troops were hurried. Sir Thomas Fairfax, after his success at Nantwich, had advanced to the siege of Latham House, held gallantly for the King by the Countess of Derby; this siege he shortly resigned into the hands of Mr. Rigby, who completely failed in his attempts, and had to retire in disgrace upon the advance of Prince Rupert. But meanwhile Fairfax had hurriedly joined his father in Yorkshire, where it soon became plain that a critical battle would be fought, for there the armies of both parties were concentrating. Rupert was ordered to join Newcastle at York, and Manchester, who had assumed command of the Association with Cromwell, was brought up to reinforce the Fairfaxes. The Prince, evading the armies which were lying round York, crossed the Ouse, and effected a junction with Newcastle. The three generals, having united their armies, appeared with their combined forces upon the plains of Long Marston. The armies were not in presence till five in the afternoon, and it seemed as if even then no battle would take place. But about

Battle of
Marston Moor.
July 2.

seven in the evening the Parliamentary generals began the fight. For the first time the Association troops, carefully formed and organized by Cromwell, in accordance with the principle he had laid down after Edgehill, met the dashing cavalry of Prince Rupert. The men of religion had at length been found to meet the gentlemen of honour. The victory of the Parliament, which was complete, seems to have been due to Cromwell. The Association troops were upon the left wing, opposed to Prince Rupert's horse. In his own description of the battle, Cromwell writes: "We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being

our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords; we charged their regiments afoot with our horse, and routed all we charged." While thus victorious upon the left, the Parliamentary troops had been so thoroughly worsted upon the right, that several generals, Leven among the number, had left the field, believing that the day was lost. But Cromwell's victorious wing, held back from pursuit by his prudence, fell upon the Royalists, disordered by their victory, and completely re-established the battle. It was with difficulty that Rupert could collect, after his flight, 4000 or 5000 men, while Newcastle, always at enmity with the Prince, and attributing his defeat to Rupert's bad management, withdrew to the coast, and retired in dudgeon to the Continent.

The fruits of the victory were the cities of York and Newcastle. The North of England was in fact conquered, and the troops and generals available elsewhere, where they were much wanted. It was Cromwell, and Cromwell's troops alone, who seemed able to secure success. In the rest of England all had been disaster. The two armies of Waller and Essex had attempted in vain to enclose the King at Oxford. By a simple stratagem he had got out of the city unsuspected, and passed between the two armies to Worcester. Essex was ordered to follow him wherever he went, while for Waller was intended the command of the army in the South and West. Between Essex and Waller there was a standing jealousy, and Essex, indignant at the important work being given to his rival, insisted upon leaving the pursuit of the King to Waller, while he himself undertook the Western campaign. Waller's pursuit was useless. The King succeeded in getting safely back to Oxford, and in inflicting a defeat upon his pursuer at Copredy Bridge. After this, Waller found his army disappearing, and had to return to London. Essex pursued his march into Devonshire and to Cornwall; but the King's forces, now free to act, gradually closed round him. His horse cut their way through the enemy, but the Earl himself, leaving his army to its fate, escaped by sea to Plymouth, and from thence to Portsmouth. His infantry, under Skippon, were forced to capitulate.

Parliamentary
disasters
elsewhere.

Copredy Bridge.
June 29.

Essex defeated
in Cornwall.
Sept 1.

The Parliament received its fugitive general without complaint, speedily reconstituted armies both for him and Waller, and summoned Manchester and Cromwell from the East to their aid. The combined forces of these generals

After Marston
Moor, Cromwell
joins the South-
ern army.

met the King at Newbury, as he marched from Basingstoke to Oxford. This second battle of Newbury was as indecisive as the first. The King, who in the general opinion was worsted, marched off unmolested in the night, although there was a bright moon, to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. He left his baggage and artillery in Dennington Castle, a stronghold close to Newbury, and fetched it thence, again unmolested, twelve days after. As Essex was absent from ill-health, the blame of this transaction rested with Manchester, whose want of activity brought to a point a quarrel which for some time had been rising between him and Cromwell, a quarrel which, though it took at first a personal form, was in fact one of principle, and the first step in the great contest between the Independents and Presbyterians.

It has been already mentioned that the political views of the leaders of the Long Parliament were at first conservative; that conservative reform and the restoration of the old liberties of England under trustworthy safeguards were the objects they had in view. At the same time, the Presbyterian form of religion, which, as the only organized rival to English Episcopacy at that time existing, was the form to which the majority of the Puritans naturally inclined, was essentially republican. Its republicanism, however, was of a very dogmatic and tyrannical sort. Now the real fault of the Roman Catholic and English forms of religion—that fault which had excited the opposition of the greater part of the religious men of England—was their want of spirituality. For a time the less sensuous and more spiritual character of Presbyterianism seemed to satisfy the want of men's minds. But as that form of religion had become predominant, as its dogmatic character had become more obvious, the same class of deeply religious minds which had supplied the enthusiasm necessary to carry out the early reforms of Parliament gradually awoke to the feeling that the spirit cannot be confined under arbitrary forms at all, that different minds will of necessity form different ideas upon religious subjects. There had thus grown up a large number of earnest men to whom the tyranny of Presbyterianism was scarcely less irksome than the Episcopal tyranny it had superseded. By far the most prominent of this class was Cromwell, whose genius and energy had rapidly forced him forward into a position of great prominence. To him spiritual religion was everything, the outward form which it took mattered little. But his mind was not only devoted to spiritual religion, it was also in the highest degree practical, and the ill effects

Second battle
of Newbury.
Oct. 22.

Rise of
Independency.

Cromwell's
practical,
religious, and
political views.

of Presbyterian tyranny had forced themselves upon his notice in more ways than one. He had set before himself the duty of forming an army, the members of which should be all of them thoroughly in earnest, and inspired with an enthusiasm capable of withstanding that enthusiasm which the sentiment of loyalty inspired, and who should at the same time be excellent practical soldiers. In carrying out this plan he had found himself frequently thwarted by the narrow theological views of the Presbyterians. Again and again we find in his letters marks of the opposition upon religious grounds which had been made to the employment of officers whom he could trust, and calumnious reports appear to have been set on foot against himself as a favourer of Anabaptists and sectaries.

The same practical tendency of his mind had led him and others of the same way of thinking to arrive at some political and social conclusions different from those which as yet had been prevalent. The conservative feeling of the English Reformers, and the loyalty of the Scots, with whom they worked in common, had induced them as yet to employ in all high places men of large property and high social rank, irrespective, in some degree at least, of their capacities, and to maintain on all occasions, even when most opposed to him, an outward respect for the King. In their most violent assaults upon Charles's policy it had been usual to introduce the clause "seduced by evil counsellors." Now Cromwell saw that this constitutional but illogical state of feeling tended only to prolong the war, while his practical knowledge of the working of the army led him to see that far abler generals might be found than the wealthy lords at first employed, who, moreover, were restrained, by the greatness of the interests they had at stake, from wishing to drive matters to extremity. The representative to him of these lukewarm, inefficient commanders was his own immediate superior, the Earl of Manchester. In him he seemed to see personified the ill effects both of the dogmatism of Presbyterianism and the undue respect for social position as contrasted with the real worth of the individual. The wasted success at Newbury brought matters to a crisis. Cromwell publicly charged Manchester in the House with having wilfully neglected to render that victory decisive. It was in vain, he said, that he had urged the General to allow him to fall with his horse on the retreating enemy and complete their defeat; and he accused him further of wilful mismanagement of the Association troops before his junction with Waller. Manchester, backed by the Presbyterians, and especially by Crawford, a Scotchman, whom the Presbyterian party

His quarrel with
Manchester.

had made his Major-General, defended himself, and recriminated upon Cromwell. But the sense of the nation, weary of the lengthened war, justified Cromwell's attack; and the open assault upon the aristocratic general tended much to hasten a project which had already been formed, of reorganizing, or, as it was then called, remodelling the army.

Cromwell and his friends—who never did things by halves, and who were bent, even at their own expense, at getting the war into more energetic hands—introduced, as a preparation for this reorganization, what is known as the Self-denying Ordinance. By this all members of either House of Parliament were made ineligible for commands in the new army. This at once, in an honourable way, would remove Manchester, Essex, Denbigh and Waller, and Cromwell himself, from the list of new commanders. The arguments by which it was supported—such, for instance, as the necessity for supporting the dignity of Parliament against the attacks of the King by keeping its numbers as full as possible; the danger which the Parliament ran of being accused of being self-seeking, and of wilfully prolonging the war for the sake of the authority with which it invested many of its members; and the certainty that as good or better generals were to be found among men of lower social rank—prevailed without much difficulty in the Lower House. In the Upper House, where the Presbyterian party was strong, after some debate it was rejected, on the ground that before passing such an ordinance it was necessary to know the form that the new modelled army would take. The object of the Self-denying Ordinance was no secret. It was understood to be a delicate way of getting rid of the old commanders. Cromwell urged the acceptance of the measure in a noble and patriotic speech. After remarking the danger the House ran of being charged with selfishness in continuing the war, he went on: "But this I recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief on any occasion whatsoever, for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waiving strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests for the public good."

Checked by the Lords, the Commons proceeded to remove

Self-denying
Ordinance.
1645.

the objection urged, and to settle what the new form of the army should be. This remodelling of the army was in fact neither more nor less than the foundation of a great standing army. The cavalry had for some time had in some degree the character of regular troops. The length of time necessary to form an efficient horse soldier, and the wealthier class which the superior comforts of that service had induced to join it, had given it a character of permanence. But the infantry seem usually to have been hastily raised and ill-trained levies, collected more or less on the principle of the old militia. Thus, half-soldier, half-labourer, the infantry men had shown a constant tendency to desert. This explains the frequent melting away of the Parliamentary armies, and the great part played in all the battles by the cavalry. By the new model the army was to become a regular and permanent body. The great question seems to have been whether the new commander-in-chief was to get his commission direct from the Parliament or to hold it indirectly from the Lord General, in which case his power would have been shackled by the Presbyterian party. The triumph of the supporters of the plan was great when Essex surrendered his commission, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief, with a commission held direct from both Houses, and with the power of nominating all the officers of the army. One further triumph the Independents won. Unable as yet to put aside the Covenant, they contrived that, though it had to be taken sooner or later, its acceptance should not necessarily form a preliminary step to appointment, but might be postponed to such convenient time as the Parliament might direct. By this relaxation it became possible to fill the ranks with efficient Independents. When the Lords were thus supplied with the shape of the new modelled army, a new Self-denying Ordinance was introduced, and finally passed on the 3rd of April. Essex was rewarded with a large pension, and died some two years after; while Manchester, whose virtues were civil rather than military, was put upon the Committee of both kingdoms.

While these important measures had been taken at Westminster with a view to the completion of the war, the Presbyterian party had had sufficient influence to set on foot some more useless negotiations with the King at Uxbridge. The demands of the two parties were found to be wholly irreconcilable; for Parliament still demanded the abolition of Episcopacy, the command of the army and navy, the continuation of the war with Ireland, and the right to nominate the great officers

Remodelled
army.
Failure of
Presbyterian
negotiations
at Uxbridge.
Feb. 22.

of state. The three great points—religion, the army, and Ireland—were to be debated in rotation; twenty days was the limit for the whole negotiation. The twenty days elapsed, and nothing had been done. The Houses refused to prolong the term, the treaty therefore came to an end. The presence of Vane and St. John, who were both Independents, may have had something to do with this result. Certainly the King seems to have retired from the negotiations with the knowledge of the complete division which had arisen in Parliament, and of the very destructive views held by the Independents.

Alarmed at the discovery of the danger that awaited him should he fall into the hands of the Independents, whose influence was constantly on the increase, and hoping something from the weakness which it was reasonable to suppose would be caused by the rivalry of party among his enemies, Charles was led to seek support on all sides and at any price. He instructed Ormond to change the cessation of arms at present existing in Ireland into a treaty, even at the price of the suspension of Poynings' Law, and of all penal acts against the Catholics. He thus hoped, as he said, that the Irish might freely and vigorously engage themselves against his rebels of England and Scotland, "for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour."

He had already formed the idea of obliging the Scotch allies of the Parliament to retire to their own country, by raising a Royalist army there. Even as early as April 1644, Montrose had made his appearance for that purpose at Dumfries. His efforts had been entirely unsuccessful, but the Earl of Antrim, with whom he had formed a combined scheme of action, had met with somewhat better success. He had been despatched to Ireland with the unscrupulous commission to treat both with the Scotch in Ulster and with the combined Catholics, and had been able to send some 1500 men, raised among his dependants, to the West Highlands, under the command of Alaster Macdonald, surnamed Colkitto. To this little army, while lying at Blair Athol, Montrose, who, after his unsuccessful visit to Scotland, had again withdrawn to the South, appeared in August 1644, and immediately found himself in command of a considerable army of mountaineers. His success at first was great. Lord Elcho's defeat at Tippermuir put Perth into his hands. In September Aberdeen surrendered. Argyle, Lieutenant of the kingdom, and a personal enemy both of Montrose and Antrim, succeeded indeed in checking his further advance, and then retired to

The Truce
in Ireland
changed to
peace in the
King's interest.

Montrose in
Scotland.

Inverary for the winter; but the difficulties of the season were overcome by the energetic Royalist commander. Inverary was surprised, the country of the Campbells laid waste, Argyle thoroughly beaten at Inverloch, and the north of Scotland was placed entirely in Montrose's hands. Although he was subsequently driven by Baillie from Dundee, he still kept the mountains, and succeeded in beating Hurry (May 4, 1645) at Alderne, not far from Inverness, and Baillie at Alford, near Aberdeen; he was then able to advance into the Lowlands, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, where he again won a complete victory over Baillie at Kilsyth (Aug. 15). For the moment he seemed master of Scotland, and the hopes of the King, whose affairs had not gone well in England, rested on him.

The remodelling of the army had been attended with considerable difficulty. The old troops were much inclined to mutiny at the loss of their officers, and had Essex put himself forward in their interest, much damage to the Parliamentary cause would have ensued. Even when that difficulty was overcome, some time had to be spent in forming the new troops, and while Fairfax was thus employed during the month of April, the Parliament was in fact almost without an army. Even when it was formed, one of the new officers tells us that the disaffection was great, and that the chances were in favour of the King should he move rapidly and avoid a general engagement. During this time Cromwell, who had not yet laid down his command, was employed with Massey and Waller in restraining the Royalist army in the South-west, commanded by Goring. The expedition was tolerably successful, but its completeness was marred by the threatening attitude taken up by Rupert, who however subsequently withdrew to Worcester, intending, apparently, to march across England and assault the associated counties. For that purpose he summoned the King with a convoy from Oxford. To Cromwell was intrusted the duty of destroying that convoy, which he successfully performed. This duty was specially given him after he had returned to bid adieu to the general and resign his command. Again, on his return from Oxford, he withdrew into the Eastern counties, acting only in his civil capacity as one of the committee for those counties.

Meanwhile, early in April, Fairfax with his new army advanced westward to raise the siege of Taunton, which city Goring was besieging. Before that task was completed he received orders to enter on the siege of Oxford. This did not suit his own views or those of the Independents. They had joined their new army upon the

First campaign
of the new-
modelled army.

implied condition that decisive battles should be fought. It was therefore with great joy that Fairfax received orders to proceed in pursuit of the royal forces, which, having left Worcester, were marching apparently against the Eastern Association, and had just taken Leicester on their way. Before entering on this active service,

Cromwell continued in his employments.

Battle of Naseby.
June 14.

Fairfax demanded and obtained leave for Cromwell to serve at least for one battle more in the capacity of Lieutenant-General.¹ He came up with the King in the neighbourhood of Harborough. Charles turned back to meet him, and just by the village of Naseby the great battle known by that name was fought. Cromwell had joined the army, amid the rejoicing shouts of the troops, two days before, with the Association horse. Again the victory seems to have been chiefly due to his skill. In detail it is almost a repetition of the battle of Marston Moor. Cromwell commanded the right wing, Ireton the left; Rupert annihilated Ireton's troops, Cromwell was equally successful against the troops opposed to him. Checking the pursuit, he charged upon the flank of Rupert's returning wing, and the King's infantry seeing both its wings destroyed, broke and fled.

The only army which now remained to Charles in England was that of Goring in the West; and by the confession of writers on his own side, the King's sole hope rested on the success of Montrose in Scotland, and on the negotiations he was carrying on with the Irish rebels. Into Ireland he had sent Herbert (son of the Marquis of Worcester), now made Lord Glamorgan, with secret instructions to grant, if necessary, the supremacy of the Catholic religion in that island,—terms which he had not ventured to grant in his public negotiations carried on through Ormond, but which were insisted upon by the Irish and clerical party in the Council of Kilkenny. In September Lord Digby writes to Ormond: "If his Majesty can once see his person secure from being thus daily hazarded and chased about, I see no reason why we should be at all dismayed with our many misfortunes here, since no man can think England divided (though the major part against the King), able to resist Scotland and Ireland entire for him with any considerable party here." Relying on these treacherous hopes, the King withdrew to Wales, and attempted there to form a

Fairfax victorious in the West.

new army, while Fairfax advanced triumphantly to the West, raised the siege of Taunton, defeated Goring at Langport (in July), and stormed Bridgewater, hitherto

¹ This commission was subsequently renewed again and again for periods of forty days.

regarded as impregnable. Leaving the completion of his victory in that quarter for some future time, Fairfax then turned towards Bristol, which with Chester and with Hereford formed a line of Royalist fortresses across the West of England. Brereton, with the help of a certain number of the Scotch, was pressing Chester hard; the Scotch army was advancing to attempt the capture of Hereford. Charles, scarcely knowing where he was going, advanced across England to Newark, then back to Oxford, in time to hear that the victory of Kilsyth had had its effect, it had summoned the Scotch horse under David Leslie back to their own country. With renewed confidence he therefore advanced to Hereford, and raised the siege (Sept. 10), and was proceeding southward to do the same at Bristol, which he had regarded as safe in the hands of Prince Rupert, when he heard of the storm of that city. It was still possible that Chester might be saved. Thither the King now turned, but his troops were defeated outside the walls at Rowton Heath (Sept. 23). Almost at the same time he heard the news of the disastrous defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh (Sept. 12). Victory, as is not unusual with Highland armies, had been more fatal than defeat; the bulk of Montrose's followers had withdrawn to their own country, and he had marched with some 500 or 600 men to the Tweed, hoping to form a junction there with some troops which the King had promised him. While encamped upon Philiphaugh, in the neighbourhood of Selkirk, he was surprised by David Leslie and the Scotch horse, and his army annihilated. He himself escaped to the Highlands.

The war was now in fact over. In August, before the siege of Bristol, Cromwell had suppressed an organization which had been formed in Somerset and the neighbouring counties—really in the Royalist interest, though nominally to keep the war from their own borders—by the countrymen of those districts, who, from their rude weapons, were spoken of by the name of Clubmen. He had subsequently, in October, reduced most of the royal strongholds between Somerset and London. Lord Hopton's army in Devonshire was all that was now left to conquer; for the secret treaty of Glamorgan with the Irish had been discovered, and the King had been compelled to disown his own instructions, so that help from that quarter was no longer available. Against the Western army Fairfax advanced triumphantly, besieged Exeter, beat Hopton at Torrington, and finally enclosed him in Cornwall, where he

Fall of Bristol.

Defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh.

No hope from Ireland.

was obliged to disband his army in March 1646. Almost immediately afterwards, Astley, the last of the King's generals, was defeated at Stowe-on-the-Wold (March 22); and the King, left without an army, remained in Oxford, the only point of great importance which still belonged to him. There were, however, other fortresses as yet unsubdued. These were one by one reduced, and finally, the King having left Oxford on the 22nd of April, Fairfax sat down before that city, which surrendered with the royal sanction on the 20th of June.

Destruction of the King's army in the West.

In the month of April the King had seen all his fortresses reduced, and was convinced that, as nothing further could be done in the field, he must himself leave Oxford, unless he was willing to run the risk of falling a prisoner into the hands of his enemies. From arms he turned to negotiation and intrigue. He had always an overweening idea of his own diplomatic skill, which indeed was not slight, while the duplicity of his character fitted him well for the pursuit of tortuous intrigues. He saw the jealousy which existed between the Presbyterians and Independents, and even more strongly between the Independents and the Scotch, strengthened, as in this instance it was, by national differences. Ignorant of the strength of the feeling which formed the basis of the union of these parties, relying upon the still powerful influence exercised by the name of royalty, and trusting to his personal skill, he began a threefold intrigue. He sent propositions containing considerable concessions to the Parliament, but was met either with refusal, or by silence which was worse than refusal, and when it was thought that he intended to appear in London, stringent orders were given to prevent intercourse with him. To Colonel Rainsborough, the commander of the troops about Oxford, he suggested that he should put himself into the hands of the army. Colonel Rainsborough answered that he could not act without Parliament. Thwarted by the good faith of these two parties in the plan which he had opened to Digby, being, as he said, "not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, that I shall be really King again," he applied to the Scotch. It has been observed that through all their opposition the Scotch had kept their loyalty. He hoped his appearance among them would further kindle this feeling. It was by French agency that he intended to set the negotiations on foot: direct aid from France, although in the course

Charles tries in vain to divide his enemies.

Files to the Scotch at Newark.

of the war it had been sometimes afforded, could not be relied upon, as that country was involved in a war with Spain; but an agent of the name of Montreuil was obtained to act as a go-between in the transactions with the Scotch. How far the King's hopes in this matter went he himself tells us in a letter to Ormond (April 13). "We are resolved," he says, "to use our best endeavour, with their assistance and with the conjunction of the forces under Montrose, and such of our well-affected subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure an honourable and speedy peace with those who have hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereto." Montreuil was so far successful, that the Scotch Commissioners at London, where party spirit was at its highest, appear to have promised the King a favourable reception, and freedom from coercion both for his conscience and his honour. The Scotch Commissioners, with the army, although they probably knew of the promise of their compatriots in London, carefully avoided implicating themselves in it, and nothing but a vague pledge of honourable reception could be got from them. On this, however, the King determined to rely, and fled from Oxford (April 27), disguised as a servant of John Ashburnham, and attended by a clergyman of the name of Hudson. His own Council were ignorant of his designs, which were indeed such as could scarcely be avowed. Further to hoodwink them, he had directed his course towards London, but, turning northward, took refuge with Montreuil and the Scotch army before Newark. He was received with a show of respect, but soon found himself only in honourable captivity. The Covenant was at once pressed upon him, and it is not clear what the conduct of the Scotch might have been had he honestly made common cause with them. But he still believed in his power of temporizing; and, urged by some threatening votes of the English Parliament, the Scotch determined upon acting honourably and remaining true to their engagements. They declared that they had no idea of separating themselves from their alliance with the English Parliament, asserted that the King's letter to Ormond, which implied that they would join with Montrose to destroy it, was a damnable untruth; and, upon the Parliament of England voting that they could now do without the Scotch assistance, they retired northward, bargaining only for the due payment of their arrears of pay. This, to the amount of £400,000, was given, and they withdrew to Newcastle (Jan. 30, 1647), whither the English Parliament, whose jealousy was thoroughly aroused, ordered them to be followed by the

They refuse to join his intrigues.

Their arrears being paid, they withdraw, and give up the King.

English army under Poyntz and Fairfax. One further chance of honest and straightforward treaty was given the King at Newcastle. Upon his refusing the articles offered him, which were similar to those offered at Uxbridge, but rendered a little more stringent, he was given over to the English Commissioners, and the Scotch army withdrew beyond the Tweed (Feb. 3).

It was during his residence with the Scotch, and in order to facilitate a treaty with any of the three parties, that the King had issued orders for the surrender of the rest of the fortresses which still held out for him in England. Even while at Newcastle, in the midst of the difficult negotiations between the Parliament and the Scotch, Charles, unable to accept the terms of any party, was still continuing his underhand treaties with the Irish rebels. In the autumn of the year before, the treaty which Glamorgan had contracted with them having come inopportunately to light, had been given up, and Glamorgan disowned and thrown into prison; but now two letters were written to Ormond, the one public, forbidding him to treat, the other private, and with exactly opposite orders, in obedience to which Ormond made a treaty in March on much the same terms as the disowned arrangement of Glamorgan. But even this did not satisfy the Irish clerical party, who, under the Pope's Nuncio, were holding a synod at Waterford. Victorious over the Scotch at a great battle at Benburb, O'Neil, the leader of the Ulster army, gave them his support; all who favoured the treaty were threatened with excommunication, and the war was pressed on, till Ormond, finding himself reduced to the alternative of surrendering Dublin to the Irish or the Parliament, honourably chose the latter course, and a certain number of troops under Colonel Michael Jones came from Chester, and upheld, though with much difficulty, the sinking English cause.

In obtaining the King from the Scotch the Presbyterian party had won a complete victory. They were now at the height of their power. They were freed from the presence of the Scotch army, yet on good terms with that country; they had the King in their possession, whom they now kept as a prisoner at Holmby House, and with whom they could refuse to treat except on the basis of the propositions offered in common with the Scotch at Newcastle. After some trouble in settling the rival claims of Church and State with the Assembly of Divines, they had succeeded in passing an ordinance establishing Presbyterianism, and the system was being set on foot both in London and in Lancashire. Their

Ormond places
the Irish war
in the hands of
the Parliament.

Triumph of the
Presbyterians
in Parliament.

triumph was everywhere complete, and they meant to enjoy it, having no real thoughts, even though the war was over, of re-establishing the old government of the country.

One danger still lay before them, and that was the army, which all those who disliked Presbyterian tyranny regarded as their safeguard. It was, in its turn, regarded with disfavour by the Parliament, which consisted in part of the displaced colonels of the old army, and which observed that many of the soldiers had not yet taken the Covenant. The City of London, of great importance as the chief source of revenue to the Parliament, was Presbyterian in its tendencies, and now petitioned for the disbanding of the army. This step the Parliament proceeded to take. The order was given that the armies should be broken up, with the exception of certain troops, which, under the command of the Presbyterian Generals Massey and Skippon, were to be sent to Ireland. But the Presbyterian majority did not appreciate either the strength of religious feeling, or of *esprit de corps* in the army, as created by the new model. When the regiments received the orders, they refused to dissolve, or to serve in Ireland under the officers appointed; advancing perfectly just claims for the payment of arrears (which were in some instances due for forty-three weeks), for an Act of indemnity for all acts done during the war, and for pensions for the widows of those slain. On these points they addressed a remonstrance to the House through Fairfax. These claims were further supported by the removal of the army to Saffron Walden (March 21). The Parliament attempted to suppress the rising spirit of the troops with a high hand, and votes were passed, in one of which they were spoken of as "enemies of the State and disturbers of the public peace." This was an insult which distressed them much. Believing that their claims were just, that among them the real patriotic spirit was alive, and regarding the leaders of Parliament as men who were wilfully postponing the settlement of the country for their own aggrandizement, such terms as applied to themselves seemed particularly misplaced. The Declaration in which the words were used was passed on the 30th of March. The army proceeded to organize a sort of Parliament, in which the privates were represented by men elected by themselves, and called agents or adjutators, a word generally changed into agitators. Several deputations from Parliament produced no effect. The Presbyterians, led by Holles, passed a new ordinance for raising the London militia to act as a counterbalancing power, and placed it in trustworthy Presbyterian hands. In May a third deputation, consisting of

They attempt
to disband
the army.

Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood and Skippon, was sent down to inquire into the army grievances, and eight weeks' pay having been given, the orders for disbanding were repeated. But eight weeks' pay was but a small instalment of what was due. A great meeting of agitators, under the authority of Fairfax, was held at Bury St. Edmunds, and a rendezvous of all the troops called at Newmarket. At that rendezvous Fairfax and the officers demanded their pay and the removal of the slur which the Declaration had put upon their character. Matters assumed so threatening an aspect that even the strong Presbyterians, Holles, Stapleton, and Glyn, began to give way, and the offensive Declaration was expunged from the records of the House.

Meanwhile a step had been taken which somewhat changed the aspect of affairs. Cornet Joyce and 500 troopers appeared before Holmby House (June 2), acting without authority, but as they knew the army would approve. The King, who thought that at length the opportunity he had watched for had arrived, when the Presbyterians and Independents would destroy each other and make room for the restoration of his authority,

The army gets possession of the King.

was by his own consent taken to the army. He indeed insisted upon a form of coercion, apparently yielding to Joyce's significant reply that his commission consisted in the troops he had with him, "a commission," as the King said laughing, "written in characters fair and legible enough." But when Fairfax offered to release him from Joyce, he positively declined. He was taken to Newmarket, and treated with all respect. On the 10th of June a great rendezvous was held at Royston, or Triploe Heath, near Cambridge. The army assembled to the number of 21,000. The question was put to them by the Parliamentary Commissioners whether they were satisfied with the Parliament votes, and the answer was constantly given in the negative. The same afternoon they moved towards London,

Advances towards London.

sending before them a letter to the City of London, declaring that their sole objects were their just claims, and the immediate settlement of Government, "Prevented by a few self-seeking men, who aimed at the privileges both of Parliament and people." At the same time the army demanded a termination of the present Parliament, and the dismissal of eleven of the most obnoxious Presbyterian leaders. As they still continued to approach London, these eleven thought it wise to withdraw. The Independents thus became for a time the majority in the House, and the leadership of the Presbyterian party devolved upon the City of London. For six weeks, from June 16th to July the 26th, the army lay round London,

approaching or withdrawing as its demands were refused or complied with.

The purified House had declared Fairfax's army to be the army of Parliament, and the new militia ordinance was repealed; and, although the parties were almost evenly balanced, the fear of the army gave such predominance to the Independents that it seemed as if the settlement which the army demanded might have been brought about. That settlement was gradually being arranged by Fairfax and a council of officers. It was considerably more liberal than the propositions which the Parliament had offered the King. The objects of the Independents were before all else the quiet settlement of the country and freedom of conscience. For these objects they were willing to sacrifice a good deal. They offered to go so far as to allow of the existence of the Church side by side with the Presbyterian worship, if only all coercive power was removed from both. They consented to except only five individuals from the general pardon, and even to restore the army and navy to the Crown at the end of ten years. At the same time they saw the necessity of restraining not only the Crown, but the Parliament which had introduced the Presbyterian tyranny. They consequently demanded biennial Parliaments and a reform of the constituency; and, as general improvements, desired the removal of the excise, an equalized land-tax, the abolition of tithes, and a shortening of the processes of law. On these terms they were willing to re-establish Charles in his power. For, as in one of their papers, probably written by Cromwell (June 10), they declare, "We desire no alteration in the civil government, as little do we desire to interrupt the settlement of the Presbyterian government, only we wish that every good citizen, and every man who walks peaceably in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the commonwealth, might have liberty and encouragement, this being according to the true policy of all states, and even to justice itself."

Moderate terms offered by the army.

The quiet progress of this settlement was suddenly interrupted by a great outbreak of Presbyterian London on the 26th of July. On that day the apprentices, "and many other rude boys and fellows among them, came into the House of Commons, and kept the door open, and their hats on, and called out as they stood, 'Vote, vote,' and in that elegant posture stood till votes passed," replacing the London militia in the hands of Presbyterians, and recalling the eleven. This scene of violence induced the Speakers of both Houses and the Independent members, on the plea

Presbyterian reaction in London.

that they were under coercion, to withdraw from Parliament and take refuge with the army, which at once set itself to march towards the capital. It was in vain that the Presbyterian remnant of the House attempted to organize opposition, and to enlist forces under Massey, Waller and Poyntz. The approach of the army dissolved all these preparations; the Southwark militia fraternized with the troops, and at last the Common Council "resolved to send the General a humble letter, beseeching that there might be a way of composure." The army then marched through London, and subsequently took up its position round Putney and Hampton Court.

The army
marches through
the capital.
Aug. 6.

It might have been hoped that Charles would have embraced the opportunity thus offered him for a prosperous settlement of affairs. But in his folly he still hoped that the rival parties would extirpate each other; and when the final propositions were brought to him, to the astonishment of his old friends no less than of his enemies, although the terms had they believed been already settled with him, he returned a flat negative. The secret reason of this was probably that, by the instrumentality of Lauderdale, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, he was again intriguing with the Scotch, and not with the Scotch only, but at the same time with both Ormond and Capel, for a movement in his favour among his own followers. His constant duplicity, and the impossibility that was found of bringing about any treaty with him, was rapidly changing the views of the army. Cromwell, who had been foremost in the late negotiations, began to see his error and to throw himself more and more into the general feelings of the troops, among whom a stern and angry feeling was rapidly rising, leading them to demand the execution of the King. Indeed, a democratic and destructive party was being formed

His duplicity
renders compromise
hopeless.

among them, known as the Levellers, whose influence gradually spread through all the ranks, reaching even those who did not thoroughly hold with them. Charles's residence at Hampton Court, where at first he had been well entertained, gradually assumed more and more the appearance of an imprisonment. He began to fear for his life. An unsigned warning, coming it is said from Cromwell himself, of approaching danger, and a belief in the probable success of the intrigues he was carrying on, induced him to fly (Nov. 11). The anonymous notice and a letter giving the reasons of his flight were found upon his table, while he himself pursued his course through the South of England. Ulti-

mately, about the middle of November, he took refuge in the Isle of Wight, where he hoped that Colonel Hammond, the nephew of one of his chaplains, would give him a favourable reception. From Carisbrook Castle, out of immediate reach of his enemies, Charles continued his negotiations on all sides. Their first effect was to make an open breach between the Parliament and the Scotch. Fresh efforts were made by the Parliament to bring about a final treaty. Four clauses were drawn up as an ultimatum; but before they could be arranged the feeling of the Scotch was shown by an attempt of their Commissioners to object to them. Parliament, in anger, passed a strong vote against any "foreign" interference, and the bills were laid before the King. But meanwhile the Scotch had obtained access to Charles; he had made a private treaty with them, and rejected the four clauses. Parliament at once broke with the Scotch, dismissed their Commissioners, re-established the old Committee

Flight to
Carisbrook.

He intrigues
with the Scotch
1648.

of Public Safety, and passed (Jan. 15) what is known as the Vote of Non-addresses, by which it was resolved that no message should be received from the King, or application made to him, under the penalties of high treason. But the delay of any final settlement, now that the war appeared over, was beginning to have an effect upon the nation. While the Scotch were thus estranged, a reaction was taking place in England, and as a natural consequence the feelings of the army were becoming more and more envenomed against the King. In vain Cromwell tried to bring the views of the army and Parliament into unison. It became plain that he must choose between one party and the other. The course of affairs during the last year, and the danger of a total subversion of all the work of the civil war which began to show itself, induced him frankly to embrace the side of the army. A curious description is given us of a prayer-meeting in which he took part, where the army arrived at the conclusion that the present uneasy state of affairs arose from their turning aside from the simplicity of their course, and attempting to act politically, by entering into negotiation with Charles in the preceding year.

The storm was soon to break, and the Scotch, the Presbyterians, and the Royalists to make common cause against the army. Hamilton, whose conduct had throughout the war been so questionable that the King had once imprisoned him in Pendennis Castle, had now, by a pretence of strict Presbyterianism, succeeded in procuring a vote from the Scotch Estates that 40,000 men should be raised for the invasion of England. In March, Poyer, a

Reaction.
Scotch invade
England.

Presbyterian colonel, had declared for the King in Wales. An insurrection under Capel had broken out in Kent; the fleet had declared for the King; and in London a sufficient reaction had taken place to re-establish the Presbyterian influence. In fact, a second civil war had begun; and if the whole work of the Revolution was not to be swept away, it was necessary that the army should return to its proper work, and leave for the time political affairs in the hands of its enemies. It was not long in asserting its pre-eminence. While Fairfax defeated the Kentish men at Maidstone, and Capel was driven to take refuge in Colchester, Cromwell reduced Wales,

and in union with Lambert defeated and annihilated at Preston Hamilton's Scotch army. This, with the subsequent fall of Colchester and the retirement of the fleet to Holland, completed the defeat of the Royalists. But during the absence of the army in service, the general feeling of the nation had induced Parliament to consent once more to attempt a reconciliation, and to open a final personal treaty with the King at Newport. But the success of the army had been too complete and too rapid to allow of its completion. Strengthened by their victories, the Independents began to raise their demands. Formidable hints occurred in their petitions suggesting the punishment of the King and the substitution of elective for hereditary monarchy. In vain the Treaty of Newport was hurried forward. The King still contested every point, trusting to the chapter of accidents.

Are defeated
at Preston.

He procrastinated too long. The appearance of Colonel Ewer, with orders to take the King from the charge of Hammond, and the summons of Hammond himself to London, induced him, when too late, hurriedly to agree on the two chiefly disputed points. He allowed that seven of his friends should be excepted from the pardon, and that the Bishops should be suspended. The concession

came too late. The army was again predominant. The King was carried off and confined in Hurst Castle. The army marched to London, and on the Parliament declaring by a majority of forty-six in favour of the Newport treaty, extreme measures were adopted. On the following day Colonel Pride appeared at the door of the House. Lord Grey of Groby stood beside him; and, as the most important members of the majority approached, on a whisper from Lord Grey, Pride ordered his troopers to carry them off

one by one to prison. Thus, on the whole, more than a hundred were excluded. The transaction is known as "Pride's Purge," and the remnant of the House, about fifty in num-

Negotiations
at Newport.

Charles taken
from Carisbrook.

Pride's Purge.

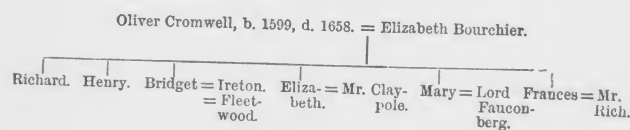
ber, is spoken of as "The Rump." The army was now absolutely supreme, Parliament was its obedient subject, and government was really carried on by two military councils—an upper one, consisting of the officers, which was regarded with some suspicion by the mass of the army, and a lower one, consisting of representatives of the soldiers. Measures approved of by these councils were brought to the Parliament and there obediently sanctioned.

By this time the King's fate was sealed. On the 7th of December Colonel Harrison brought him from Hurst Castle to Whitehall. On the 23rd a bill was passed ordering his trial. On the first of the new year, to levy war against the Parliament and Kingdom of England was declared high treason, and a High Court of Justice was appointed to decide whether Charles had been guilty of that treason or not. The Lords indeed had the courage to refuse it, but the Commons determined to act upon their own authority. Though treated with much indignity as a prisoner, Charles seems still to have had hope. But the War of the Fronde incapacitated the French from coming to his assistance. The suppression of the late war had rendered the power of the army too absolute for opposition at home. On the 20th of January the High Court assembled in the Painted Chamber, under the presidency of Bradshaw, and with all the solemn apparatus of a court of justice. When called upon to plead, Charles refused to acknowledge the authority of the court. By the letter of the law no doubt he was right; but, as Bradshaw replied, the objection was not to the point, no court would allow its own jurisdiction to be questioned. Charles attempted in vain to demand a conference with a joint-committee of the Lords and Commons; and as he still refused to plead, sentence of death was passed upon him. He bore himself, as usual on public occasions, with calm dignity; and the words in which he declared himself the champion of the liberties of the English people, and the calm and religious temper in which he passed the last days of his life, went far to obliterate from the popular mind the tyranny of his earlier, and the duplicity of his later life. He was beheaded, before Whitehall, on the 29th of the month, saying upon the scaffold, "Sirs, it is for the liberties of the people that I am come here; if I would have assented to an arbitrary sway, to have all things changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come hither, and therefore I tell you, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge, that I am a martyr to the people."

Trial and death
of the King.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

1649—1660.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

France.	Germany.	Spain.
Louis XIV., 1643.	Ferdinand III., 1637. Leopold I., 1658.	Philip IV., 1621.

POPES.—Innocent X., 1644. Alexander VII., 1655.

THE death of the King was followed immediately by the declaration of the Commonwealth. In February both Kingship and the House of Lords were abolished, and the House of Commons was declared the supreme power of the nation, the executive power being placed in a Council of State of forty-one members, who were to hold their office for a year. Of these, three-fourths were members of the House of Commons. Although the House of Lords was abolished, some of the Peers still clung to the popular party. There were five among the number of the Council of State, and two at least got themselves elected members of the House of Commons. The administration went on without much apparent change. The Houses of Parliament had indeed so long exercised the supreme power that the formal assumption of it by one of them made but little difference. A new Great Seal was made, and six of the judges resigned, but the rest consented to keep their places on a pledge that the fundamental laws of England should be unaltered; and in other respects the administration continued as before. In some degree, to lessen the glaring absurdity of calling the few members who were left in Parliament the national representation,

Establishment
of the Republi-
can Government.

1649]

THE LEVELLERS

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their numbers were increased. All excluded members, except those who had been the victims of Pride's Purge, were readmitted, a certain number of vacancies filled up, and by these means the number of the House was raised to about 150. The punishment of some of the leaders of the second civil war completed the work of the establishment of the Government. The Lords Hamilton, Holland, Norwich, Capel, Goring, and Sir John Owen, were tried and found guilty, and although they had been admitted to quarter upon the field of battle, it was held that this did not extend to their civil guilt. The two last were alone spared.

Having set themselves firmly in the seat of power, the new rulers of England had to turn their thoughts towards the completion of their work in the other two kingdoms. The Royalist party being entirely suppressed in England, an opportunity was at length afforded of prosecuting with vigour the war against the Irish rebels, which domestic difficulties and the constant intrigues of the King had hitherto enfeebled. It was determined that Cromwell, whom all now recognized as the ablest soldier of the time, should be intrusted with the management of this war, and he took upon him, not without some hesitation, the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the duty of modelling or organizing the army for that purpose. He was met at the threshold with very considerable difficulties.

The Levelling tendencies already mentioned had been suppressed for a time at a rendezvous held at Ware by the summary execution of Arnold, one of the ringleaders, but they had not ceased to spread. They had been kept in abeyance by the active work afforded to the troops; but now that the war was over, they again showed themselves in a more alarming form. Originally the fruit of mistaken religious views, they now acquired a more practical shape. Sometimes they were exhibited in a way that was harmless enough, as when certain men proceeded to dig and plant the waste lands in Surrey, declaring their expectation that England would shortly accept their view of community of goods. But in the army the effect was more dangerous. John Lilburne, always an open-mouthed upholder of individual liberty, became the leader of the movement. He, and those who thought with him, had expected as the fruit of their work some sort of millennium, and were disappointed when it seemed that a change of masters was all that they had gained. He published two famous pamphlets, one entitled "England's New Chains Discovered," and the other "The Hunting of the Foxes from

His difficulties
with the
Levellers.

Triploe Heath to Whitehall by five Small Beagles," the foxes being the army grandees, the five small beagles certain troopers who had been punished for insubordination. Filled with these views, the troops refused to serve against Ireland. The regiments selected had been chosen perfectly fairly, but the idea got abroad that those were to be sent upon the service who were most opposed to the new order of things. The first actual mutiny, however, broke out in Colonel Whalley's regiment, which was not one of the Irish regiments. When ordered to quit London they refused, and at "The Bull," in Bishopsgate, an open mutiny showed itself, which was rapidly suppressed by Fairfax and Cromwell in person, and one of the ringleaders, Lockyer, was shot in St. Paul's Churchyard. He was a man of good character and religious life, and his death excited the strongest sympathy. His funeral was made a public demonstration: "a hundred went before the corpse, five or six in file, the corpse was then brought, with six trumpets sounding a soldier's knell, then the trooper's horse came, clad in mourning and led by a footman; the corpse was adorned with bundles of rosemary, one half stained in blood, and the sword of the deceased along with them; some thousands followed in rank and file, all had sea-green and black ribbon tied on their hats and to their breasts; the women brought up the rear." Immediately after this demonstration, the Levellers produced their programme in a petition against the new Constitution, which was known as the Agreement of the People. The petition suggested sweeping measures, such as annual Parliaments, the abolition of tithes and of the Court of Chancery, and the continued close adherence to the Self-denying Ordinance. At a review in Hyde Park many sea-green badges were seen, and though the influence of Cromwell suppressed disorder, the men's temper was not good; and news reached London that both in Oxfordshire and in Salisbury open mutiny had begun. In Oxfordshire, Captain Thompson broke from his quarters with about 200 followers, while Cornet Thompson, his brother, marched from Salisbury with the intention of joining him, or of getting to Gloucestershire, where there were other disaffected troops. Fairfax and Cromwell started rapidly in pursuit, and after an extraordinary march of nearly fifty miles, came upon the mutineers at Burford, broke in upon them when they were asleep, and took all the chief of them prisoners. Those who were selected for punishment were placed upon the leads of Burford Church, overlooking the place of execution. Thompson and two corporals were shot. This was considered vengeance enough;

They are suppressed.

the rest were pardoned. Captain Thompson in the meanwhile had been killed in arms in Northamptonshire.

This was in May. On the 10th of July, Cromwell, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, set out with much pomp for Bristol. It was uncertain what enemies he would there meet; for the death of the King, accepted in England, had had the effect of re-establishing the Royalist party both in Scotland and in Ireland, and the young King Charles II., who had taken refuge with his relative, the Prince of Orange, in Holland, pressed by both countries, was uncertain as yet to which he would betake himself. The Scotch universally recognised the King as an integral part of the Government, and in that country all parties were almost equally shocked with the turn affairs had taken in England. The professed Royalists were in exile with the young King, but the Presbyterian Estates and Church also at once determined to send Commissioners, offering to acknowledge him if he would but accept the Covenant. He hesitated on two grounds; on the one hand, Ormond, who had returned as his Lieutenant to Ireland, had gone far towards harmonizing all parties in opposition to the Parliament, and urged his presence there; on the other, Montrose and the Royalists were eager to try their fortunes again in Scotland, and Charles preferred to await the issue of their enterprise before purchasing the general national assistance at the price of acknowledging his father's faults and of accepting the Covenant, which he heartily disliked. The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, who had assisted at the late King's trial, and was put to death by some of Montrose's Royalist friends, compelled him to withdraw from the Hague. He sent an unsatisfactory answer to the Scotch, and withdrew to St. Germain, having resolved to try his fortune in Ireland.

Uncertainty of Charles II.'s movements.

Proposals of the Scotch.

Things there meanwhile promised well for him. Michael Jones had been with difficulty making head against the various rebel armies. He had defeated Preston at Dungan Hill, while Lord Inchiquin had beaten Taaffe with the Munster troops at Clontarf. Disputes had as usual run high among the Irish. The Papal Nuncio had fallen out with the Council of Kilkenny, and had first fled to his friend Owen Roe in Ulster, and subsequently had withdrawn from the Island. But the King's death had for a moment healed all differences. Lord Inchiquin had himself changed sides. Even the Scotch Presbyterians, true to the letter of their Covenant, had declared against Parliament, and with the exception of Owen O'Neil, who was attempting negotiations with Monk in Ulster, the

and of the Irish.

whole country seemed combined under Ormond; while that part of the fleet which had revolted rode triumphantly on the coast under the command of Prince Rupert. Dublin and Londonderry were the only strongholds which still held out for Parliament. Even the quarrel with O'Neil was before long healed. The Parliament refused to acknowledge any negotiations with the instigator of the Irish massacre, his own soldiers refused to obey Monk's orders, and O'Neil's Irish, after his death, which occurred shortly after these events, joined the great mass of Royalists. It was therefore to Ireland that Prince Charles first intended to go.

The difficulty of organizing his army kept Cromwell some time at Milford. His first intention was to land in Munster, but a great success won by Jones induced him to change his plan. Ormond bringing his army to Dublin, in the hope of triumphantly closing the war, was completely defeated, and his army destroyed by Jones at Rathmines (Aug. 2). An opening was thus afforded to Cromwell in the capital, whither, in company with Ireton, his son-in-law, as third in command (Jones ranking as second), he betook himself on the 15th of August. The arrival of Cromwell with his troops entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The army, which had become lax, was brought under the most rigorous discipline. All plundering and injury to the inhabitants was forbidden under pain of death, and with the determination to make

Cromwell goes to Ireland.

His campaign there. a final end of the disturbances in the Island, Cromwell set sternly to work. From Dublin he advanced northwards towards Drogheda, waited some days in hopes of bringing on a pitched battle, then breached the walls and stormed the town. Thither the best of the English troops in the island had been sent under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, an officer of known courage, who had declared his ability to hold the town. The defence of the breaches, as was to be expected, was obstinate, but ultimately (Sept. 11) the Parliamentary troops, led by Cromwell in person, forced them, and bursting into the town, refused quarter, putting to death all those who were found in arms. Some isolated strong points were surrendered at discretion, the officers and priests alone were killed, the common men taken prisoners and sent to the Barbadoes. Much has been said of the cruelty of this storm, but there seems no proof that any were put to death except the garrison, who were between 3000 or 4000 in number; and the hope which Cromwell himself expressed in the words—"The enemy upon this were filled with much terror, and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God"—was fully realized.

From Drogheda, leaving Venables and Coote to relieve Londonderry and conquer Ulster, Cromwell turned southward. At Wexford he followed his unvarying plan of summoning the governor, with the warning, that if the summons was refused he must expect the extreme severity of a storm. The governor consented to treat, but upon terms ridiculously high; and while the negotiations were still pending, a chance quarrel brought on an assault, the city was stormed, and the same sharp measure dealt to the garrison as at Drogheda (Oct. 12). In this instance there seems to have been no distinct intention of such a thing in Cromwell's mind. The fate of the garrison arose from the accident of war. The effect of these two fearful victories was, however, instantaneous; few fortresses henceforward refused the summons. Before the close of the year all the South of Ireland, with the exception of Waterford, was in Cromwell's hands. While giving his troops a short rest during the winter, it had been determined that the Lord-Lieutenant should be summoned home to assume the command against the Scots. But he was again in action before the order reached him, and in the first months of 1650 had taken the town of Kilkenny, overrun the county of Tipperary, and completed its conquest by the capture of Clonmel (May 10). This closed his victorious career in Ireland. His presence was required in England, whither he at once returned, leaving the completion of his work to Ireton and Ludlow, who found but little difficulty in finishing what he had so well begun.

Recalled to England.

The victory of Rathmines and the subsequent successes of Cromwell had changed the views of the young King. He had brought himself to accept the bitter terms which the Scotch Church and Estates offered him, even though pressed home by their envoy, Winram of Liberton, with most uncompromising harshness. He had promised to make a final arrangement at Breda, in Holland, anxious to wait a little longer to see whether Montrose and the genuine Royalists might not still be successful. But disaster had throughout followed that nobleman. He had collected troops among the kingdoms of the North of Europe, but his transports were all wrecked on their way to Scotland, and it was with little more than 1000 men that he proceeded through the counties of Caithness and Ross-shire. There, at a place called Corbiesdale, he was entirely routed by the Covenanters (April 27), and subsequently taken prisoner, and executed (May 21) with all the vindictive insult which his hereditary

Charles accepts the Scotch proposals.

Montrose's defeat and death.

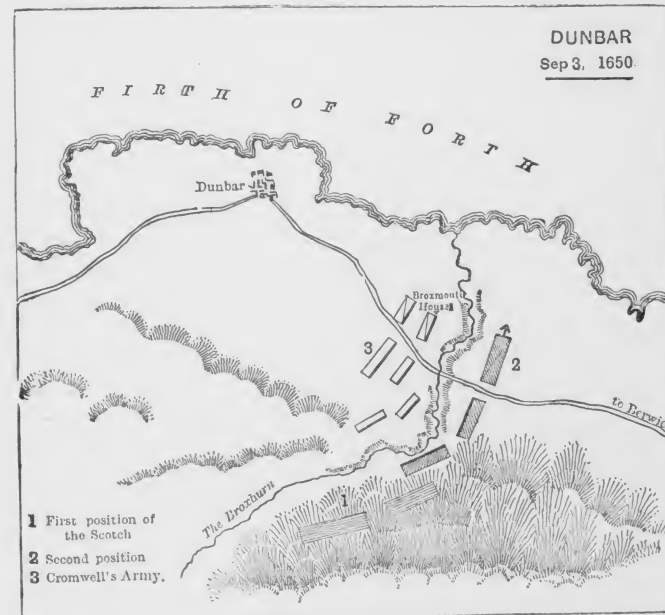
enemy, Argyle, at that time paramount among them, could inflict upon him. The news of these disasters brought Charles to submission. With the singular selfishness and meanness which marked both himself and his father under similar circumstances, he disowned Montrose's efforts, accepted all the limitations required, and betook himself to Scotland in the capacity of a Covenanted King.

The command against Scotland was given to Fairfax, but Fairfax, though he had supported the action of the army at the time of the change of Government, had not approved of the execution of Charles, and was much under the influence of his wife, who was a Presbyterian. He declared that he had conscientious scruples against fighting the Scotch, with whom the kingdom had so lately been bound in the Covenant. The command was therefore transferred to Cromwell. It was not without great pain that he brought himself to fight against those whom he acknowledged as belonging to the great party of which he considered himself the champion, and which he spoke of as "the godly party" or "the good men." But to him it appeared that the cause for which he had hitherto been fighting—the cause namely of civil and religious liberty—was still at stake. Religious liberty meant to him freedom of conscience within far larger limits than could be hoped for under the supremacy of Presbyterianism; nor could he believe that civil liberty would be secured under a Stuart King still accompanied by large numbers of the old Royalist party.

He passed the Tweed with an army of 16,000 men on the 16th of July. The Scots had placed themselves under the command of the old Earl of Leven and of David Leslie. As yet their army was a purely Covenanted one. By an act of the Scotch Church, called the Act of Classes, all known Malignants, and the Engagers (as those men were called who had joined Hamilton's insurrection), had been removed from the army. The country between the Tweed and Edinburgh had been wasted; and the inhabitants, terrified by ridiculous stories of the English cruelty, had taken flight; but Cromwell's army, marching by the coast, was supplied by the fleet. He thus reached the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh; but Leslie skilfully availed himself of the advantages of the ground and refused to be brought to an engagement. It became necessary for Cromwell to withdraw towards his supplies. He fell back to Dunbar, which lies upon a peninsula, jutting out into the Firth of Forth. The base of this peninsula

Wins the Battle
of Dunbar.
Sept 3.

is at a little distance encircled by high ground, an offshoot of the Lammermuir Hills. These heights were occupied by the Scotch army, as was also the pass through which the road to Berwick lies. Cromwell was therefore apparently shut up between the enemy and the sea, with no choice but to retire to his ships or surrender. Had Leslie continued his cautious policy, such might have been the event. A little glen, through which runs a brook called the Broxburn,



separated the two enemies. Between it and the high grounds lay a narrow but comparatively level tract. Either army attacking the other must cross this glen. There were two convenient places for passing it: one, the more inland one, towards the right of the English, who stood with their back to the sea, was already in the hands of the Scotch. Could Leslie secure the other at the mouth of the glen, he would have it in his power to attack when he pleased. The tempta-

tion was too strong for him, he gradually moved his army down from the hills towards its own right flank, thereby bringing it on to the narrow ground between the hill and the brook, intending with his right to secure the passage at Broxmouth. Cromwell and Lambert saw the movement, saw that it gave them a corresponding advantage if they suddenly crossed the glen at Broxmouth, and fell upon Leslie's right wing, while his main body was entangled in the narrow ground before mentioned. The attack was immediately decided upon, and early on the 3rd of September carried out with perfect success. The Scotch horse of the right wing were driven in confusion back upon their main body, whom they trampled under foot, and the whole army was thus rolled back upon itself in inextricable confusion.

From Dunbar Cromwell advanced to Edinburgh. The town fell easily into his hands, but the castle offered resistance; and while he was lying before it political differences began to show themselves among his enemies. Three parties were gradually apparent; one purely Royalist; another, a middle party, embodying the bulk of the Presbyterians and the high officials, of which party Argyle was the head; and in the West of Scotland a more extreme party, who considered any union with their Malignant King injurious to the cause. The Royalists contrived to entice the young King to fly from Edinburgh (Oct. 4), with the idea of putting himself in their hands. But as Charles found no troops to support him, and was quickly followed by the Covenanted troops, he returned. The Royalists made some movements in the Highlands, and required to be repressed by David Leslie, but the greater part of them thought it prudent to join themselves to Argyle's party. The Start, as Charles's sudden flight was called, alarmed the Covenanters so thoroughly that they henceforward treated the young King with more respect, and a resolution was passed, that in the present crisis all Scotchmen might be employed in the service of the country, thus repealing the Act of Classes. This resolution called out much opposition in the West, where a protest was drawn up against it, and the two parties assumed the names of Resolutioners and Protesters. The support of the Protesters Cromwell, trusting to the character of their religious views, had some hope of securing, and negotiations were set on foot with them; but though subsequently, on the settlement of the country, he succeeded in winning the friendship of some of them, and was constantly inclined to show them favour, they at pre-

Takes Edin-
burgh.

Division among
the Scotch.

Protesters and
Resolutioners.

sent continued the war against him, and were defeated at Hamilton by General Lambert. Meanwhile the King was entirely in the hands of the Resolutioners; in January he was crowned, and renewed the Covenant; he then advanced southward, hoping to intercept a part of the English army which had not yet crossed the Forth. But Cromwell, moving with all his forces northward, avoided the danger, and subjugated the county of Fife and the city of Perth. But while thus pursuing his successes, he had passed the Scotch army, which thus lay between him and England. Charles took advantage of this mistake, and determined to push on at once and try and renew the quarrel in England itself. The news of his advance filled the Parliament with alarm. It was even thought that Cromwell had allowed the King thus to pass him on purpose, having come to some terms with him, while others believed, with more show of probability, that his object was to compel that party in England which disliked the present rulers to act energetically in self-defence. The very fact that the world could not believe in Cromwell making an error proves the high opinion generally formed of him. Whether accidental or intentional, the approach of Charles excited the people to action. Recovering from their first fright, the Council of State took vigorous measures. The militia was everywhere raised, and as Charles advanced, pursued by Lambert and Cromwell, the forces gradually closed round him. On reaching Worcester, he waited a few days, collecting his army round him; and was there overtaken by Cromwell, who had come by the eastern road from Scotland, and so across England. The attack upon the town was from the south. Worcester itself lies upon the eastern bank of the Severn. The attack was made on both sides, a bridge of boats connecting Fleetwood on the west with Cromwell and the main army on the east. This division of troops settled the plan of the battle. Charles, coming out of the town, fell upon the eastern army, entirely separated as he believed from Fleetwood and the west. But his attack was in vain. Cromwell, who had been with Fleetwood, hastily returned to the eastern bank, repulsed the attacks of the Royalists, advanced to the town, where he was met by Fleetwood, and the army, thus reunited, pushed the Royalists, still fighting, through the city, and so completely broke them that there was no hope of their again rallying. This victory was, as Cromwell called it, the "crowning mercy" of the war. Charles himself escaped; and after an adventurous flight of forty-four days, through the western counties and along

Charles is
crowned.

Marches into
England.

Cromwell
overtakes him
at Worcester.
Sept. 3.

Charles escapes
to France.

the south coast, during the earlier part of which he owed his safety entirely to the fidelity of a labouring family of the name of Penderil, he succeeded in finding a ship near Brighton, which landed him safely in France.

Cromwell marched triumphantly to London. He had left Monk with 5000 troops in Scotland, who completed the conquest of that country, which was subsequently, by an ordinance of Cromwell, united to England. Both in religious and civil matters the period during which the kingdoms were united was one of remarkable prosperity. The government was indeed somewhat arbitrary, but on the whole carried on so as to call forth the praises even of Cromwell's enemies. "These bitter waters," writes one of them, "were sweetened by the Lord's remarkably blessing the labours of his faithful servants. A great door, and effectual, was opened to many." "Scotland," we are told by another, "was kept in great order. Some castles in the Highlands had garrisons put in them, which were so careful in their discipline, and exact in their rules, that the Highlanders were most successfully ruled by them. Forts were built, and an army of 8000 men kept, but there was good justice done. Vice was suppressed and punished, so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great prosperity."

When a country is plunged into war, especially civil war, the victorious general and his army almost of necessity absorb the chief authority of the state. As far as England was concerned, the main business of the Parliament and the Council of State had been to supply means for the support of the army; they had met its requirements by a severe land-tax by no means popular. But abroad their duties had been more difficult. The capitals of the Continent were filled with exiled partisans of the late King. The feelings of the monarchical governments of those countries were naturally averse to the new republic. Even at the Hague, the Court of the Stadtholder, who had married the daughter of Charles I., was extremely hostile. The republican ambassadors had met with scant courtesy. One of them, Ascham, had been killed at Madrid, another, Dorislaus, at the Hague. Portugal had given refuge to Rupert, when his fleet had been driven from the coast of Ireland, at the time of the conquest of that country; and Blake's fleet had been fired upon when attempting to go up the Tagus. With Spain and Portugal negotiations were yet pending. In Holland, the death of the Stadtholder enabled the republican party, consisting of the wealthy mercantile class, to regain the direc-

Cromwell's
strong govern-
ment in
Scotland.

Foreign diffi-
culties of the
Commonwealth.

tion of affairs, and a plan was set on foot for incorporating the country with England in a republican union, in opposition to the Kings of Europe. But with these views the democracy of Holland, always attached to the House of Orange, had no sympathy; and the English ambassadors were still liable to insult. The English Parliament adopted a tone in its remonstrances which roused the pride of the Dutch; friendly relations were broken off; St. John the ambassador returned in anger; and shortly after the battle of Worcester the Navigation Act was passed, which forbade the importation of goods into England except in English ships, or in ships of the nation which produced the goods. A severe blow was thus dealt at the carrying trade of the Dutch, and the quarrel fast ripened into a war.

Navigation Act.
Oct. 9, 1651.

Thus, without being particularly successful, Parliament carried on its work with fair dignity. Still its action had not been such as to give it any claim to a perpetual tenure of office. By the Agreement of the Nation, the document under which the present Government existed, it had been arranged that the Parliament—which it was plain to the eyes of all men was an oligarchy, and a very poor representation of the people of England—was to have been brought to an end in the year 1649. It owed its continued existence to the exigencies of the time; while the very life of the Commonwealth was at stake in war, it was impossible to risk a dissolution of the supreme Government, and all question of such a step had consequently been laid aside. Now that the war was over, Cromwell and the bulk of the army were anxious for a settlement of the nation. Continued anarchy, or continued arbitrary rule, was by no means what they had fought for. They were anxious to enter into the fruit of their labour—a settled and well-ordered Government, with good security for religious and civil liberty; for it must always be borne in mind that the army was quite unlike other armies, that it consisted of men of respectable position, of the most earnest religious convictions, who, whatever advantages they may have reaped by their position, yet believed themselves engaged in a patriotic and national cause, and were not influenced by any mercenary motives. The question then of the dissolution of the present Parliament was at once revived on Cromwell's return; and, in the meanwhile, pressure was put upon the Government to produce some of those acts which the army, and in fact the great Puritan party of England, regarded as necessary for the safety of their liberties. Under this pressure, on the 18th of

Oligarchical
character of the
Parliament.

Cromwell
desires a
settlement.

November, a vote was passed, setting a date for the end of the Parliament; but it was put at an enormous distance, at not less than three years' time. It was supposed that this interval was necessary in order to settle the form which the future Government should assume.

Conference
between the
Parliament
and army.

For that purpose a great conference was held in the autumn of this year between the Parliament and the army; and the rival views of those who were for a pure republic and those who wished for something monarchical were ventilated. The monarchists, who included in their number the greater part of the lawyers, wished one of the younger sons of the late King to be set up. The army was decidedly republican. Cromwell already expressed that conviction, which he afterwards put in force, that the government of a single person was necessary, but he certainly did not approve of the idea of a new Stuart king. It was believed that the influence of his son-in-law Ireton might have modified the monarchical views of Cromwell; but in the December of this year Ireton died in Ireland, where he was succeeded by Fleetwood, who also married his widow. Besides limiting their own existence, Parliament addressed itself to the reform of law—another favourite plan of the army. The committee for that purpose got so far as to vote that land, if registered, should belong to the owner who registered it without encumbrance; but at this word "encumbrance" a dispute arose which occupied three months, and nothing was done.

Meanwhile the quarrel with Holland had become a war. After the battle of Worcester, the States had sent ambassadors to London to attempt an accommodation. But the demands of Cromwell were exorbitant. His views of foreign politics did not rise above those of the ordinary Englishman of his time. With the rest of his fellow-countrymen, he looked back to the reign of Elizabeth as the great epoch of national glory. He desired to restore England to that great position from which two reigns of vacillating kingcraft had degraded her. With that rough but sincere patriotism which he has shared with many other statesmen who have attempted to breathe fresh life into their native country, he thought the greatness of England was best secured by riding roughshod over the claims of other countries, and making her power acknowledged, whether the questions at issue were just or not. To his mind the position of England required that she should be supreme in the narrow seas. He therefore demanded the honour of the flag, that is, he required the ships of all other countries to salute the English flag in the Channel. He claimed the right of search, dictated his own arrange-

War with
Holland.

ments in the matter of the fisheries, and declared himself determined to uphold the Navigation Act, which was the real cause of the war. The negotiations on these points were still pending when Blake, meeting Van Tromp's fleet in the Downs, in vain summoned the Dutch Admiral to lower his flag. A battle was the consequence, which led to a declaration of war on the 8th of July (1652). The maritime success of England was chiefly due to the genius of Blake, who having hitherto served upon shore, now turned his whole attention to the navy. A series of bloody fights took place between the two nations. For some time the fortunes of the war seemed undecided. Van Tromp, defeated by Blake, had to yield the command to De Ruyter. De Ruyter in his turn was displaced to give way again to his greater rival. Van Tromp was reinstated in command. A victory over Blake off the Naze (Nov. 28) enabled him to cruise in the Channel with a broom at his mast-head, implying that he had swept the English from the seas. But the year 1653 again saw Blake able to fight a drawn battle of two days' duration between Portland and La Hogue; while at length, on the second and third of June, a decisive engagement was fought off the North Foreland, in which Monk and Deane, supported by Blake, completely defeated the Dutch Admiral, who, as a last resource, tried in vain to blow up his own ship, and then retreated to the Dutch coast, leaving eleven ships in the hands of the English. In the next month, another victory on the part of Blake, accompanied by the death of the great Dutch Admiral, completed the ruin of the naval power of Holland. The States were driven to treat. In 1654 the treaty was signed, in which Denmark, the Hanseatic towns, and the Swiss provinces were included. The war had been too objectless—the points of similarity between the combatants too numerous to allow of the terms being very important; such as they were, however, they were in favour of England. The Dutch acknowledged the supremacy of the English flag in the British seas; they consented to the Navigation Act; and the connection between the English and the leaders of the republican party in Holland was completed by the exclusion, through the influence of De Witt and the States of Holland, of William, Prince of Orange, grandson of Charles I., from the office of Stadtholder. The oligarchical party in Holland even promised to use all its influence to exclude the Prince from the office of Captain of the army of the States.

The war, whether wise or not, had terminated so honourably for England, that the other great countries of Europe began eagerly to seek for Cromwell's alliance. The expenses of the war had, however been

considerable, and it was thought right to meet them by new severity upon the Malignants; and those who desired a speedy settlement saw with great sorrow troops of peaceable Royalists hurrying to make what composition they could with the Committee of Parliament, sitting in the Goldsmiths' and Haberdashers' Halls. Thus a most inefficient representation of the people was arrogating to itself the supreme command; the honour of England abroad was but slightly vindicated; the Presbyterian system of Church government was very partially established; Church arrangements elsewhere were in a most anarchical condition; law reform halted, checked by an unmeaning legal quibble; old sores were raked up and punished in a manner which was seen to be arbitrary; and no hope of a final settlement of Government appeared. This state of affairs was not at all what the army wanted; and in August a strong and formidable

Petition from the officers of the law, the settlement of a gospel ministry, and, before all things, a new Parliament. Cromwell was urged to repress and punish the petitioners; in fact, he favoured their cause. The petition had its effects. It began to be evident that neither nation nor army would tolerate the present Government much longer, and repeated conferences were held between the leaders of the army and the Government to arrange some way of getting out of the difficulty. The plan recommended by the army was to summon a certain number of well-known and well-approved honest and prudent men, and to leave the settlement of the future Government in their hands.

The existing Parliament, clinging with tenacity to their power, could not be brought to see any alternative to the continuance in some shape or other of their own existence. At length, seeing the determination of the army, they set about bringing in a Bill for a new Parliament, as Cromwell himself afterwards complained, with as much unreasonable celerity as they had hitherto shown unreasonable slowness. The one critical point of that Bill was, that all the present members of Parliament were to sit again without re-election, and that to them it was to be left to decide all questions with regard to the new elections. This, which seemed to Cromwell and his friends a mere perpetuation of the Parliament under other forms, by no means suited their views. A great final conference was summoned, to be held on the 19th of April, in Whitehall.

Parliament considers a dissolution.

Great conference. After both parties had stated their opinions, it was agreed that the conference should be renewed on the following day, the leaders of the Parliament party pledging themselves that no further

Great conference.

action should be taken on the Bill till that conference was concluded. Great then was the astonishment of Cromwell and his friends when they heard on the following day that the Bill was being hastened through all its stages, with such haste, indeed, that it was not even properly engrossed on parchment, that it was to be passed on paper. The dishonesty of the proceeding roused Cromwell's anger. For weeks past he had been struggling against his wishes to dissolve the House, and was loyally determined that it should be, if possible, induced to retreat from its position with honour. His mind was now made up. Taking with him a few troopers, he hastened to the House (April 20), and took his seat as usual as a private member. But as the debate went on, his patience became exhausted. He stepped forward on to the floor of the House, and gradually warming to his subject, began to speak hard truths to the members. "What right had they," he asked, "to be rulers of England? Some were known drunkards, some loose livers," and so on. Finally, when members tried to call him to order, he summoned in his troopers. Harrison, who was with him, helped Lenthall from the chair; and the House took its departure, so little regretted by the nation, that, as Cromwell afterwards said, not even a dog barked as they left the place. Some of the expelled members were men of high ability and character. Many of them afterwards appeared as friends and supporters of Cromwell, but it was plain at that time that they were bent on founding an oligarchical rule as pre-judicial to English liberty as that of an arbitrary king.

Cromwell expels the Long Parliament.

Cromwell's own position was now a most difficult one. He was in fact the only constituted authority in the kingdom—the commander of all the troops raised or to be raised. He was, as he himself said and felt, the absolute master of the country. It was a position he had no wish to occupy; it suited neither his personal nor political views. He desired some final constitutional settlement, and thought of himself only as a man who had been providentially raised to a position in which he could maintain order while that constitution was being satisfactorily founded. He therefore at once proceeded to give effect to the project which the army had all along urged, and summoned an assembly of carefully selected men of well-approved life and religion.

This assembly was known as the Little Parliament. It consisted of men of very respectable character and position in the country, some noblemen, some afterwards the founders of noble houses, some merchants, and others. One of

Calls the Little Parliament. July 4.

these merchants was a leather merchant in London of the name of Praise-God Barebone; the absurdity of the name gave a handle to ridicule, and the Parliament has been nicknamed Barebone's Parliament. It was a failure. As Cromwell himself afterwards confessed, the summoning of it was a mistake; the men chosen had, for the most part, gone too far in religious fanaticism and destructive social principles. The chief influence in it fell into the hands of the extreme party; and instead of confining themselves, as Cromwell would certainly have had them do, to a reform of existing institutions, they proceeded to a work of destruction. They passed a Bill entirely doing away with the Court of Chancery, and hints were heard of substituting the judicial arrangements of the Jews. They were proceeding also to destroy tithes, with a view of getting rid of all Church government. Afraid of what they were doing, and certain that their measures would not be approved by Cromwell—who, however radical in his love of personal excellence as contrasted with social or hereditary birth, was at heart a conservative, and loved what appeared to him the fundamental part of the English Constitution—the majority, in December, after a short session, voluntarily resigned into his hands the power which he had intrusted to them.

It dissolves
itself.
Dec. 12.

Cromwell was again sole master of England, and after much careful thought—the council of officers, and others interested in the nation, having now tried the plan of the army—he determined to try his own scheme of something monarchical. On Friday, December 16, a document was issued, called the Instrument of Government, by which he was given the title of Protector, associated with a Council of State, fifteen in number; and by this document a new and free Parliament was to be elected, 400 in number, the qualification both for electors and members being £200. Parliaments were to be triennial, and no Parliament was to be dissolved till after it had sat five months; there was some alteration in the distribution of seats; some rising towns elected members, certain decayed boroughs were disfranchised, and their members given to the counties. It differed principally from the plan of the Rump Parliament in two points, in the existence of a single Chief of the State, and in the fact that the members of the Long Parliament could only sit after re-election. The new Parliament was appointed to assemble on the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The body of the nation again quietly accepted the change. It is not to be supposed that these repeated exertions of what appeared an arbitrary

Cromwell made
Protector under
the Instrument.

power took place without exciting much anger. The excluded members of the Rump, the strong conscientious Republicans, and the whole class of Levellers were full of bitterness. But, on the whole, the better part of the nation acquiesced. The Council, which was drawn from men of various parties, was highly respectable in every way, and it may at least prove that there is much to be said for Cromwell that Milton, who had been the Foreign Secretary of the Long Parliament, willingly accepted the change, and continued to act under the new Government. Till the Parliament met, it was arranged that Cromwell's ordinances should have the force of law. For these months he was practically arbitrary, and he used his power with vigour. We have seen that his two great objects were the establishment of religion and the reform of law; the first of these he carried out upon a very liberal basis. He established a body of "Triers," and any man appointed to a benefice, whatever his particular form of belief may have been, unless he were a Romanist, having once satisfied these Triers as to the fundamental orthodoxy of his creed and the excellence of his life, was allowed to hold it. At the same time, in each county a commission was established for the exclusion of unfit clergy. With regard to the law, he issued an ordinance for the reform of Chancery, removing some of the enormous arrears to the common law courts. At the same time he began to foreshadow his foreign policy. Portugal found itself obliged to consent to his terms, although much incensed at the even-handed rigour with which Don Pantaleone Sa, the brother of the ambassador, had been executed for killing a man in a brawl. A close alliance was also contracted with Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.

His vigorous
rule.

But, in spite of his success, his Government was constantly exposed to the plots of the two extreme parties. Discontent had frequently to be suppressed in the army, and a Royalist conspiracy, known as Vowel and Gerard's Plot, was discovered. Thirty troopers were to assassinate the Protector on his way to Hampton Court, and London was then to be raised in favour of the King. Both Vowel and Gerard, the chief conspirators, were executed, and several others imprisoned. In this state of feeling it was not without grave anxiety that the assembling of the new Parliament was watched. Declared Royalists had been excluded, but all other classes, neutrals as well as active Puritans, were admitted. When it assembled, it was found to consist of all parties, and the republicans were very strongly represented

Vowel's plot.

The reformed
Parliament.
Sept. 3, 1654.

It was opened with all the usual ceremonies, and Cromwell, addressing them in a speech of considerable length, pointed out the difficulties under which the nation had lain under the Long Parliament, its wars with Portugal and Holland, and threatened war with France; the suffering state of trade, and bad condition of the finances; explained to them his own conduct in continuing the taxes, in attempting some religious settlement, some reform of law, which the Long Parliament had assayed in vain, and his successful foreign policy. He pointed out to them that their first duties were the completion of these works, the planting of Ireland with English colonists, and the arrangement of the taxes, no longer as his arbitrary work, but as they ought to be, the self-imposed duties of the national representation. But, though this speech was admired at the time, it did not produce the effect which Cromwell desired. As he had probably himself feared, the freedom of election had introduced men of such various parties, that strong united action seemed impossible. Instead of producing that settlement which he wanted, instead of

Will not
produce the
settlement.

governing and legislating in accordance with the Instrument of Government, which was the existing Constitution, the various parties at once set to work discussing what ought to be the Constitution, especially questioning the advantage of a government "by Parliament and a single person." Now this, as we have seen, Cromwell regarded as a fundamental necessity. He therefore summoned the Parliament before him, explained to them the difference between "fundamentals which they might not touch and accidentals which they might," pointed out that in ap-

Cromwell turns
out his
opponents.

pearing to the summons issued by his authority they had acknowledged that authority, and demanded from each member a written recognition of the constitution of government by Parliament and a single person. A certain number refused the recognition, and retired sulkily to their counties. About three-fourths continued their work, but still wasted their time upon unessential alterations in the Constitution, leaving the Government and all reforms untouched. During the five months of their session they never once, as Cromwell complained, had any communication at all with him, and were in fact hindering rather than helping that general pacification and settlement of England which was his object.

Parliament does
nothing, and
is dissolved.
Jan. 22.

Though constantly fretting under this treatment of theirs, he determined to allow the five months appointed by the Instrument to elapse, but, to the astonishment of the House, he construed the five months as lunar months, consisting of

four weeks each, and the very moment the twenty weeks had elapsed he dissolved them.

It was indeed necessary that they should be got rid of. The constant uncertainty in which they kept the nation afforded opportunity for plots on both sides. Both Royalists and Anabaptists began to raise their heads, while the army of Scotland grew discontented because no measures were taken to pay it with regularity. Not only did the extreme parties grow bitterer in their hatred to Cromwell, they began to make common cause, and the danger was becoming really threatening. The beginning of 1655 was marked by the discovery or outbreak of these plots.

Danger from
plots.

Major Wildman was apprehended in the act of dictating a treasonable declaration; and it became necessary to place in confinement the chiefs of the Anabaptists, such as Harrison and Lord Grey of Groby. In March the Royalist movement broke out in Salisbury, where Colonel Penrudduck and Sir Joseph Wagstaff suddenly rose in arms during the assizes, seized the judges, and were with difficulty kept from hanging them. They then proclaimed King Charles, and withdrew towards Cornwall. Near South Molton, the Parliamentary troops came up with them, and entirely defeated their followers. Several of the leaders, including Penrudduck and Grove, were beheaded, while others, found guilty of high treason and horsestealing, were shipped to the Barbadoes, a very favourite punishment of Cromwell's. Charles and Hyde, who was acting as his minister, were bitterly disappointed at the failure of the movement; and upon discovering that their plan had been disclosed by a man of the name of Manning, Charles stretched his rights as *de jure* King living in a foreign land so far as to have him shot in the dominions of the Duke of Neuburg, after examination before his Council.

Anabaptists.

Royalists.

The constant recurrence and wide ramification of these plots rendered vigorous measures necessary. Cromwell, without a Parliament, with no force that he could thoroughly trust except the army, found himself compelled to divide England into ten, and subsequently twelve districts, over which he set major-generals, with power little short of absolute, subordinate only to the Protector and his Council. These major-generals had the militia of their districts in their hands, and were particularly employed in assisting the Triers and Expurgators in supplying the Church with godly ministers. Regarding the constant plots of the Royalists as the chief causes of the additional expenses entailed upon the Government,

Cromwell's
major-generals.

they levied from the Royalists an income tax of ten per cent., known by the name of "The Decimation." Although arbitrary, the people, weary of disturbance, made no objection to this Government, which on the whole worked well and justly.

It lasted about a year, during which the energy of the Protector, having now secured domestic quiet, was directed to raising the character of the country abroad. His policy was a declared and simple one. His object was to set England

Foreign policy.

at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe. With this end in view, when the Duke of Savoy attempted by force of arms and by persecution to convert the Protestant inhabitants of the Alpine valleys, Cromwell at once took up their cause, and refused to complete a treaty which Mazarin, the French minister, was most eager to form with him, till justice had been done. This treaty was itself part of his general plan. Adopting the views of the statesmen of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he still regarded Spain as the head of the Catholic powers, and it was to oppose that Court, and not to assist France, that he was willing to unite with Mazarin. His enmity to Spain had already taken an active form. Blake had for the last year been lying off the coast, watching for the Plate ships; and a great fleet and expedition, which had been raised with secret

War with Spain.

instructions, was found to be directed against the Island of Hispaniola, to deal a blow if possible against the Spanish interest in the West Indies. The expedition was not a success. It had been organized by Desborough, probably not well, and was intrusted to Admiral Penn, and to Venables as commander of the land forces. Neither of these officers gave satisfaction. They acted without energy, and were driven from Hispaniola. But to

Capture of Jamaica.

avoid the appearance of total defeat, they mastered the Island of Jamaica, at the time regarded as of little value. On their return to England they were both imprisoned for leaving their command without leave. But Cromwell determined to make the best he could of such success as he had won, and during the rest of his reign he eagerly pressed forward the colonization of Jamaica, of which the wealth and resources gradually became evident. In November the treaty with France was completed, and open war declared against Spain, the fleets to be employed against it being intrusted to Montague and Blake.

It was about this time that the question of the readmission of the Jews to England was raised, and a conference held on the subject. Cromwell was decidedly in favour of it, but the superstition of his

counsellors was too strong for him; he could go no further than to admit of their residence in England upon sufferance. The war with Spain gave fresh opportunities to the Royalists. Charles again appeared upon the coast. An invasion even was dreaded; and Cromwell, who never liked his position as arbitrary governor, determined upon summoning a new Parliament to his assistance. In September it assembled; again he gave the members a short history of the events which had taken place, and of the constraint under which he had felt himself to undertake the government, and again urged upon them the necessity of restoring some sort of constitution. To secure some unity of action, he thought it necessary to exclude about a hundred of the most violent of his enemies. Thus arranged, the Parliament set really to work at its duties. This hopeful state of affairs was increased by the popularity gained by a great victory which Blake and Montague won over the Spaniards. The Plate fleet had been captured, and very visible proofs of the success were shown by the passage of thirty-eight waggon loads of the treasure from Portsmouth to London. At the same time, Cromwell found it possible to withdraw the arbitrary government of the major-generals.

The general success of the Protector had thwarted all plans of invasion which had been contrived by Spain and the Royalists. His enemies were again reduced to plots. Charles had long since offered large rewards for the head of "the base mechanic fellow who had usurped his throne;" and now, in January 1657, Colonel Sexby, an old leader of the Levellers, whom hatred for Cromwell had induced to make common cause with the Royalists, had been hatching plots to kill the Protector. Failing himself, he intrusted an old soldier called Miles Sindercomb with the duty. He at first arranged a sort of infernal machine in the windows of a house at Hammersmith, intending to kill Cromwell on his way to Hampton Court. On the failure of this plan he determined on a still bolder step, and attempted to set fire to Whitehall. This also was discovered. But the danger which had threatened the life of the man whom the whole Puritan party, with the exception of the extreme Anabaptists, regarded as necessary to their existence, tended to unite Parliament, which now, though many of its members had formerly been his enemies, combined in presenting him with a formal congratulation on his escape, and began to think that it was necessary to hedge him round with some more sacred securities than his Protectorship afforded, and to speak of making him King.

Fearing invasion, Cromwell calls his Third Parliament.

Plots against Cromwell.

This growing feeling found utterance on the 23rd of February, when Sir Christopher Pack, one of the members for London, induced the Parliament to hear "an improved constitution for these nations," suggesting a second House of Parliament, and an increase of the Protector's power, even to give him the name of King. Pack's suggestion was afterwards incorporated in the document known as the Petition and Advice. By the end of March, the Petition and Advice had been voted by the House, and on the 31st of that month was presented to Cromwell for acceptance. It consists of eighteen articles, short and clear enough, and in fact restored, as far as was possible without recalling the old House, the ancient Constitution of the country. In all its essential points it exactly agreed with Cromwell's own views. As has been before said, he was at heart conservative, and believed thoroughly in the necessity of checks upon the arbitrary power, whether of the head of the executive or of Parliament. Whatever may have been his earlier opinions, all his later experience had tended to strengthen his conservative feelings. All the irregular methods to which he had been driven had been more or less unsatisfactory. His Little Parliament had been an absolute failure. His second Parliament, republican in character, had done nothing. His major-generals, though working well as a temporary expedient, had been constantly open to the charge of illegality. He felt that the continued government of the army was destructive to the civil liberties of the country. On the other hand, Parliament, when left to itself, had degenerated into an oligarchy, incapable of seeing any good apart from its own existence, and intent on establishing a tyranny in no way preferable to that of the monarchy it had superseded. He was therefore quite inclined to introduce an Upper House as a check upon the Lower, government in a single person as a check upon the Parliament, and the Parliament itself as a check upon the arbitrary tendency of the single person. He also, more than all else, had at heart a Church at once free and orderly. It was then with complete acquiescence that he heard the articles in the Petition and Advice, which secured the continuance of the tithes for the maintenance of religion, but which suggested that the religion thus maintained should be based upon a declaration of the Christian faith of the simplest character; all varieties of opinion in non-essentials and in the forms of worship being regarded as immaterial. He approved also of the establishment of two Houses of Parliament, as securing the civil liberty of the subject;

Proposal to call
him King.

The Petition
and Advice.

and of the limitation set to his own power in the matter of the army, which was henceforward to be in the hands of the chief of the executive *and Parliament*. He even added additional clauses with regard to the arrangements of finance, to forbid any public expenditure except by the advice of the Council, and to render the Treasurers receiving the money accountable to every Parliament.

The only point on which he disagreed was the title of King, which was pressed upon him. Left entirely to himself, he might have desired the title, which, as many lawyers urged, was almost necessary for the maintenance of many of the existing laws, all of which had been drawn up under the supposition that there would be a King. But he thought it wiser—for fear, no doubt in part of the anger which such a title excited among his supporters in the army, in part because, as he pointed out, the reality of kingship might exist without the name, and partly for the sake of consistency—to refuse the title, and to continue that which he now held, the Protector of England. His position, however, was exactly that of a King, except that his title was not hereditary. Instead of this, he was intrusted with the duty of nominating his successor. The propriety of Cromwell's conduct in thus accepting the Petition and Advice without the royal dignity was a matter of much discussion even among his own friends. Several of the army commanders, as Whalley, Goffe and Berry, seem to have wished that he should have accepted the office, and founded a dynasty. Desborough, Fleetwood and Lambert were strongly opposed to it.

He objects to
the title of King.
May 25.

The session of Parliament pursued its course, granting what money was required, and was quietly closed by an adjournment in June, to give the Protector time to select his new House of Lords, which, with the present Commons' House, was to assemble, in conformity with the Petition and Advice, early in the following year.

While affairs seemed to be going thus prosperously for Cromwell in England, he was raising the importance of the country abroad. The war with Spain was carried on with marked success at sea by Blake, who destroyed a second great Plate fleet in the Bay of Santa Cruz, and upon land, where a body of English troops were now acting under the command of Colonel Reynolds, and subsequently under that of Lockart, the ambassador to France. These troops had been sent by Cromwell on the understanding that Mardyke and Dunkirk, after capture, were to be given over to him. They had been employed however chiefly against inland fortresses, such as Montmédy and Cambrai, which was not at all what Cromwell desired.

His success
abroad.

His pressing letters induced Mazarin to fulfil his engagement. In September, Mardyke was taken with the co-operation of Montague and the fleet.

But the appearance of general success was somewhat hollow. Every change in the Constitution roused afresh the hopes of the Royalists. Sexby, the Anabaptist colonel, who in his persistent enmity to Cromwell had become the chief agent of the Royalists, was in October apprehended as he was leaving England, where he had been spreading the pamphlet entitled "Killing no murder," and otherwise trying to organize a rebellion. In the winter Ormond himself came over from abroad, and entered into communication with all sections of the enemies of the Government, while Spain hoped to neutralize the successes of France and England in the Low Countries by assisting Charles to regain his throne. Cromwell was remarkable for his success in thwarting the plots formed against him, being much assisted by Thurloe, his Secretary of State. Even at this moment, Willis, a member of a small secret committee who had undertaken the management of Royalist affairs, and who were known by the name of "The Sealed Knot," was in his pay. Still the situation was grave, and the Royalists hoped much from the new Parliament. Nor were they wrong in expecting that the Government would find itself in difficulties.

In accordance with the Petition and Advice, the members who had been excluded from the last session were now readmitted, and their influence, which was naturally directly opposed to Cromwell, was increased by the absence of a certain number of his greatest friends, who had been summoned to take their places in the new Upper House. For this body sixty-two summonses had been issued, but the difficulty of creating a new peerage was at once manifested by the refusal of such of the old peers as were summoned to take their seats by the side of the new creations. It was against the Upper House too that the Republicans of the House of Commons directed their assaults. They had been required to take an oath to the Protector and the Constitution, but Sir Arthur Haselrig and Mr. Scott, their leaders, seem to have taken a very lax view of the obligation it entailed on them, and at once proceeded to wrangle as to the name by which the new House should be called, and the amount of respect which should be shown it. After a few days thus idly spent, Cromwell called the House before him, and pointed out the danger which threatened the very existence of the Commonwealth unless they acted with unanimity.

Attempts at
rebellion
thwarted.

Parliament
reconstructed.
Jan. 20, 1658.

Conspiracies he declared to be rife in all quarters, an invasion threatening, and the Protestant cause still further weakened by the hostility of the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. But his words had no effect. The Republicans, smarting from their late exclusion, would do nothing but continue the old squabbles, and on the 4th of February, losing all patience, the Protector, charging them with breaking, or at least with wholly misapprehending the character of the oath they had taken, and pointing out the folly of risking a whole cause by their spirit of faction, dissolved this Parliament also.

It falls, and is
dissolved.
Feb. 4.

This was his last attempt at Parliamentary government. Each successive attempt that he had made had been a nearer approach to the old constitutional government of England. They had all been thwarted by the incorrigible obstinacy of a few determined Republicans, who could not forgive Cromwell for having overthrown their favourite scheme of government by the dissolution of the Long Parliament. It was very necessary for Cromwell to be able to act with energy. "Believe me," writes a contemporary, Cromwell "that dissolution was of such necessity, that if their absolute session had continued but a few days longer, all had been blood, both in the City and in the country, on Charles Stuart's account." With his hands now untrammelled, Cromwell set to work with his usual vigour. Arrests were made in all directions. Ormond was warned to leave London. A council of officers, the only council which he appeared to be able to trust, was summoned, and professed their devotion to him. The Mayor and Common Council made similar protestations. A sharp blow was determined on. Weary with the continual plots, and "considering that it was not fit there should be a plot of this kind every winter," a High Court of Justice was appointed according to Act of Parliament; and three Royalists, Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, and Mr. Mordaunt were brought before it. Hewit and Slingsby were found guilty and executed. Mordaunt and some others were brought before common juries, as Cromwell found that his High Court of Justice was not popular.

The conspiracies in England seemed for the moment trodden out. Turenne, mainly by the assistance of his English allies, entirely defeated the Spaniards under Don John and the Duke of York, and subsequently captured Dunkirk; apprehensions of foreign invasions were thus removed. Never had Cromwell's name stood so high in Europe. Ostentatious embassies were sent him from France. Louis XIV. was only prevented by illness from paying him

Respect for him
abroad.

his respects in person. But still his unconstitutional position was surrounded with difficulty. His expenditure considerably surpassed his income, and he shrunk from levying taxes in any manner opposed to the Petition and Advice, on which he grounded his authority. He was contemplating measures for assembling a Parliament, from which, in some way or other, the discordant Republican element should be excluded, when his triumphant career was cut short.

His health was giving way under the incessant anxieties of his life, and domestic sorrows were gathering round him and adding their weight to his burden. Mr. Rich, the grandson of the Earl of Warwick, who had but lately married his youngest daughter, died, leaving her a widow of only seventeen years of age; and Mrs. Claypole, his eldest and best-loved daughter, was seized with a painful and fatal illness. He watched her with the tenderest anxiety, and it was observed, immediately after her death, that his own health seemed totally to fail. On the 3rd of September, the day which had

His death.
Sept. 3, 1658.

so often brought him victory, in the midst of a wild tempest, the great Protector passed away, after an illness rendered beautiful by frequent utterances of deep religious feeling, mingled with prayers in which he seemed to forget his family and personal interests in his fervent desire for the national welfare. "Towards morning he used divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace; among the rest he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, annihilating and judging himself. And truly it was observed, that a public spirit to God's cause did breathe in him—as in his lifetime, so now to his very last."¹ He should have named his successor. When Thurloe asked him who it was to be, he said the name would be found in a sealed paper already drawn up at Hampton Court. It was sought for in vain. It seems very doubtful whether he ever named his successor at all. However, Thurloe and other officers who were with him spread a report that he had nominated his eldest son Richard.

The national history of the last nine years has been almost exclusively personal. In the presence of a man of predominating genius, such as Cromwell, it could not be otherwise. His history has in fact been the history of the nation. It was he, and he alone, who rendered the existence of a Commonwealth possible, and who represented the English nation in the eyes of foreign statesmen. With his death closed the only attempt upon record to realize national government based upon religion. In him

His character.

¹ Pamphlet quoted in Carlyle's *Cromwell*.

had been joined the two principles which had been at work in the Revolution—the political and the religious. With his enemies, and they were very numerous, one or other of those ideas, but not both, was prominent. One section was pledged to a republican form of government; a second to a Presbyterian form of worship; a third to complete liberty of conscience, carried into civil as well as into religious life, and producing a hatred of all government, in fact anarchy. Cromwell combined all these. The old cause, which he so frequently mentioned, and to which he devoted himself, was the cause of civil and religious liberty. But that liberty he felt could be secured only by good government, and that government must have a fixed form. He therefore advocated the widest religious toleration, with the exception always of Papistry, but clung tenaciously to the idea of a regular State-paid clergy; while civil liberty was to be secured by a system of checks almost exactly analogous to the old Constitution of England, but with the fundamental exception that personal merit was to take the place of hereditary and social merit. But this very view, although in theory its excellence cannot be questioned, was the cause of the subsequent failure of his plans. The very greatness of his personal superiority prevented him from making a good constitutional monarch. The clearness with which he set his ends before him destroyed his sympathy with those who thought differently from himself. His earnest desire to arrive rapidly at his ends deprived him of that patience which is a necessary part of the character of those who would rule by means of popular assemblies. Consequently all his honest and well-meant efforts to produce liberty resting upon constitutional safeguards terminated in personal government. He could not get rid of the responsibility he had undertaken. We therefore find in his government many of those faults which seem inseparable from personal government—arbitrary and overbearing actions; a growing feeling of personal worth and love of personal dignity; and a tendency towards an exaggerated liberality both of confidence and of rewards towards members of his own family, although nothing is more striking than the success with which he chose fitting instruments for his purposes, and the knowledge he seems to have possessed of the character of men of all classes and in all parts of England. It was these faults which rendered his rule less loved than feared, and upon his death opened the door to that scene of anarchy which ended in the Restoration.

It seemed at first as if, in spite of its numerous enemies, the

government which Cromwell had established had become permanent. His son Richard was accepted as quietly as if he had been the hereditary heir of a long line of kings. But this tranquillity was of very short duration. The character of the new Protector was, as has been remarked, such as fitted him well to play the part of a constitutional monarch. Gentle, conciliatory, of no marked ability, had a longer life allowed his father to complete his constitutional arrangements, Richard might well have gathered round him all parties; but even to the very end of his reign the great Protector had had to rely upon the army for his support, and had found favour chiefly among those who regarded religion as superior in importance to civil government. He had never been able to leave that exceptional position, which he himself described as that of "Chief Constable." Now Richard unfortunately could not rely upon the support of either of those two sections of the people. Idle, careless, and unversed in public affairs, he had never joined the army, but had lived the life of an ordinary country gentleman. Though a man of respectable morality, he was yet by no means addicted either to the fanatical views or Scripture phraseology of the party which claimed the title of the "godly party." He was thus far more inclined to seek strength among the civilians than among the military; while ill-suppressed dislike to the outward shows of religion excited the disapprobation of the religionists. "A certain inferior officer," writes Ludlow, "publicly murmured at the advancement of some that had been Cavaliers to command in the army. He was carried to Whitehall to answer for the same. Mr. Richard Cromwell, besides other reproachful language, asked him in a deriding manner whether he would have him prefer none but those who were godly. 'Here,' continued he, 'is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, but I would trust him before you all.' Those imprudent as well as irreligious words, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and in the City of London, to his great prejudice; and from this time all men among them who made the least pretence to religion thought themselves unsafe while he governed." A large body of moderates in the nation, however, were willing to support him, and he ventured to call a Parliament, which the state of the finances rendered almost necessary. In order still further to secure the predominance of the middle party, writs were issued, in accordance with old customs of the country, and not in accordance with the far better system which Oliver had instituted. The thirty members for Ireland, and the same number for

Quiet accession
of Richard
Cromwell.

His character.

He offends the
godly party.

Scotland, were, however, elected as in Oliver's time, and proved true to his son's interest. In the new Parliament, the Government had a considerable majority, but there was a strong opposition, consisting of concealed Royalists and of Republicans, headed by Haselrig and Scot. No sooner had Parliament met than disputes arose about the Constitution; but Richard's party had sufficient influence to carry a Bill recognizing his rights as Protector, though clogged with the clause that his power should be further limited. When this first point was settled, the position of the Other House was called in question, and although again Richard's party succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Commons to do business with it, the Republicans, who much disliked it, were powerful enough to pass several disrespectful clauses, as for instance that the Commons' House should be called upon to show no more respect for the Other House than the Other House showed for it, and that no messages should be received unless brought by members of the House in person.

He calls a
Parliament,
Jan. 27.

In which the
Republicans
predominate

But while these disputes were going on, the more important business of payment of the troops was neglected; and the army about London, which had no love for Richard, formed a general council of officers, with the view to separate the civil from the military command, to place the latter entirely in the hands of Fleetwood. In April, their discontent could no longer be suppressed. They then presented a humble representation and petition from the general council of officers to Richard, who in turn laid it before the Lower House. This brought the quarrel to a head. The Parliament, anxious to uphold the civil in opposition to the military power, passed a vote, that during the sitting of Parliament there should be no general council of officers, without the leave and authority of the Lord Protector and both Houses of Parliament; and further, that no person should have command who should refuse to subscribe a declaration "that he would not disturb the meetings of Parliament or the freedom of the debates and councils." Indignant at these votes, the officers betook themselves to Richard; and Desborough, a man of stronger character than Fleetwood, their nominal head, told the Protector, even with threats, that he must choose between them and the Parliament. Richard found himself, in fact, no longer a free agent. Whatever his real wishes may have been, he was unable any longer to support the civil authority against the military, and yielding

No business
is done.

Displeasure
of the army.

Parliament
dissolved.
April 22.

to the pressure of the army, dissolved Parliament. Power was again entirely in the hands of the army.

While pursuing its own objects, the army had sought support in Parliament by allying itself with that Republican party which saw with displeasure the existing half-monarchical organization of the country. On the triumph of the military, the Republicans received

The army
replaces the
Rump.
May 9.

their reward. All Cromwell's arrangements were swept away: the old Republican remnant of the Long Parliament, the Rump, was recalled and reinstated as the legal Parliament. Forty-two of the old members, with Lenthall, their old Speaker, at their head, returned to the House in triumph, passing, as if to show the source of their authority, between two lines of officers. The first steps of the restored Rump were the re-establishment of the old machinery of Government, the Committee of Safety and the Council of State. But with its success its old impracticable pride returned. It forgot that it was but a creature of the army. It had at first been well received. Monk in Scotland, Henry Cromwell in Ireland, Lockart in Flanders, Montague with the fleet, acknowledged its authority. But the strong

The Rump
tries to rule
the army.

Republican feeling of the Rump would not allow it to grant what was the real wish of the army, and it soon fell into its old quarrel with the military power. The army demanded that Fleetwood should be Commander-in-Chief of the land forces in England, in fact, an irresponsible military chief, side by side with the civil power. Not only was this demand rejected, but the Rump proceeded itself to reorganize the army, entirely abolishing the office of Lord-General, and restricting Fleetwood's command as Lieutenant-General to a short period. It even insisted that all commissions should be derived from the Speaker, a proceeding which was ridiculed by the army, who spoke of the old lawyer as their new Lord-General.

The army and Rump between them had thus assumed all power.

There was no place left for the Protector; Richard therefore quietly subsided into private life. Although the army had given a sullen consent to the late votes, it had been much against its will, and before long an opportunity occurred of making its power felt. The rapid change of the Government, and the threatened danger of a renewal of the oligarchy of the Long Parliament, or, should the army prove victorious, of a mere unstable military rule, had formed a close union between the Royalists and the great body of the Presbyterians of England, who had all along been willing

to accept royalty if properly limited. An insurrection broke out in Cheshire. The employment of the army became again necessary. Lambert hastened to suppress the outbreak. Victorious in the field, he returned in triumph to London, and found himself strong enough, in conjunction with the other officers, to demand that the late obnoxious votes should be rescinded. When the Rump, at the instigation of Haselrig, refused these demands, it was a second time ejected by the same power which had re-established it.

Quarrels of
the army and
the Rump.

This act, which seemed to promise nothing but mere anarchy supported by the army, still further strengthened the wish of the people to return to a settled government, even though it were royalty. The army, while united, was so strong that any attempts at insurrection appeared useless. But the army was no longer united. With no great head to keep them together, the individual generals formed ambitious plans of their own, and the different sections of the army became jealous of each other. Monk had for years commanded the army of Scotland. By careful selection of officers he had rendered it devoted to himself. It saw with jealousy the actions of the army of London, in which it had no share; and its leader, a cautious, reticent man, pledged to no party, and seeking solely his own advantage, seized the opportunity of raising himself to pre-eminence. For the present he declared himself the champion of the civil power, determining to watch the course of events. He refused to acknowledge the provisional Government which the London army had established, and at the head of 7000 men crossed the Tweed at Coldstream (Dec. 8). Lambert had hastened to Newcastle to oppose him, but his army gradually melted away from him, and he himself became a prisoner. Monk's appearance in England was followed by a universal cry for a free Parliament. Lawson, with the fleet, sailed up the river, and declared against the army. The apprentices in London rose. The soldiers themselves, mistrusting their leaders, made terms with Parliament, and on December 26th, the twice-expelled Rump was again enabled to reassemble, and awaited in hope the arrival of Monk, whom it still regarded as its friend.

On his march through England, however, he had full opportunity of seeing the real feelings of the nation, as petition after petition for a free Parliament was presented to him. And Monk, with whom principle was quite second to his own advancement, had already determined that his own interest lay in supporting the popular will. But it was still nominally as supporter of

Monk marches
to London.

the Rump that he reached London. He even, on February 9th, under its orders, destroyed the defences of the City of London, which had gradually been growing enthusiastic for a free Parliament. But he acted evidently under restraint, and the very next day, moved by a severe vote in the House against all who refused to abjure the pretensions of any single person, he returned with his army to the City, summoned the Common Council, and declared that

and demands a free Parliament. he would make common cause with them in demanding a full and free Parliament. The blow was thus struck; a burst of joy ran through the City. "At Strand-Bridge," writes Pepys, "I could at one time tell thirty-one bonfires; in King's Street seven or eight, and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps; there being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down;" for such was the jesting manner in which the citizens showed their contempt for that body. Monk then demanded the restoration of all the Presbyterian members of the House who had been excluded, and finally insisted that all vacancies should be filled up and the Parliament dissolve itself. Thus at length terminated, constitutionally, the Long Parliament, after an existence of nearly twenty years.

Writs were then issued for a new House of Commons, and, as was to be expected from the temper of the people, when it met on the 26th of April, it contained a vast number of members friendly to the royal family, though most of them

It proves Royalist. Presbyterians. Monk at once, whatever may have been his previous views, accepted the necessity of the case, and entered into friendly intercourse with the exiled King. He wrote inviting him to return, but urging him, as he wished for success, to promise a general pardon, liberty of conscience, the confirmation of the confiscated estates, and the payment of the army arrears. The advice was wise. But Charles, led by his bigoted counsellors, Hyde, Nicholas, and Ormond, refused to adopt frankly the course proposed, and drew up a declaration at Breda, in which, while he seemed to give the promises required, he really rendered them valueless by adding that they should be limited by the subsequent advice of Parliament. One danger only lay in his way. This was the temper of the army, so long a predominant political power. It could ill bear the sudden destruction of all its work. The danger was so imminent, that Monk had to create an armed force to oppose it. For this purpose he called out and organized the militia, while he attempted by promises and rewards to soothe such regiments as were

within his reach. The danger passed off with only one slight outbreak. Lambert escaped from prison, and raised a small army in the middle of England. His attempt was easily suppressed, and he was again brought as a prisoner to London. The Parliament, or Convention as it was called, assumed the old form of English Parliaments: the House of Lords returned to their seats. The Declaration of Breda was presented to them, and answered by an address

Charles received joyfully, except by the army. of invitation; and amidst the joy of all England, except of the army, which received him with gloomy looks as he passed the camp at Blackheath, Charles returned to his kingdom.

CHARLES II.

1660–1685.

Born 1630 = Catherine of Portugal.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	Austria.	Spain.
Louis XIV., 1643.	Leopold I., 1658.	Philip IV., 1621. Charles II., 1665.

POPES.—Alexander VII., 1655. Clement IX., 1667. Clement X., 1670.
Innocent XI., 1676.

Archbishops.	Chancellors.
William Juxon, 1660. Gilbert Sheldon, 1663. William Sancroft, 1678.	Lord Clarendon, 1660. Sir Orlando Bridgman, 1667. Lord Shaftesbury, 1672. Lord Nottingham, 1673. Lord Guildford, 1682.

THE Parliament which had re-established the monarchy had been summoned by writs not issued by the King. It was consequently irregular, and is known by the name of the Convention Parliament. Its duty was to settle, if possible, the great questions which must inevitably arise upon such a sudden change of government. It had exacted no pledges from Charles, but had trusted wholly to the vague promises of the declaration which he had issued from Breda. As, with careful ambiguity, all those promises were modified by reference to the future consent of Parliament, they were not of much legal value, but they had at least marked out the principles on which Charles was willing to treat with his subjects. The promises were four in number—an act of amnesty or oblivion extending to life, liberty and property for all but those excepted by Parliament; liberty of conscience, so that no man should be disquieted for differences of opinion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom; the settlement in Parliament of all disputed claims on property which had lately changed hands; and the payment of arrears due to Monk's army. The amnesty, the settlement of claims of property (which included

The work of the
Convention
Parliament.

1660)

THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT

723

the claims of the Church, the King, and the dispossessed Cavaliers), the settlement of the Church and of the King's revenue, became thus the main questions for the Convention Parliament to discuss.

Under the peculiar circumstances of the Restoration, the amnesty should have been as full as possible. Such had been Monk's advice, such the first feelings of the Parliament. The presence of the King, the known wishes of the Court, and the constantly-growing strength of the Cavalier party, increased the number of the exceptions, originally fixed at seven, till the Bill, as sent up to the Lords, excepted from the benefit of the Amnesty all such of the King's judges as had not surrendered themselves to justice in accordance with a proclamation which Charles had lately issued. That proclamation had fixed a period of fourteen days, within which the regicides must surrender themselves, on pain of being excepted from the indemnity. This obviously implied that such as acted in accordance with the proclamation should not be so excepted. Regardless of the King's faith thus pledged, the House of Lords excepted all the regicides promiscuously, together with five others, Hacker, Axtel, Vane, Lambert, and Haselrig, and added other clauses of great severity. But the Commons would not hear of this breach of faith, and after much discussion, a compromise was arrived at. Most of the King's judges were indeed excepted, but with a proviso that a special Act of Parliament was necessary for their execution, while a joint address of the two Houses desired the King to spare the lives of Lambert and Vane, even though found guilty. Ten persons were actually put to death immediately, three more were seized in Holland some time afterwards. Nineteen of the regicides who had surrendered under the proclamation were imprisoned for life; there were nineteen others still surviving who took refuge in foreign countries. The spirit of vengeance was further glutted by a mean revenge upon the dead bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, which were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey and hanged at Tyburn. Admiral Blake's corpse, too, was removed from Westminster Abbey to St. Margaret's Church.

The settlement of the property which had changed hands during the Revolution was a more difficult, and, except to the persons immediately concerned, a more important question.¹ Of such property there were three great divisions—the Crown lands, the Church lands, and the lands of private individuals. The two first of these had been sold by the authority of the late Govern-

The Amnesty.

The settlement
of property.

¹ For the settlement of Ireland, see pages 772 773.

ment at full prices. Private individuals had suffered in several ways; in some instances their lands had been sold by the Government, in some they had sold their own lands to raise money or to avoid sequestration, in a far larger number of cases their estates had been sequestrated, and the management placed in the hands of their enemies. Many of the Convention Parliament had doubtless profited by these means. The purchases had frequently been made at prices which only a good title could secure. It seemed hard that such purchases should be invalidated. A Bill was early brought in to confirm such sales or give indemnity to the purchaser. As the influence of the Court increased, Crown lands were exempted from the action of this Bill, and the discussion on the other two sections was postponed till the dissolution of Parliament brought all such quarrels to be settled by the common law. By law the titles of the new purchasers were obviously defective, the old possessors, the Crown, the Church and Cavaliers, regained their property. The law, however, gave no relief when the sale had been made by the possessor himself, nor did it restore to the claimant any of the profits which had come from his property during the sequestration, or while he had been excluded from possession. The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion stopped all such claims. Clarendon's honest support of that measure drew on him much hatred from his party, who jeeringly called the statute an Act of Indemnity for the King's enemies, of Oblivion for the King's friends. The Church had thus entered into possession of its lost property.

The more important difficulty of the settlement of the form of Church worship and of the possession of Church livings was yet open, nor did the efforts of this Parliament succeed in closing it. It will be recollected that under Cromwell wide toleration had been granted, that the stipends of parochial clergy and the collection of tithes had proceeded as heretofore, that the right of presentation to livings had not been interfered with, that the only qualification necessary was the acceptance of the nominee by the Committee of Triers. The Presbyterian form of worship had been established only in very few counties, and on the whole the livings were in the hands of very competent men, but men of very various ways of thinking. The excellence and respectability of the clergy and their general acceptance by the people rendered any immediate measures of expulsion difficult. Though the restoration of the monarchy and the abrogation of the ordinances of the Long Parliament re-established the Episcopal Church as the legal Church of

Settlement of
the Church.

the nation, the strength of the Presbyterians in the Convention Parliament, and the great part they had played in his restoration, prevented Charles from openly offending them. At the same time Clarendon, his chief adviser, was a bigoted English Churchman, and would be satisfied with nothing but the restoration of his friends. Charles, for the present, held out hopes of a great measure of comprehension, intending undoubtedly that it should never be completed. It was found that there was no insuperable difficulty, as regarded the Presbyterians at least, in the establishment of what is known as Bishop Usher's Model, a compromise which, while re-establishing Bishops, greatly increased the number of suffragan Bishops, making them virtually standing presidents of councils of Presbyters, and thus establishing a form of Government neither wholly Republican nor wholly Episcopal. Charles even went so far as to issue in October a declaration in favour of this form of union, containing a promise that he would cause an assembly to be called, of equal numbers of Episcopalians and Nonconformists, to revise the Liturgy; but it became evident how little in earnest he was in this matter, when an attempt was made to change this Declaration into an Act, for then, no doubt under the influence of the Crown, the whole Court party strongly opposed the Bill, and it was rejected. The question was thus left unsettled when the Parliament was dissolved in December.

The revenue was more successfully handled. It was determined, at all events, to get rid of the vexatious duties of feudal tenure. A great quantity of the land of England was still held by knight service. And though the meaning of that tenure had disappeared in the course of time, the disagreeable incidents which belonged to it remained. Fines were still paid upon every alienation; reliefs upon the accession to his property of each new heir. Minors were still wards of the Crown, and still liable to the odious necessity of marrying at the will of their guardian, unless heavy fines were paid to avoid it. It was the hope of a good wardship or a rich marriage which still attracted needy adventurers to the Court. All these claims of the Crown, together with the old obnoxious privileges of purveyance and pre-emption, were now abolished. Their place was supplied, not as might naturally be supposed by a land-tax, but by an excise upon beer and other liquors, the landed interests thus finding means to shift the burden upon the shoulders of the whole nation. The sum at which the revenue was fixed was £1,200,000 a year, to complete which the subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted to the King for life.

The Revenue.

Thus the customs upon exports, tonnage and poundage upon imports, and the excise upon liquors, were all placed in the hands of the King, who ought to have found himself tolerably independent of Parliament. But obviously, in granting such a sum, Parliament did not contemplate a standing army. The great army of the Commonwealth was still paid by large monthly assessments. A grant was now given which enabled the King to pay off all arrears, and to disband that formidable body. Fifteen regiments of horse and twenty-two of foot were discharged, and, such were their habits of discipline, absorbed without disturbance into the body of the industrious classes of the country. Two regiments, Monks', called the Coldstream, and one other, brought from Dunkirk, were retained under the name of the Guards. In 1662 they amounted to about 5000 men.

The King had thus gained all that was absolutely necessary for him from the Convention Parliament; well knowing that from the present temper of the people a new Parliament would be far more devoted to his interests, he dissolved it on the 29th of December. He had not miscalculated. In the Parliament of 1661 the Roundhead element was very small. The large majority of the members consisted of old Cavaliers or their sons, eager to restore England to what it had been before the Revolution, enthusiastic Royalists, still more enthusiastic supporters of the Episcopal English Church. So violent was their reactionary temper, that it required considerable exertion on the part of both the King and Clarendon to keep them within decent bounds. They were called upon, as the first legally formed Parliament of the reign, to confirm the Acts of the Convention. It was not without much difficulty and much loss of popularity, that Clarendon induced them to confirm the late Act of Indemnity. They proceeded to pass a series of very strong reactionary measures. The Covenant was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman; all the members had to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. They declared that there was no legislative power in either or both of the Houses without the sanction of the King, that the sole command of the forces of the country was undoubtedly vested in the Crown, that neither House of Parliament could lawfully levy any war, offensive or defensive, against the King. They strengthened the law of high treason, forbade the presentation of petitions by more than ten persons, and aimed a destructive blow at the Presbyterian interest by the Cor-

Its work done,
Charles
dissolves it.

New Parliament
violently
Royalist.
1661.

The Corpora-
tion Act.
Dec. 20

poration Act, for it was in the town councils that the Presbyterians were most influential. This Act commanded all office-bearers in corporations to swear to their belief in the doctrine of passive obedience, to renounce the Covenant, and to receive the Sacrament in the English form, within one year before their election.

Although the Parliament had confirmed the Act of Indemnity, they could not refrain from attacking Lambert and Vane, for whose life a joint address from the Houses had been sent to the King. They were charged with acts of high treason against Charles II., in exercising their offices under the Commonwealth. Such a charge seemed a direct violation of the Statute of Henry VII., which declared that to serve the "de facto" King was not treasonable. But the Court lawyers of this time declared that Charles II. had not only been King "de jure," but "de facto," during the whole of his exile, kept out of the exercise of his authority by traitors and rebels. In spite of the absurdity of this assertion, Vane was found guilty. The King himself, enraged at the independence of his defence, urged on his condemnation. The cringing behaviour of Lambert secured his life, but could not save him from perpetual imprisonment. Vane was executed, a victim to the servility of the Bench and the calculating falseness of the King.

Trial of Lam-
bert and Vane.

Execution
of Vane.
June 14, 1662.

The Act of Uniformity, passed on May 19, 1662, completed the work of the first year of Parliament. After the dissolution of the Convention, the King had continued to keep up the pretence of desiring some compromise with the Nonconformists, and so far fulfilled his promises, that a Conference was held at the Savoy Palace, between an equal number of Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines. The list of emendations to the Liturgy urged by the Presbyterians was a long one. They were discussed with great bitterness. As neither party would yield, the Conference broke up, and the emendation of the Liturgy fell into the hands of Convocation. A few alterations were made, but of a character rather to irritate than to please the Nonconformists. The Act of Uniformity was then brought to the Lords, rendering even more stringent the clauses of the old Act. It was now enacted that not only every clergyman, but every fellow of a college, or schoolmaster, should accept everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Every minister who, before the Feast of St. Bartholomew 1662, declined to do so, was *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice. No allowance of any sort was made for the deprived

The Act of
Uniformity.
May 19.

ministers. When the fatal day arrived, upwards of 2000 ministers of good repute resigned their preferments.

Events had been following the same course in Scotland. Since the battle of Dunbar, Scotland had been virtually dependent upon England. At first the Scotch received with great warmth the King, who relieved them from this position and restored them their nationality. It was not long before they learnt to regret the change. On reaching London, Charles found ambassadors from Scotland begging for the establishment of the Presbyterian form of worship. The chief of these was James Sharp. At the same time the Secretary of State for Scotland was Lauderdale, who had been deeply implicated in the movements of the Covenanters. Seeing the direction which affairs were taking in England, and feeling sure of the strength of the Royalist reaction, these two men thought it well entirely to betray their cause. Lauderdale henceforward gave all his ability to making good the most odious pretensions of the Crown, while Sharp, to whom the management of the Presbyterian negotiations had been absolutely intrusted, delivered those who had relied upon him bound into the hands of the reactionary party, and returned Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Presbyterians in Scotland had meantime been cajoled with the promise that the Establishment as settled by law should in no wise be altered. This promise was a piece of unexampled duplicity. Lauderdale remained in London to advise the Crown, the office of Royal Commissioner in Scotland being intrusted to John Middleton, a rough soldier of fortune, who had risen entirely from the ranks, and was now made an Earl. He was doubtless better fitted than the renegade Lauderdale for the immediate work in hand. He solved all difficulties by passing what was called an Act rescissory, by which all statutes passed in the Parliament of 1640 and subsequently were rescinded. This practically withdrew all legislation since the year 1633. The consequence of this was that the Proclamation brought down by Sharp, declaring that the established worship, discipline, and government of the Church should not be changed, found that established discipline Episcopalian. In the hands of Middleton and those who acted with him, who, Burnet tells us, were generally drunk, it was not likely that the change in civil affairs should be more gentle than that in the Church. It was determined at once to strike some of the more important men of the Covenanted party. At the head of these was Argyle. It is true that he had been mainly instrumental in the

Similar reaction
in Scotland.

Treacherous
conduct of
Lauderdale
and Sharp.

Episcopalian
Church
established.

restoration of Charles, that he trusted so implicitly to the pardon which had been given him in 1651 that he came in full confidence to meet the King in London, but neither services nor pardon weighed against the desire for vengeance, quickened by the knowledge of the almost royal power which he exercised in the Highlands. He was at once apprehended in London. There was no difficulty in finding charges that could be regarded as treason. He was executed on the 27th of May. The other two victims selected were Johnston of Warriston, one of the earliest suggesters of the New Covenant, and Guthrie, the most vehement and active of the extreme Covenanting clergy.

Execution
of Argyle,
Johnston and
Guthrie.

The Declaration of Breda had secured some sort of indemnity for the English, for the Scotch it secured nothing. An Act of Indemnity was however completed in the autumn of 1662. Its main feature was the levy of large fines upon those who claimed its advantages. Between 700 or 800 were thus fined, and if the fines inflicted, which were very high, were not paid, the accused person still remained liable to the action of the laws of treason. But as the opposition of the Scotch to Charles had been principally on religious grounds, so now it was in the violence of the measures taken for the establishment of Episcopacy that the vengeance of the Court party was chiefly shown. The abjuration of the Covenant was ordered to be taken by all ministers of state, judges, and officials of all descriptions in the country. On the prorogation of the Parliament, its powers were continued in the Privy Council, and in that body was passed, on October 1, 1662, an Act insisting upon Episcopal ordination for all those who had livings. The Council in which this was passed is known as the Drunken Parliament. Every man of them, with one exception, is said to have been intoxicated at the time of passing it. Its effect was that 350 ministers were ejected from their livings. The apparatus of ecclesiastical tyranny was completed by a Mile Act, similar to the Five Mile Act of England,¹ forbidding any recusant minister to reside within twenty miles of his own parish, or within three miles of a royal borough; and by the establishment of a High Commission Court, with complete powers against all who acted against the discipline of the Church, or in general "all who expressed their dissatisfaction to his Majesty's authority by contravening Acts of Parliament or Council in relation to Church affairs." At the end of 1662 a rivalry arose between Middleton and Lauderdale, in which, after much intriguing, Lauder-

Episcopal
Ordination Act.

The Scotch
Mile Act.

¹ See page 732.

dale was victorious. Middleton was removed from his commissioner-ship, and the government in Scotland passed into the hands of Lauderdale or his creature Rothes, assisted in ecclesiastical matters by the renegade Archbishop Sharp.

Both kingdoms had thus been forced to accept, with circumstances of considerable cruelty, the Episcopal form of Church government. Ardent attachment to the English Church, and antagonism both to Papacy on the one side and to Nonconformity on the other,

Character of
Clarendon's
government.

are the main characteristics of the earlier period of this Parliament—a period during which we may suppose it to have been under the management of Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. For a fervid admiration for the English Church was the chief characteristic of this statesman; a reformer in the earlier part of the Long Parliament, he had become, after the Great Remonstrance, the chief ostensible adviser of Charles I.; and although not answerable for all the actions of the King, who was constantly influenced by other and less constitutional friends, he had imbibed to the full the feeling of party spirit which the circumstances of a great revolution are certain to excite. He returned to England as the chief adviser of the young King, with his influence confirmed by the marriage of his daughter Anne with the Duke of York, the King's brother, heir-apparent to the throne, and bringing with him all the feelings and prejudices excited by an exile of many years passed in the constant service of a pretender. Ignoring his own earlier career, he took as his constitutional model the monarchy of Elizabeth. The growth of England in the last half century he wholly forgot. His desire was the establishment of a monarchy as strong as that of the Tudors, but kept as much as possible within the constitutional limits which had existed under those Princes, and of an orderly, established, Episcopal Church of the High Church model, but entirely dependent, as Elizabeth's Church had been, upon the King. In supporting these views, which he did consistently, and with a certain decorousness of life belonging to an older set of statesmen than those by whom he was surrounded, he frequently had to oppose the King's own wishes.

For the King himself belonged to a very different class of men. Selfish, sensual, and debauched, neither Church nor Constitution was to him of much importance as contrasted with the gratification of his personal wishes. He had learnt his views of monarchy abroad. His ideal of a king was Louis XIV. To win a similar position—at the price of honour, at the price of over-riding the Constitution, no matter at what price—was the poli-

Charles's
character.

tical object of his life. In religion he was by profession a sceptic, as were nearly all the fine gentlemen of the day; but such religious feelings as he had led him to believe that if any Church was better than another it was the Church of Rome. Moreover, during his exile, such assistance as he had received had been from Catholic monarchs, and he had promised more than once to do what he could to relieve the Catholics of England, who had also been staunch supporters of his father, from the heavy penal laws which oppressed them. He did not declare his Catholic tendencies till the close of his reign, yet it was impossible that they should be quite hidden. Courtiers who were opposed to the High Church Protestantism of Clarendon, such as Bristol, early adopted the Roman Catholic faith; the King's mistress, Lady Castlemaine, followed the same course, as did his brother the Duke of York; it is very improbable that they would thus have acted had they not known the tendency of his mind. He felt, however, that it was impossible as long as Clarendon was his minister that any general Act of toleration to the Catholics should be procured. His original plan would seem to have been, as indeed he asserted in his Declaration from Breda, to grant liberty of conscience. He was even intending to suspend the action of the Act of Uniformity for three months at the desire of the Presbyterians. Finding this impossible, he adopted a different course. He threw his influence on the side of those who wished to establish the strictest laws against Nonconformity, hoping that, when he had thus shown the Nonconformists how completely they were in his power, they would receive with gratitude any efforts he might make to secure them toleration, even though toleration of Papists was included in the effort. It was thus that shortly after the Act of Uniformity he published a declaration, declaring that he would use his influence in procuring some arrangement from Parliament which would enable him to make use of the power he claimed of dispensing with the statutes in favour of those who, while they did not agree with the Church, were yet harmless to the State.

He speedily found that he had miscalculated his influence. In 1663 the Commons presented him an address, in which they denied that he was in any way bound by the promises of the Breda Declaration, and gave him to understand that he did not possess that dispensing power which he claimed. This was followed by the introduction of stronger laws against Popery, and was the work doubtless of Clarendon's friends, who were now at open war with the party of Bristol, who had ventured even to impeach

Checked by
the Commons.

the Chancellor. It is to the same party and to their leaders, Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon, that we must trace the rest of the cruel ecclesiastical legislation which disgraced Clarendon's tenure of office. A slight rising in Yorkshire was the excuse for the introduction of an Act against what its movers were pleased to call seditious conventicles. By this, any meeting for religious purposes, except in accordance with the practice of the Church of England, attended by more than five people beyond the family, was regarded as a conventicle; and a third offence was punished with transportation, after conviction before a single justice of the peace. A more nefarious law could scarcely be invented; it prevented all worship but that of the family, offered the fullest opportunities to spies and informers, and deprived men of the common right of trial by jury. The gaols, we are told, were filled with Nonconformists. The following year (1665) a still worse measure was passed, under circumstances of peculiar cruelty. The plague, which had long been approaching through Europe, made its appearance in the crowded streets of London. Its progress was rapid and fearful. House after house was marked with the fatal red cross, the emblem of infection. The streets were deserted till grass grew in them, and scarce a sound was heard but the gloomy bell of the dead-cart as it carried the corpses, uncoffined and unshrouded, to some of the great common graves that had been dug. The panic was universal, and in some respects shameful. Especially it is fair to blame the doctors and surgeons, who were among the first to fly, and the established clergy, who deserted their churches. The Nonconformists, a far more earnest set of men, felt it a shame that the thousands still left in London should be deprived of all spiritual privileges; they undertook the duties of the vacant parishes, visiting the sick and preaching in the empty pulpits. But this noble conduct only excited the anger of the jealous Episcopalians, and in the Parliament, which, on account of the plague, was held at Oxford, an Act known as the Five Mile Act was passed, which forbade any clergyman to teach in schools, or to come within five miles of any corporate town or Parliament borough, who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity, or who would not swear to the doctrine of passive obedience, and pledge himself that he would not at any time endeavour any alteration in the government of Church or State. Such clergy were, in fact, excluded from all their ordinary means of livelihood.

Conventicle Act.
May 17, 1664.

Conduct of the
Nonconformists
during the
plague.

rewarded by
the Five
Mile Act.
Oct. 30, 1665.

This was the last of Clarendon's triumphs. Already the Parlia-

ment, which had met with such enthusiastic feelings of loyalty, was beginning to show signs of a change. Already that great opposition, which subsequently ripened into the Country party, was beginning to form. Charles II. was to experience the truth of his father's saying, that "Parliaments, like cats, grow cursed with age." Clarendon's own efforts to raise the prerogative had only tended to increase this danger. In the preceding year he had succeeded in obtaining a repeal of some part of the Act for triennial Parliaments, which was one of the chief achievements of the Long Parliament. It was generally believed that that Act not only required that Parliament should be held every three years, but that its duration should be but three years. This view Charles absolutely denied, thinking that he should never secure a more loyal Parliament; he moreover succeeded in obtaining the repeal of those stringent clauses which ordered the great administrative officers to summon a Parliament on their own authority should the King fail to do so. Before the close of the reign, Parliament had reason to regret the loss of these provisions. The lengthened existence then of this Parliament had begun to give rise, as usual, to opposition, at present directed against the minister. There was no difficulty in finding causes of discontent. The late legislation explains any hostility on the part of the Nonconformists. One party at Court, who felt injured by the superior decency of the minister's life, and desired greater toleration for the Catholics, was ready to join the opposition. The old Cavaliers were offended by the best act of his life, his honest adherence to the Indemnity. The whole nation was sore at the disgraceful sale of Dunkirk to the French, which had been completed in 1662, it was believed chiefly at the instigation of Clarendon, whose friendship for the French was not unpaid for. Events now occurred in rapid succession which rendered this general dislike to the Chancellor too strong to be withstood, and caused his fall.

It is plain that such reasons for opposition as have been given could not be openly put forward. His enemies still required some more plausible pretext for his attack. It was supplied by his foreign policy. Hostility to Spain and friendship with France had for long been the traditional policy of the best English statesmen. Dread of the overwhelming power of Charles V., of the vast monarchy and Catholic tendencies of Philip II., and the threatening and reactionary policy of Austria, had forced England to side with the Protestant powers of the North;

Opposition to
Clarendon.

Causes of
discontent.

His foreign
policy the pre-
text for attack.

a similar dread of the predominance of the Austrian house in Europe had driven France, for political reasons, to adopt the same course. But the rapid decay of Spain, the security of the German Princes won at the Peace of Westphalia, the increased power and influence of France, had entirely changed the circumstances of Europe. France especially, in the hands of a young and ambitious King, who had in 1661 declared his intention of ruling without the intervention of a prime minister, had become already the most powerful and dangerous country in Europe. This change Clarendon, with his usual inclination towards traditional views, had been unable to appreciate. He had throughout shown an inclination to join the French interests. He had thus been mainly instrumental in the sale of Dunkirk, a place dear to the English as their only continental acquisition, however little its real value may have been; and thus he had brought about the King's marriage with Catherine of Braganza, a Princess of Portugal, a country which had lately thrown off the yoke of Spain chiefly by means of French assistance.

But in fact the ambitious views of Louis had already begun to show themselves. His marriage with Maria Theresa, the Spanish Infanta (June 1660), although attended by renunciations which he fully intended to disregard, had given him hopes of securing part at least of the Spanish dominions, and he had already determined upon that course of aggression upon Spain which subsequently produced the great war of succession. His immediate object was the appropriation of the Low Countries and Franche-Comté to complete his frontier towards the Rhine. For this purpose, on the death of the first wife of Philip IV., he laid claim to the Low Countries for his own wife, urging a curious local custom which he had discovered, called the Law of Devolution, by which, in some of the fiefs of Brabant, upon the death of a parent, the whole fief became the property of their children, the surviving father or mother having only a life interest in it. It is needless to say that this local custom was entirely contrary to the law which governed the succession to the Crown. This claim had thoroughly frightened Holland, for that country was conscious that its alliance was no longer necessary to France, and that the close vicinity of so powerful a neighbour was not desirable. Holland was now in the hands of the oligarchic and republican party, at the head of which was De Witt; for the youth of the Prince of Orange disabled him from occupying the position of Stadtholder, which had become hereditary in his family. The republican party was constantly favourable to

Louis' ambi-
tious views

frighten the
Dutch into
negotiations.

France. De Witt, moreover, both despised and hated the Spaniards, and was afraid of the English, whose interest was certain to be given to the young Prince of Orange, who was the nephew of their King, and as hereditary Stadtholder, the natural leader of the anti-republican party. To obtain his object Louis entered into negotiations with De Witt; and these negotiations were still pending when suddenly the Dutch found themselves involved in a war with England.

The war arose from very trifling circumstances. A dispute had arisen between the African colonies of England and Holland. The English, without declaration of war, had expelled the Dutch from their settlements on the African War between England and Holland. coasts. Reprisals had followed, still without declaration of war; Charles caused all Dutch merchant vessels with which his cruisers fell in to be captured, as well as those within the English ports. On the 14th of March 1665, the formal declaration of war was made. The efforts on both sides were very great; the fleets first met off Lowestoft. The old jealousy of Holland rendered the war at the time popular, while both the King and his brother were eager for it, the one from a desire to show his skill as Lord High Admiral, the other because he was pleased at the large grants offered him, some of which at least he hoped to appropriate. The Duke of York commanded in person against Admiral Opdam. He won a great victory, but by some mistake or confusion about orders the pursuit was checked and the victory rendered fruitless. It was thought desirable after this that the Duke should not command in person. Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert assumed the command. The following year a still more terrible fight took place in the Downs. The two English commanders, who were in fact generals and not sailors, ignorant of the movements of the Dutch, had separated, and on the 1st of June, Monk found himself unexpectedly in the Downs with 54 ships in presence of 80 Dutch men-of-war, commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter. Ignorant of naval tactics, he dashed at his opponents. For two whole days the terrible fight continued, constantly to the disadvantage of the English. On the 3rd of June, burning his disabled ships, Monk retired, nor was it till late in the evening of that day that Rupert's fleet, which should have returned much earlier, joined him. It was the common opinion that the mismanagement of the Government was the cause of the disaster. Though the Court for the time pretended they had won a victory, it soon oozed out that they had suffered a complete defeat, a defeat from which however they partially recovered in the course of the

Dutch victory
in the Downs.
June 3, 1666.

year, driving the Dutch back into their ports, and with wanton cruelty burning the unfortified town of Brandaris on the Texel. De Witt, who saw this disgraceful act, is said to have sworn that he would not sheath his sword till he had had revenge. That revenge he obtained to the full in the following year.

Meanwhile the Dutch had been calling loudly on the French to fulfil the conditions of the alliance subsisting between them, and to send ships to their assistance. But the friendship of the Dutch was no longer an object to Louis. His chief desire was to see his two maritime neighbours destroy each other, and leave him at liberty to pursue his own course of aggression. Moreover, with his usual faithlessness, he was already preparing to desert the Dutch entirely. In May 1667, he had induced Charles to enter into that shameful traffic which rendered England during this reign a dependency of France. He had already secretly promised him considerable sums of money to enable him to establish his own power at home if he would leave him unmolested in his plans of conquest. Although thus deserted by their French allies, on whom they thought they had a right to rely, the Dutch had fully vindicated their honour. In the coming year the misgovernment of the English Court gave them a complete success. Grants, unusually liberal, had been made to Charles. Before the beginning of the war no less than £2,500,000 had been given him, and in 1665 and in 1666, sums on the same liberal scale. But the selfish and profligate King, instead of employing these moneys as designed, for the prosecution of the war, had taken much of them to lavish on his favourites and mistresses; and so complete was the maladministration reigning in the public offices that it was impossible to equip a respectable fleet in the year 1667. The coast of England lay unprotected, and the Dutch fleet sailed triumphantly up the Thames, passed thence into the Medway, burnt the dockyard and all the shipping at Chatham, and held London in a state of blockade for some weeks. This disgraceful failure produced a peace, which was signed at Breda in July, between the three countries, Holland, France, and England.

The disastrous mismanagement of this war supplied the numerous enemies of Clarendon with sufficient materials to secure his downfall. In fact, the discontent, both within and without the House, was becoming serious. The opposition was no longer aimed solely at Clarendon. It began to reach the King and the whole method of carrying on the Government.

Louis deserts
the Dutch.

and pensions
Charles.

Dutch blockade
London.

Peace.
July 1667.

Discontent:

Repression in Scotland had produced insurrection. The oppression exercised by Sir John Turner in the Western Lowlands had excited the stern Covenanters of that district. They had risen in arms and advanced towards Edinburgh. They had been defeated on the Pentland Hills, and their defeat had brought on them fresh oppressions. But the fire of insurrection was kindled, not yet to be quenched.

In England all respectable men were filled with disgust and horror at the extreme depravity of the Court itself, and of the men who hung about it. The wickedness of the time is to us almost inconceivable. The grossest indelicacies were publicly practised. The stage, upon which women were now first introduced, was occupied by comedies of the most licentious description. In the Court itself the King was notoriously the slave of any woman that captivated his senses. The reigning favourite at present was Lady Castlemaine. To the disgust thus excited was added contempt for the miserable maladministration of all branches of the Government which was the inevitable consequence of such depravity. While the Dutch fleet was sailing up the Thames, English sailors were mutinying for pay in the City. While English ships could not be manned, English sailors who had taken service with the Dutch were calling to their fellows to join them in a service where at least they got money for their trouble. While the fate of England seemed to hang upon the efficiency of her fleet, young nobles who had scarcely seen the sea were put in command of her ships. In the midst too of all the luxury that surrounded the Court, it was known that all the underlings were half starving for want of pay. To some of the royal household arrears of five years were due. The King's harper actually died of want, and was buried by the parish.

Yet all this while it was known certainly that the King and the King's officers were appropriating vast sums of public money. It was this knowledge which induced the House of Commons to establish two important principles with regard to taxation. In 1665, on granting £1,250,000 for the Dutch war, twice the amount having been granted the preceding year, they introduced and carried a proviso that the money thus given should be applied to the war only. From this time it was a recognized principle that supplies should be applied only to their specified objects. Almost as a natural consequence of this arrangement, and with the same knowledge of the misapplication of money which had caused it,

in Scotland,
against reli-
gious oppres-
sion;

in England,
against the
wickedness of
the Court.

Maladministra-
tion of Govern-
ment.

Misappropria-
tion of public
money.

the Parliament in 1666 appointed a Committee to inspect accounts, and on that Committee producing no great result, a Bill was sent up nominating Commissioners of accounts with still fuller powers. The desperate opposition both of the King and Clarendon delayed the Bill for a time, but upon the fall of that minister it was passed, and in 1669, on the report of the Commission, Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy, was expelled from the service. Both these actions of the Commons were strenuously opposed by Clarendon as encroachment on the royal prerogative. The opposition was the more ill judged, because the people felt it more than usually hard that just at that time the money raised by taxes should be diverted to the King's pleasures.

The miserable and disastrous Dutch war had come at a time when trade was depressed, when a sudden fall in the price of wheat had lowered rents almost a fourth, and when an unparalleled disaster had cost the people, it is believed, upwards of £7,000,000. On the 3rd of September 1666, a fearful fire had arisen, which laid waste the City of London from the Tower to the Temple, and inwards from the river from Spitalfields to Smithfield. Most of the public buildings, St. Paul's Cathedral, and eighty-nine churches, were consumed; and the flames were only suppressed by clearing gaps in the neighbouring streets by means of gunpowder. This vigorous remedy was applied

Conduct of the
courtiers at the
Fire of London.

under the eyes of the King, who exhibited on this occasion much activity and presence of mind. But even this good conduct on his part produced but little effect, when compared with the hasty language of the courtiers, who seemed to gloat over the fall of the rebellious City, and said openly that the City being now destroyed, and the King in possession of an army, there was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of absolute power.

Thus both the minister and the Court were involved in the general and growing discontent, which now found a spokesman in the Duke of Buckingham. This versatile and unprincipled man, from mere carelessness in religion, was ready to adopt the cause of the Nonconformists. A quarrel with Lady Castlemaine threw him completely on the side of the Opposition. His enmity was specially directed against the Chancellor. He sought and obtained a reconciliation with the

Duke of Buck-
ingham per-
suades Charles
to dismiss
Clarendon.

King's mistress, and their united efforts speedily induced the King to attempt to regain some popularity by deserting his old friend. In fact he had long been displeased with the Chancellor's conduct, which, as has

been said, in many points disagreed with his own views. Clarendon's love for what he considered the Constitution had induced him to limit the grants of Parliament, to object to the establishment of a standing army, and to desire the retention of some restraints upon the royal power. He had also constantly opposed the influence of the Roman Catholic party. Yet, with all this, Parliament was refractory, and was at the very moment demanding examination of the King's expenses, the step of all others the most objectionable to him. In August, a final interview between the King and his minister took place, and the King demanded the Seals.

On the 15th of October the Parliament voted an address of thanks for the Chancellor's removal, and in November he was impeached of high treason at the bar of the House of Lords. His friends in that House showed so much opposition to the impeachment that a serious quarrel arose between the Houses, and yielding to the false advice of the King, he fled from the kingdom, refusing to stand his trial, and in December was banished for life unless he should return before the following February. He with-

Clarendon is
impeached and
banished.

drew to Montpellier, and spent the rest of his life in literary employments. Though the charges of the impeachment fell short of high treason, and were besides grossly exaggerated, he had certainly been guilty of imprisoning subjects illegally, of being the first to urge Charles to receive money from France, of having persuaded the King, during the summer of 1667, to maintain his troops at free quarters, and of having been mainly instrumental in the sale of Dunkirk, perhaps himself receiving some share of the spoils.

But if there had been faults in Clarendon's administration, it was spotless compared with that of his successors. The ministers who succeeded him are known by the name of the Cabal, a name ever after of odious signification. At this time, however, its real meaning was much the same as that of Cabinet at present, that is, a more trusted section of the Privy Council. It was the accidental fact that the names of the hated ministers who formed that Cabinet spelt the word Cabal which gave it its subsequent evil meaning. These ministers were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley (subsequently Lord Shaftesbury), and Lauderdale.

Charles had been principally induced to change his minister by the promises held out by Buckingham and Shaftesbury of what the Commons would do for him if he surrendered Clarendon to them. He had in fact for the moment sided with the Commons, allowing them to re-establish for ever their right of impeachment

and the responsibility of ministers. As a consequence of this line of conduct, a temporary change of policy was necessary. The change was attempted both in domestic matters, in which Clarendon's Church policy had hitherto been prominent, and in foreign politics. Sir Orlando Bridgman, who had become Lord Keeper in the place of Clarendon, attempted, in co-operation with Buckingham and Bishop Wilkins, a fresh measure of comprehension and toleration. But the friends of Clarendon's views with regard to the Church were still too strong to allow of such a measure, and a motion, tending to clear the way for the new scheme, was defeated by a large majority, at the same time that the Conventicle Act was renewed and rendered more stringent.

Abroad the change of policy was more obvious. The greater part of England had begun to perceive, what Clarendon had never seen, that the real enemy to the peace of Europe was Louis, and was eager to check his triumphant career. Since the Peace of Breda, he had pursued his designs against the Spanish Netherlands, and had marched triumphantly into the country, taking city after city. De Witt, whose eyes had at length been opened, though he had long clung to the French alliance, tried in vain to act as mediator. It was plain that nothing could prevent the conquest of the Low Countries but a close alliance between England and Holland. Such an alliance, which was indeed the true policy of the country, the people of England were most desirous to arrange. The English ambassador at the Hague, Sir William Temple, a man both of high character and great diplomatic skill, shared fully in this view. With an openness unusual among diplomatists, Temple and De Witt explained to one another their objects and wishes. A few days of such diplomacy was found sufficient. On the 23rd of January the two great ministers concluded the famous Triple Alliance between Holland, Sweden, and England, by which those countries bound themselves to check the advance of France. Louis at the moment of success found his conquests torn from him. He could not yet venture to face such a coalition. He stayed his advance in the Low Countries, but, in spite of the severity of the winter, poured his forces under Condé into Franche-Comté, and subdued that province in a fortnight. He then consented to treat, and on the 2nd of May the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, by which Spain, for the sake of saving Franche-Comté, surrendered many important frontier towns, including Lille, Tournay, and Courtray. But though he thus retired with considerable advantage, Louis felt himself foiled, and never forgave

Temporary
change of
policy.

The Triple
Alliance.

the Dutch for their interference. By this treaty England assumed for a moment its right position in Europe, and entered upon the policy which the situation of affairs on the Continent rendered necessary for the next hundred years. So popular was it, that some even at the time considered it the only good thing that had been done since the King came to England; and, as Burnet says, it disposed the people to forgive him all that was past, and to renew their confidence in him which was shaken by the conduct of the Dutch war.

But this sudden assumption of a great national policy was merely a concession to popular feeling. It was in fact so hollow that, even while his ministers were treating with Holland, Charles was himself engaged in an underhand treaty with Louis. A certain change had come over his feelings, and he was now beginning to set on foot that plot the completion of which was the fixed policy of himself and his brother during their reigns. At the beginning of his reign he probably did not care much to be absolute. To a man of his sensual and good-natured character the trouble and occasional severity which are required from a despot were repugnant. The exertion of authority accompanied by such drawbacks offered no charm. His idea of despotism did not go much beyond freedom from all restraint and liberty to do as he liked.

But before long he found that such liberty was not to be allowed him. The increasing interference of the Commons in his expenditure, the impertinence, as he considered it, of their inquiries into the use of the money granted to him, and the bitter comments which were in all men's lips with regard to his debauched life, roused his anger. He could not bear, he said, that a set of fellows should look into his expenditure. Hints were heard of a much more fully formed wish than he had hitherto had to establish an absolute power. The retention of a standing army moreover, small as it was, had excited much discontent. Yet it seemed necessary for his plans that he should have such an army; and, certain that he should meet opposition which he would be unable to overcome by constitutional means, he began to look about for assistance in the coming struggle. His second wish he felt it was equally impossible to gratify without external help. This was the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion. It is strange that a man of such real scepticism, and of such ill regulated life, should have cared much for the form of religion. He seems to have been really convinced that Roman Catholicism was the best form of Christianity, and was probably stirred to activity

Charles's real
designs.

Absolutism.

A standing
army.

Establishment
of Roman
Catholicism.

by the sterner, harder character of his brother the Duke of York. It was this wish for the restoration of Catholicism which chiefly attracted him to Clifford and Arlington, who were both inclined to Romanism; and with those two ministers, Lord Arundel and his brother James, in January 1669, he took counsel as to the best method of proceeding.

The ally to whom he could best trust for the completion of both his objects was Louis, who might probably be induced to support him both with men and money. From this time on-
by the help of Louis. wards secret negotiations were set on foot, and distinct

arrangements made between the two Kings: for Louis also had two great objects in view for which he was willing to pay high. These were the destruction of Holland, where the Republican form of government was regarded as a standing insult to despotism, and the acquisition of some share, if not of the whole, of the Spanish dominions, which might at any moment be expected to be vacant by the death of the weakling Charles of Spain, and to which Louis, in spite of his wife's renunciations, fully intended to lay claim. Under these circumstances the terms of the treaty were not difficult to settle. Charles was to receive £200,000 a year, and 6000 French troops, to enable him to crush any opposition he might meet with in his plan. For this he was to re-establish Roman Catholicism and to assist Louis against Holland, for which assistance he was further to be rewarded by the gift of the province of Zeeland. He was also to assist Louis to make good his claim on the Spanish succession, and to receive as his reward Ostend and Minorca, together with any conquests he might make in South America. Such were the terms which, under the fostering care of the Duchess of Orleans, Charles's sister, who

Treaty with France. served as a go-between, ripened into the Treaty of Dover, signed by Clifford, Arlington, and Arundel, on the 20th of May 1670. No sooner was the treaty made than the trouble likely to be met with in carrying it out filled Charles with fear. So great did the danger appear that he was afraid to trust three even of his Cabal ministers, and the clause concerning the change of religion was omitted in a false treaty to which they were made privy. After he had succeeded in plunging the country into a war with Holland, and had thus gone so far with the treaty that money from France could not be refused him, he allowed the religious change to lie dormant till fear of death drove him to confess his real belief. He left the completion of his plan to his brother James, who, much more vigorous and much less wise, at once pro-

ceeded to carry it out, to his own ruin and the lasting advantage of England. It is by the light afforded us by our knowledge of this plot that we must interpret every act of the two last Stuarts.

Meanwhile, before so strange a change of policy as was implied in a war with Holland, so immediately after the Triple Alliance, could be made, it was necessary to get rid for a time of Parliament. For that body was beginning to grow suspicious; it was impossible to keep the King's designs absolutely secret; moreover, the lavish expenditure of the Court and the riotous living of the King continued, and there were no ostensible sources of revenue to support it. Parliament began even to grumble at the life the King led. It was proposed to lay a tax on all who visited play-houses. A jest which Sir John Coventry made on this matter was displeasing to the King. Not yet powerful enough to punish such language arbitrarily, he took the mean step of employing his son Monmouth to hire bravos, who attacked Sir John in the streets and slit his nose to the bone. The indignation of the House was great. A strong Bill was passed against the perpetrators of the outrage, and malicious maiming made henceforth a capital felony. To get rid for the time of this troublesome Parliament, it was prorogued on the 2nd of April 1671, confessedly for a year, in fact for twenty-one months.

The Government could now carry out its change of policy unhindered. But, first of all, sufficient money had to be procured. This was done by an act of singular bad faith; nothing short, in fact, of declaring a national bankruptcy. It had been the custom for bankers to advance money to the Exchequer upon the security of the revenue, which was to be set aside for the payment of both principal and interest. The Exchequer was at this moment under obligation to pay £1,300,000. The larger part of this had been advanced by bankers from funds intrusted to them by private individuals. A proclamation was suddenly issued that all payments from the exchequer should be suspended for one year, although interest was to continue, a promise which was not observed. The effect was a run upon the bankers and widespread distress.

This act of national robbery was followed by a piece of international dishonesty almost as bad. War had not yet been declared against Holland, and the Dutch Smyrna fleet was now on the way home. The English admirals were instructed to lay hands upon this valuable prize. The villany was

Parliament obstructing the King's plans is prorogued.

Money obtained by a national bankruptcy.

War declared against Holland. 1672.

not even successful. The Dutch, though at peace, were not without suspicions; six men of war convoyed the fleet, the English were ignominiously beaten off. War was at length declared in March 1672. The French did not pretend an excuse, the English pretences were so trivial as to be almost worse than none. The declaration of war was speedily followed by a great naval battle. On the 28th of May, the Duke of York met De Ruyter in Southwold Bay, and a battle of that equal and obstinate kind which was habitual between the English and the Dutch was fought. Upon land the combatants were far less equally matched. The troops of Louis poured at once over Holland. The army almost reached Amsterdam. The populace, driven to frenzy by the sight, and always attached to the interests of the House of Orange, which were not at present in the ascendant, rose in fury against their Government. De Ruyter was insulted, De Witt torn to pieces by the mob, and the young Prince of Orange found the duty of saving the country thrust upon him. Both France and England offered him terms. He rejected both. He even suggested that, if the worst should arrive, the shipping in the harbours might yet carry a remnant of the Dutch to the East, and there establish a New Holland. The courage of the people was roused, the dykes were cut, and the country laid under water. Unable to find subsistence, the invading army was forced to retreat, and Holland was saved; for the Austrian house was now roused to come to its succour.

*The Dutch
victorious.*

*Declaration of
indulgence.
1673.*

One part of the intended plan had thus failed, and the funds at the disposal of the English ministry having been uselessly exhausted, it became necessary to summon Parliament. It met, after its long prorogation, in February 1673. During that period the second part of the King's plan had been tried also. Just before war had been declared with Holland a declaration of indulgence had been issued to conciliate the Protestant Dissenters. The King declared that it was his will and pleasure, making use of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, that the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical should be immediately suspended. The King's right to dispense with statutes in individual cases was scarcely disputed. The power of pardon indeed in some degree implied it. But this was a very different thing from a wholesale suspension of a series of Acts of Parliament. So dangerous did this power appear, both as a step towards arbitrary power and as a means of frustrating the efforts of Parliament in the suppression of Papacy, that the very Dissenters, whom it was intended to please, and whom

it had in fact much relieved, opposed it, and on the meeting of Parliament an address was carried by a considerable majority begging the King to recall the declaration. Charles, though complaining bitterly of the opposition of the Commons, was afraid to contest the matter, and withdrew the declaration, a sign of weakness which induced Shaftesbury, a statesman who was always to be found on the stronger side, to pass over to the popular party.

*Parliament
compels
Charles to
withdraw it.*

This triumph of the Opposition, or Country party, as they were now called, was immediately followed up. No doubt grave suspicions, even knowledge, though perhaps imperfect knowledge, of the stipulations of the Treaty of Dover excited them to active measures. They proceeded to bring in and pass the Test Act, which rendered it necessary that the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England should be received, and a statement made by all who held any temporal office that they rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation. As this necessity was to extend from the lowest to the highest, it reached the Peers and other high officials, who were untouched by the oath required by the Act of Supremacy, and compelled the Lord Treasurer Clifford to retire from office, and the Duke of York himself to resign his position of High Admiral. Arlington took the test, but his influence was gone.

*Passes the
Test Act.*

The triumph of the Country party in passing this Bill was complete, and was followed by the resignation of all the Cabal ministers with the exception of Lauderdale. Clifford withdrew entirely from public life, Arlington took an employment in the royal household, Shaftesbury and Buckingham threw in their lot with the Opposition, and became its leaders. Lauderdale continued ruler in Scotland. After this triumph, the Opposition were content to leave unmentioned the closing of the Exchequer, and to vote a large supply, conscious that by refusing to acknowledge the dispensing power, and by carrying the Test Act, they had in fact thwarted both branches of the King's great scheme. The final overthrow of the policy of the Cabal was secured when the Commons compelled the King, by a threatened refusal of supplies, to conclude a separate peace with Holland, where Temple resumed his duties as ambassador.

*causing the
Cabal ministers
to resign.*

*and makes peace
with Holland.
Feb. 9, 1674.*

The Government fell into the hands of Sir Thomas Osborne, soon created Lord Danby, who became Lord Treasurer. His political views in some respects reproduced those of Clarendon. He wished to establish the monarchy in a

*Apparent
inconsistency
of Danby's
administration*

strong position, with the help of all the conservative elements in the country, and to see the Church of England supported in all its influence against both the Church of Rome and the Nonconformists. His foreign policy was however different. His feeling was strongly national. He disliked before all things the idea of a French alliance, and wished to recur to the policy of the Triple Alliance. Except then in his wish to increase the power of the Crown, he differed in all respects from the King, his master; and this difference of opinion gives a strange appearance of vacillation to the conduct of the Government during his tenure of power.

The same character of inconsistency is traceable in the conduct of the Opposition, for the execution of their foreign policy did not appear compatible with their security at home. They desired war with France, but war with France implied a considerable army; with their knowledge of Charles's objects, they could not bring themselves to trust him with the command of such an army. They thus, while demanding war, refused the only means of carrying it on. The apparent inconsistency of the politics of the time was still further increased by the actions of the French King. To him also Charles was an object of profound mistrust. He would have been glad enough to carry out that King's schemes by the intervention of his own power. He by no means wished Charles's absolute authority to be established without his assistance. He preferred to neutralize the political influence of England by keeping Parliament and King in a constant state of mutual mistrust. The otherwise confused action of Danby's ministry becomes clear if it be borne in mind that the minister was constantly urging war with France, while the King was all the time pensioner of that country; that the Commons, certain of the King's connection and of his real objects, though unable to prove them, were unwilling to trust him on any point, though as anxious as the Treasurer for a French war; and that Louis was unceasingly engaged in intriguing with both parties in order to keep England from interference abroad. Throughout these years the Opposition was led by Buckingham and Shaftesbury, and was of the most vigorous description. It was to the misfortune of the party that it was so led. Both those noblemen belonged to the class of ready and unprincipled statesmen which the rapid alternation of power during the last thirty years had produced, and they gave a character of unscrupulousness and faction to the Opposition which its really great objects did not render necessary.

Difficulties of the Opposition.

Difficulties of Louis.

Danby's views of domestic government are shown by the attempt, in 1675, to render an oath against resistance to the royal power in all cases, and against any attempt to change the government of Church or State, obligatory on all place-holders and all members of either House of Parliament. The Bill was carried in the Lords, but met with such violent opposition in the Lower House that it was ultimately dropped. At the end of the same year, to prevent the free and sometimes seditious language used in the coffee-houses, which were to Englishmen then much what clubs now are, all coffee-houses were suddenly shut up. This attempt to carry despotism into social life raised such a storm of wrath, that, after a short time and under some restrictions, the coffee-houses had to be reopened. Again, in the Parliament of 1677, Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Wharton, and the Duke of Buckingham, maintaining that the late lengthened prorogation of Parliament was illegal, were all four imprisoned in the Tower, and remained there for more than a year.

Attempts at arbitrary rule. 1675.

In the face of vehement opposition, and in spite of the unpopularity of his views of government, the Treasurer succeeded by means of bribery in continuing in office. But it was in connection with the affairs of Europe that the mistrust of the Opposition and the meanness of the King were most clearly shown. The separate peace with Holland had been completed in February 1674; but though England had thus withdrawn from it, the war still continued on the largest scale on the Continent. Holland had indeed been saved by the firmness of the Prince of Orange. Austria and Spain had come to his assistance, and the war, turned aside from its original purpose, was now directed chiefly against these allies, of which Spain, as usual, was the greatest sufferer. Franche-Comté was again occupied; Alsace taken by Turenne, who passed the Rhine and laid waste the Palatinate; and after the death of that great general in 1675, the French still continued to make head against the European alliance along their whole frontier, although with less unvarying success. Supported by the well-known wishes of the Lord Treasurer, the Country party were not contented with the withdrawal of England from the French alliance. They eagerly desired that the nation should take its proper place as one of the chief members of the league against the French. It became necessary for the views of Louis that the constant declaration of this wish should be silenced. He therefore, at the price of 500,000 crowns, purchased from Charles a lengthened

Parliament wishes to check Louis.

Louis bribes Charles to prorogue it.

prorogation from November 1675 to February 1677. In the interval the two Kings bound themselves by formal treaty, with the connivance of Danby and Lauderdale, not to enter into any treaty but by mutual consent, and Charles promised, in consideration of a pension, to prorogue or dissolve Parliament if they should attempt to force on such a treaty. It was upon the conclusion of this prorogation that, as has been mentioned, four Peers had been imprisoned.

The Commons, upon reassembling, were induced by bribery to make a considerable grant. But that grant was devoted chiefly to the navy, and paid not to Government but to their own receivers. They then passed an address requesting the King to save the Netherlands; but when

Charles demanded money for the purpose it was refused. The army was indeed collected, between 20,000 and 30,000 men. The sight of such a force, and their well-founded dread of the objects of the Court, made the Parliament demand its dismissal. It indeed seems probable that both Charles and his brother fully intended to use it for their own purposes. Nor could the French King, in spite of his connection with Charles, feel the least certain that it would not after all be employed against him; he therefore used his influence to get the army disbanded. This brief session of Parliament had convinced Louis of the wisdom of securing lengthened prorogations. He therefore again bribed Charles with a subsidy of 2,000,000 livres to prorogue Parliament till April 1678.

But meanwhile, for a time, the influence of the Treasurer had got the upper hand; and not without great opposition from her father, Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York and Anne Hyde, had been married to the Prince of Orange, the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, and the chief opponent to the growth of French influence. This was regarded

as such an act of treachery by Louis that he cut off the subsidy he had just promised, and Parliament, already prorogued till April, was in revenge suddenly summoned in February. So complete was now Louis' mistrust of the miserable

palterer upon the English throne, that he began a new line of policy. It seemed to him hopeless to rely in any way on Charles's word. The only course left for him was to deprive him of all power, either of helping him or hindering him, by keeping him constantly employed at home. He therefore entered into negotiations with the Country party. His ambassadors, Barillon and Ruvigny, were ordered constantly to foster the

Parliament
reassembling,
demands war
with France.
1677.

Louis again
secures a
prorogation.

Mary marries
the Prince
of Orange.
1678.

Louis' anger.
Charles
summons the
Parliament.

Louis intrigues
with the
Opposition.

quarrels between the King and his people, and undoubtedly even the very best of the Country party, such as Lord Holles and Lord Russell, entered into communication with them. Neither of these leaders received anything from France. The same cannot be said of a considerable number of the other leaders of the party. At the same time, though the reception of money from a foreign Prince for the purpose of influencing domestic politics is repugnant to our present ideas of honour, it is scarcely fair to say that the leaders of the Opposition were bribed; in the first place, because the sums given (between £300 and £500) were too small to have had much influence upon men of property and position; and secondly, because no change of principle was required from the recipients. At the worst, they were only paid for following their own political objects more energetically. Under the influence of these intrigues, parties appeared for the moment to have exchanged positions. The King, angry at the stoppage of his subsidy, urged by the Treasurer, thinking perhaps to please his Parliament, and probably with an ulterior view of establishing his own power, again collected an army of some 20,000 men, nominally against France; and the Country party, which had hitherto urged him to adopt that course, at once demanded that it should be disbanded.

Again, disgusted at the ill success of his new policy, Charles resorted to Louis, and in May 1678 made a private treaty with him, signed by himself, but written by Danby, by which he promised, on receipt of 6,000,000 livres, to remain neutral if Holland refused to accept reasonable terms of peace; for the exhaustion of war was pressing upon France, and though victorious, Louis was anxious to treat. A congress for that purpose had been sitting at Nimeguen since the close of 1676. The effect of this neutrality was virtually to force Holland to treat, and in spite of the opposition of the Prince of Orange, who wished to continue that war, and who has been falsely charged with fighting the battle of St. Denis with the full knowledge of the treaty, in hopes of breaking it off, the Peace of Nimeguen was completed, the loss again falling almost wholly upon Spain.

Louis no longer wanted the friendship of Charles, and determined to punish him for the marriage of his niece, and for his duplicity at the beginning of the year. He therefore refused his pension, declaring that it had not been earned, and at the same time wreaked his vengeance upon Danby, whom he knew to be his consistent enemy, by causing Montague, the English ambassador

Secret treaty
with France.
Peace of
Nimeguen.

Louis makes
it known.

in Paris, to make known the treaty by which the King was to have received 6,000,000 livres. As that treaty was dated only five days after a grant of money from the Parliament for carrying on the war against France, it excited the extremest wrath in England. As the King himself could not be touched, all this wrath was directed against the minister, and before the close of the session he was impeached. Danby pleaded the King's direct order and the King's pardon. On the Tory view of the position of ministers, his first plea was probably good. But the modern Whig theory was on this occasion established, that a minister is answerable for the character as well as the legality of the measures of which he makes himself the instrument. This was a great step in the change rapidly arriving in England, by which the executive was brought under the control of the Houses of Parliament. The question how far a pardon can be pleaded to stay an impeachment was by no means a clear one. It might well seem that a pardon before was very little different from a pardon after conviction. The matter was on this occasion left undetermined, as the impeachment was not completed. Subsequently, by the Act of Settlement, it was arranged that such a pardon could not be pleaded.

The impeachment of the minister would perhaps have been less vehement had it not been preceded by an extraordinary event which drove the nation to a state of madness. This was the discovery of a pretended Popish plot, including the death of the King and the establishment by violence of the Roman Catholic religion. It is possible that there was some germ of truth in the story. Several events connected with it—the contents of the letters of the Jesuit Coleman, which seemed to allude to some such plot, the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the fact that some of the witnesses were undoubtedly tampered with by the Catholics—tend to rouse a suspicion that after all there was some truth in the plot. On the other hand, Coleman's words may have alluded to the general scheme of the King; the murder of Godfrey has never been brought home to the Catholics; in the excited temper of the people, and in the fear of being convicted, whether proved guilty or not, innocent people may have been willing to use any means to withdraw witnesses. Be that as it may, the stories told by Titus Oates and the other informers, who, jealous of his success, vied with him in their fabrications, were a tissue of absurdities. This man, a clergyman of the Church of England, who had been degraded for evil living, had afterwards become a Roman Catholic,

Consequent
anger against
Danby.

Country being
excited by the
Popish plot.

and joined the Jesuits at St. Omer. It was the knowledge gained there, and afterwards in London, which supplied him with the material for the stories he subsequently retailed. Brought before the Council, he made a variety of extraordinary assertions. The Jesuits were to govern England, the King was to be killed, Romanists were already appointed to the chief places in the State, a French invasion was preparing, a general massacre of the Protestants might be expected. He went on to add minute particulars and to accuse many individuals. He was taken before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a Protestant magistrate, to swear to his narrative; and the credulity and horror of the people, already sufficiently excited by Oates's narrative, became a perfect panic when, some days after, Godfrey was found mysteriously murdered on Primrose Hill. No man felt his life safe unless armed. It became the custom to carry a little flail loaded with lead, called a Protestant flail. At Godfrey's funeral, at the sermon, "besides the preacher, two other thumping divines stood up in the pulpit" to guard him from being killed, and when Parliament met on the 21st of October, after hearing the letters of Coleman the Jesuit, secretary to the Duchess of York, whom Oates had charged, the Lower House came to a resolution, "That this House is of opinion that there hath been and still is a damnable and hellish plot, carried on by Papist recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, for subverting the Government, and rooting out the Protestant religion." It has been thought that Danby may have hoped to excite the Commons to some loyalty by the threatened assault on the King, and may therefore at first have given his countenance to the stories of the plot; it is more certain that Shaftesbury at once saw the opportunity offered him of lashing the Protestant temper of the people to fury, and directing it against the Duke of York. This political side of the plot, coupled with the fixed idea which constant repetition had excited in the minds of Protestants that Catholics were capable of any enormity, explains the extraordinary lengths to which the informers were allowed to go. Oates, followed by a man of the name of Bedloe, and subsequently by Dangerfield, Carstairs and others, named five Peers as privy to this plot, who were therefore imprisoned in the Tower, and secured the conviction and execution of a considerable number of Jesuits and Catholics. In fact, for some time, it was useless for the accused to hope for justice; Chief-Justice Scroggs lent himself shamelessly to uphold the false stories of the informers. At length Oates ventured even to assert that, standing behind a door in Somerset House, he had heard the Queen give her consent to the

death of the King. The informer himself was well paid for his task ; guards were assigned him, lodgings in Whitehall, and £1200 a year. He dressed like a Bishop, and called himself the Saviour of the nation. Every one he pointed out was taken up,—“the very breath of him was pestilential.” It was while the country was in the midst of this wild panic that the revelations of Montague were made against

Parliament dissolved to save Danby.

Danby. In December that minister was impeached ; and, threatening though the state of England was, in the hope of saving him, Charles ventured upon dissolving his Parliament, which had now sat for eighteen years, and which during this time had changed from fervid loyalty to a state of the bitterest hostility to the Court and Crown. As was to be expected in the midst of the national ferment, the election was a scene of extreme excitement. Devices, hitherto unheard of, were employed to procure votes, seldom had so great a poll been seen ; the triumph of the Country party was complete, almost everywhere the elections went against the Court. Members came up in a furious temper, burning with Protestant zeal, and full of anger against Danby. In spite of the dissolution, which had generally been held to put an end to an impeachment, proceedings against him were at once resumed.

New Parliament, March 6, sentences Danby to the Tower.

In vain he pleaded the pardon of the King under the Great Seal, it was decided that the Minister must be responsible for his actions ; he was put into the Tower, and remained there till the prorogation. The Commons, headed by Shaftesbury, continued their violent course. To avoid the excitement which his presence caused, the King had induced the Duke of York to retire from England. The step was taken in vain. In the last Parliament, when a Bill had been passed which prevented Catholic Peers from sitting in the House, the Lords had succeeded in obtaining a proviso in favour of the Duke of York ; no such lenity was now to be looked for. The Country party was convinced that the only way of securing the liberties of the country was to exclude James from the throne ; a Bill for that purpose was introduced into the House.

Meanwhile, in terror at the vehemence of his Parliament, Charles had had recourse to the most popular statesman of the time, Sir William Temple, author of the Triple Alliance. He formed a scheme which he hoped might oppose some barrier between the King and the rising excesses of the Commons. For this purpose he utilized the Privy Council. The Cabinet, even as it then existed, was but a Committee of that large and unwieldy body.

Temple's scheme of government.

Temple designed to increase the Cabinet, and formed a Council of Thirty, among whom were many members of the Opposition, notably Russell and Essex, while Shaftesbury was not only admitted, but established as President. Without the advice of this Council, the King, it was understood, pledged himself not to act. For the moment the hopes of the Country party were raised. The plan however proved, as might have been expected, abortive. The number of thirty was much too large for rapid or secret action, and practically the real ministry came to consist of four only—Temple himself ; the Earl of Sunderland, an able man of a mean spirit and unprincipled character, of whom it has been said that he was so intent on observing and courting particular persons, that he miscalculated grossly with respect to all the momentous events of his time ; the Earl of Essex, an honest and sober member of the Country party ; and Saville, Lord Halifax, a man of brilliant gifts, who had hitherto been also connected with that party, but the peculiarity of whose mind led him always to see the advantages of both sides of a question, and to incline towards that party which was for the moment weakest : he was proud of the name of Trimmer, given him in contempt by more onesided and practical politicians. The formation of this inner Cabinet was entirely contrary to Temple's principle ; his scheme at once broke down. Russell would no longer be a member of a ministry in which he had no voice ; Shaftesbury appeared again as a leader of the Opposition. Under his guidance the Exclusion Bill was being read a second time, when the King found it necessary, not only to prorogue, but to dissolve Parliament.

Falls in practice.

Parliament dissolved,

Although it had failed in completing the Exclusion Bill, this Parliament had carried the great Act of Habeas Corpus. It must be remembered that, from the earliest times, certainly from the Great Charter, every Englishman had a right to trial. No freeman could be detained in prison except on a criminal charge, or after conviction, or for debt, and always had it in his power to obtain a writ of Habeas Corpus, that the Courts of law might judge of the sufficiency of the charge. But all sorts of obstacles had been put in the way of obtaining this writ. The present statute enacted, that any judge, at any time, should be obliged to grant this writ when applied for, and fixed the penalties to which the gaoler would be liable for refusing to obey and the judge for refusing to issue the writ. It also forbade imprisonment out of England.

after carrying the Habeas Corpus Act.

The only political effect of this short Parliament was to exasperate the animosity of parties. The trials for the Plot continued uninterrupted, the judgment-seat was still defiled by the wicked conduct of Scroggs, Knowles, and Jones, who constantly and openly took the part of the accusers. But at length these unjust judges seemed to have taken fright as the accusations approached the Crown; when the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, came on in July, though the evidence was precisely of the same character as before, the witnesses suddenly found themselves disbelieved, and after a long trial, Wakeman, and others who had been indicted with him, were acquitted. Thus one of Shaftesbury's great weapons in his attack upon the Court was broken. Still, however, Lord Stafford, with four other Peers, awaited their trial by the House of Lords. But the spell was broken, and incredulity began to spread.

And now a new personage entered on the scene, whose appearance (though by the reaction it caused it ultimately proved a deathblow to Shaftesbury's policy) supplied him at the time with a fresh means for carrying on the assault. This was the Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles and Lucy Walters, who received from Charles an amount of care and love scarcely to be expected from such a man. He had been constantly present at Court, had been allowed in many points to assume the bearing of a Prince of the blood; and the Country party, regardless of his birth, began to look upon him as a rival to the Romanist Duke of York. So conscious was the Duke of York of this danger, that, when leaving England at the beginning of the last Parliament, he had exacted from the King, in the presence of his Council, a solemn declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy. But in spite of this, the story which declared that the Duke was really the King's legitimate son held its ground. Highly popular in his manners, he had won the heart of the people, and had lately still further strengthened his position by the leniency with which he had concluded a religious war in Scotland, which contrasted favourably with the bigoted severity of the Duke of York.

The measures which had been taken in that country to force Episcopacy on an unwilling people had driven them to insurrection. After the disgrace of Middleton, at first Rothes, and subsequently Lauderdale, with the assistance of Archbishop Sharp, had been the chief agents in the persecution. The Covenanted feeling had showed itself most strongly in the Western

Popish Plot
trials continue.

Popularity of
the Duke of
Monmouth.

Oppressions
in Scotland.

Lowlands. There many violent means had been tried to reduce the people to conformity; among others, the introduction of a number of Highlanders, known as the "Highland Host," who had been brought into the country and quartered on the inhabitants. So outrageous and unscrupulous had been their conduct, that, for the sake of the Loyalists, it had been found necessary to remove them. But against the Covenanters their excesses had proved as useless as the previous means of coercion. The Nonconformist feeling, however, was not confined to the West. In the county of Fife were found men of equally stern convictions, and there the standard of rebellion was raised. A certain official of the name of Carmichael had been using the laws against recusants for his own ends with unjustifiable severity, bringing charges against men he knew to be innocent, but whose consciences forbade them to support their innocence in courts whose competency they denied. Ten or twelve Covenanters of the more fanatic sort determined to punish him; the degree and character of that punishment they had not yet decided on. Under the leadership of a gentleman called Hackston of Rathillet, and of John Balfour, they lay waiting for their victim on Magus Heath, near Cupar. After the manner of their sect, they had begun their undertaking with deep prayer, and when Carmichael avoided them, they took it for a providential dealing that Archbishop Sharp came across them as it were in his place. They fell upon him as he was driving with his daughter in his coach, and barbarously murdered him. They then fled to the West, the real stronghold of the extreme Covenanters. There they at once met with sympathy, and after some open acts in contempt of ecclesiastical law, in company with some 600 more, held an open air conventicle at Lowdon Hill. John Graham of Claverhouse marched against them, and was defeated at the skirmish of Drumclog. He was unable even to hold Glasgow against them, and the outbreak threatened to grow into a formidable insurrection. It was thought necessary to send Monmouth to suppress it. On the 22nd of June, at Bothwell Bridge, on the Clyde, he came up with the insurgents. They sent a petition, begging that they might have the free exercise of their religion, and that their matters might be settled in Parliament. The Duke was himself inclined to gentle measures, and to afford them some relief; but his orders were positive, he was not allowed to treat. The consequence was the battle of Bothwell Bridge, in which the Covenanters were defeated with great

Murder of Arch-
bishop Sharp.

Monmouth
defeats them
at Bothwell
Bridge.

slaughter. The illness of the King and Monmouth's leniency caused him to be recalled to England; his place was taken by the Duke of York, who set to work to break the spirit of the Covenanters with unsparing cruelty and an unscrupulous use of torture, which would alone have rendered his name odious. It was thus, with the favour his comely person and popular manners had already secured him, enhanced by a reputation for leniency and love of the Protestant religion, that Monmouth returned from a short absence on the Continent, whither he had betaken himself on leaving Scotland. He became at once the popular hero; his return was celebrated by the ringing of bells and all the other signs of enthusiastic admiration; while the story of his legitimacy was repeated with more and more of authority.

He arrived at a critical moment. Shaftesbury had not been idle. A new Parliament had been summoned to meet in October; but, without proceeding to business, it was at once prorogued for a year. This interval was spent in exhibitions of national feeling organized by Shaftesbury. The anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession was celebrated with a great pageant, closing with the burning of the Pope in effigy. And now a new plan was devised for sustaining the national feeling. Petitions urging the King to assemble Parliament were prepared in all parts of the country. But signs were already visible that the reaction was coming. A proclamation was issued, which checked the petitions; and the violence of the Country party (now called Whigs, a name applied to the Western Covenanters of Scotland) began to rouse the loyalty which always exists among the English gentry. Counter addresses were forwarded to the Government, expressing their abhorrence of the petitions. The Loyalists were now called either Tories, a name taken from the wild Irish outlaws, or Abhorrrers, from the word used in their addresses.

In 1680 the crisis came. Alarmed at the popularity of Monmouth, the Duke of York returned from Scotland, and it at once became evident that his influence was paramount with the King. Shaftesbury, who shrunk from no extremity, and who seems to have been blind to the approaching reaction, appeared before the grand jury of Westminster, and presented the Duke as a Popish recusant. While Shaftesbury was engaged in conversation, the judges thwarted this clever move by discharging the jury; still it was plain that the Duke's presence in England was

Duke of York
subdues them
by torture.

Enthusiasm
for Monmouth.

"Whigs" and
"Tories."

Reaction in
favour of the
Duke of York.

for the present impossible, and he again returned to Scotland. At length, in October, Parliament met. The Commons proceeded to all extremities. The Exclusion Bill was brought in and passed. The Commons would hear of no compromise, though the King offered anything short of exclusion. Sunderland and Godolphin entreated him to yield. Halifax, true to his policy of defending the weak, alone stood firm. His unrivalled eloquence was successful; the Bill was thrown out in the Lords. Filled with anger, the Commons passed a series of measures, each more violent than the last. They refused to pass any Money Bill till the Exclusion Bill was carried. They addressed the King to remove Halifax from his Council for ever. They resolved that no member of the House of Commons should accept any office from the Crown. They declared that the fire of London was due to the Papists, who designed thereby to introduce Papacy and arbitrary power. It was impossible for the King to remain quiet under such circumstances; he was compelled to dissolve Parliament on the 18th

of January 1681. Meanwhile Monmouth had been making a sort of royal progress through England, escorted from house to house by a band of gentlemen. He had even ventured to drop the bar sinister from his arms, and to touch for the King's evil. It seemed as though even yet the Whigs would be triumphant; in spite of the acquittal of Wakeman, the prosecution of the Papist Lords was still continued, and the Whigs had sufficient influence to secure the unjust death of Lord Stafford. But the King and his advisers were conscious that the tide had already begun to turn; and, determined to allow his enemies to put themselves completely in the wrong, Charles decided on making one more attempt at Parliamentary government. In March 1681 a new Parliament was assembled; but, afraid of the vicinity of London, the King summoned it to meet him at Oxford. The Whig chiefs came, attended by troops of armed men, and the kingdom seemed upon the verge of civil war. Charles again offered a final alternative to the Exclusion Bill. He was willing, he said, that the Duke of York should be banished from the kingdom, that the Government should be carried on in his name by a regent, that that regent should be the Protestant Prince of Orange. The Commons would listen to no proposition short of the complete exclusion. But they had overshot their mark. Their extreme violence, dread of a civil war, the undue pressure which they seemed to be applying

Parliament
meets, Commons
pass the
Exclusion Bill.

The Lords
throw it out.
Anger of the
Commons.

Parliament
dissolved.

New Parliament
at Oxford,
1681.

to the King (who after all was only upholding the natural rights of his own brother); before all, their attempt to meddle with the true succession to the Crown, which is so dear to the English mind, had produced a complete reaction; and when the King, after a few days, dissolved the tempestuous Parliament, he had virtually triumphed.

He could even think at once of vengeance. A carpenter of the name of College, known as the Protestant joiner, the inventor of the Protestant flail, was accused of a design upon the King. The false witnesses hitherto employed in the Popish Plot were willing enough to sell their perjuries to their former enemies. Acquitted in London, College was tried before a more Tory jury in Oxford, and found guilty amid the applause of the bystanders. The next blow was aimed against Shaftesbury himself. It was resolved to try him upon the charge of treason; but the London sheriffs were zealous Whigs, the jury was of the same way of thinking, and they ignored the indictment. It became obviously necessary, before severe measures could be thought of, to change the character of the corporations. A writ of Quo Warranto was issued, by which the City of London was accused of irregularities, and their charter was confiscated. Laws against Nonconformists were at the same time put rigorously into execution. The process which had answered so well in London was speedily applied to other corporations. There were few of these bodies who had not either wittingly or unwittingly been guilty of some breach of the law. One by one they were compelled to resign their charters, and to receive others granted wholly in a Tory spirit.

The reaction drove the Whig party to despair. Their excitement had been so strong, it was impossible for them to settle down, as wisdom dictated, to wait quietly till their turn should come again. They began to think of more violent means, and meetings were held in which there was some talk even of an insurrection. This was Shaftesbury's plan; but he was unsupported by the wiser members of his party, and found it necessary to withdraw in November to the Continent. There was indeed no proper ground for insurrection, for however tyrannous the conduct of the King might have been, he was careful to keep within the letter of the law. At the same time, communications were opened with the discontented Presbyterians of Scotland; and it is certain that the agitation for some violent means of opposing the Crown was widespread. Russell and Essex appear to have retired from the scheme; but some of the in-

refuses any
compromise.
Is dissolved
at once.

Charles's
vengeance.

Despair and
fury of
the Whigs.

ferior and more violent members of the party went even further. They made a plan for murdering the King at a place called the Rye-House, which has given its name to the whole Whig conspiracy. The plot was revealed by one of its members. The Court found no difficulty in mixing the more general feeling of discontent with the assassination plot. Russell, Essex, and Sidney were arrested. Lord Howard turned King's evidence, and though what he said *had* no connection with the plot to murder the King, he narrated the meetings which had been held before the departure of Shaftesbury, and thus inculpated Russell. Disregarding the fact that there was but one witness, which is not sufficient to prove an act of treason, the jury found Russell guilty. The same day Essex was found dead in the Tower; in all probability he died by his own hand, as his temperament was known to be morbid and melancholy. Russell was executed. The next victim was Sidney, whose trial was conducted by Jeffreys, now Chief-Justice. Again there was an absence of sufficient witness; but a treatise in which he had supported the advantages of Republicanism was produced, and allowed, contrary to all right, to take the place of a second witness, and Sidney too was put to death.

The discovery and punishment of this plot rendered the power of the Crown for the time irresistible. Charles was enabled to disregard the law and to continue beyond the time fixed by statute without a Parliament. He was able also to allow the Duke of York, contrary to law, to take his seat again at the Council, and again to have the management of the navy. This illegal course was not followed without opposition, for Halifax, again taking the weaker side, opposed all infractions of the Constitution. On the other hand, the Duke of York, full of arbitrary ideas, was supported by his brother-in-law, Laurence Hyde, Lord Rochester, and by the Duchess of Portsmouth and her friends Godolphin and Sunderland. The contest between these two parties occupied the last year of the reign. Halifax was for returning to the policy of the Triple Alliance, and withstanding Louis, who was again following his course of aggression; while the Duke of York and his friend Rochester still hoped to bring to completion the arrangement with that monarch which had disgraced the earlier part of the reign, and which had rendered Charles for so long a mere vassal of France. Halifax was so far triumphant that he succeeded in getting Rochester removed from his position as First Lord of the Treasury. The quarrel was still unsettled when Charles, in whose hands the decision must

Rye-House Plot.

Charles be-
comes absolute.

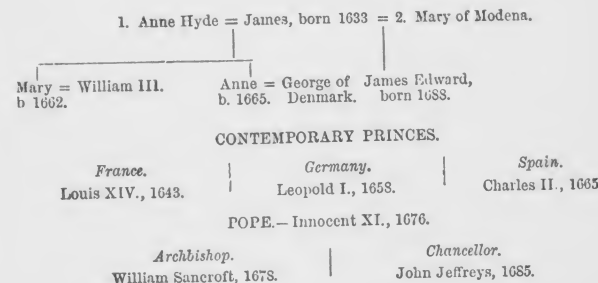
Duke of York
opposed only
by Halifax.

have rested, unexpectedly died; at length, upon his deathbed, summoning courage to declare his adhesion to the Roman Church, which he had long secretly favoured, though for political reasons he had refrained from all outward exhibitions of his creed.

The character of Charles and the part he played in history are alike interesting. He was gifted with excellent abilities, with elegant and artistic tastes, with wit, and a great amount of tact. But all his natural advantages were neutralized by his selfishness. His own ease and the pursuit of pleasure were the objects dearest to him, yet throughout his reign he showed himself an able politician. The natural champion of hereditary sovereignty, and, in the face of a very strong opposition, he had so far managed to hold his own position, that in almost every crisis of the reign he managed to obtain his own way, even while allowing the fullest play to party feeling. He kept the formation of the ministry in his own hands, using men of all parties as suited his objects, and closed his reign with a brief period of triumph. He was indeed so successful, and there was such an appearance of prosperity about the country, that those who did not know the secret of his connection with France, regarded that very withdrawal from European politics which we consider the great blot in his reign as the work of clever policy; and foreign Courts congratulated him that, in the midst of trouble and want abroad, he had kept his own kingdom in peace, and secured the prosperity of his people. He perhaps underrated the growth of the country during the Commonwealth, and the strength of the new forces which had sprung into existence during that period. But he was not ignorant of their existence. He was satisfied, however, to secure his own personal success without regard to the future, and thus, though apparently triumphant at the close of his reign, he had obtained that triumph in such a way as to leave behind him a deep-seated feeling of opposition, which his more earnest brother, not perhaps more arbitrary in character but far less skilful in the art of compromise, and far less gifted with the charms of manner which had served Charles in such good stead, shortly excited to an irresistible exhibition of strength.

JAMES II.

1685-1688.



THE death of Charles II. was somewhat unexpected, and took place in the midst of a violent struggle for influence in the Cabinet. It was uncertain at the time whether Rochester or Halifax would gain the upper hand. The views of ^{Rochester} ~~Halifax~~ were strictly constitutional, and his foreign policy would have gone hand in hand with his domestic views, England would have been freed from her vassalage to France, and the principles of the Triple Alliance upheld. Rochester was a far more complacent character. He was ready to support any measure which would secure him power. The accession of James settled the question. Although Halifax had laid him under a deep debt of gratitude by his conduct during the debate on the Exclusion Bill, his principles were not such as to suit the bigoted and imperious James; and in the reconstitution of the Ministry, while Rochester was raised to the position of Lord-Treasurer, who was then regarded as Prime Minister, Halifax was removed from the very important office of Privy Seal to the dignified but unimportant position of Lord President. Both Godolphin and

Sunderland, the Secretary, had voted for the Exclusion Bill, but Godolphin's unostentatious ability, and Sunderland's pliancy and mastery of the art of management, rendered them necessary to the King. These three ministers formed in fact the inner Council or Cabinet, on whose advice the King acted; the rest of the Ministry being either opposed to their measures, or regarded with concealed dislike by the King.

In the first moment of excitement James had declared to the Council, in a speech which was afterwards published, his determination to rule constitutionally, and before all things to support the English Church. The facts of his reign were curiously at variance with this declaration. His very first action seemed to give the lie to it. The customs had been settled upon Charles for life only, and could not therefore be legally collected till a Parliament should renew the grant. It was one of those cases when a violation of the law was perhaps necessary, as the course of trade was likely to be deranged if goods were admitted for some weeks free of duty. But instead of following the constitutional advice of his Lord-Keeper, Guildford, who recommended that, though collected, the customs should be kept apart and not used, James preferred to listen to his other legal adviser, Jeffreys, whom he had raised to a peerage and a place in the Council, and issued a proclamation that the customs should be collected and employed exactly as though granted.

It was however impossible to continue the Government without a Parliament; the feeling against illegal taxation was too strong. This necessity placed James in some difficulty. If he faced his Parliament, he had to make up his mind as to the position he intended to occupy with regard to the affairs of Europe. It was possible that his Parliament would prove refractory. It would almost certainly demand that England should not continue, as at present, a cipher in European politics. But James had projects of internal government which he determined to carry out whether the Parliament were refractory or not. These could only be gained by the possession of money, and except in a Parliamentary way, there was no means of obtaining it, unless he received it, as his brother had done, from the French King, and remained, as his brother had been, a mere vassal to that Prince. Louis saw the importance of the occasion, and immediately upon the death of Charles sent James a present of £37,000, which was afterwards increased by a further present of £30,000, and it was only with a

James collects
the customs
without
Parliament.

Receives money
unwillingly
from Louis.

humble apology for not consulting his brother of France that James ventured to summon his Parliament. His mind however seems to have been made up. In spite of the presents he had received, he did not intend, if he could help it, to remain in a state of dependence on France, a position which throughout his reign was most odious to him. His conduct must depend upon circumstances. If his Parliament proved friendly, and would give him large supplies, which would enable him to carry out his projects at home, he would break with France, resume the policy of the Triple Alliance, and put himself at the head of the European confederation to check the aggressions of Louis. If, on the other hand, his Parliament proved distrustful and niggardly, he would not risk his domestic plans for any position, however great, abroad, but would accept the wretched place in foreign politics which his brother had held, and remain a French vassal, obtaining in exchange means to complete his home policy. It was with this determination that he met his Parliament on the 19th of May.

But between February, when he ascended the throne, and the time when Parliament assembled, events had occurred which showed what the character of the Government was likely to be. Oates and Dangerfield had been tried and punished. Well as they deserved punishment, the manner in which the trial was conducted by Jeffreys and the inhuman tortures inflicted upon them are beyond excuse. Twice within forty-eight hours Oates was flogged from Newgate to Tyburn. On the last occasion no less than 1700 lashes were inflicted on him; it was certainly intended that he should die under the infliction of this terrible punishment, as his accomplice Dangerfield did. The conduct of the Court was bad enough even in the case of these detestable men, but became simply odious when exhibited against Baxter, a leading Nonconformist and Baxter.

Cruel punish-
ment of Oates,
Dangerfield,

divine of great purity of life and unspotted reputation. He was charged with some words, occurring in his paraphrase of the New Testament, which complained of the persecution of Dissenters. Jeffreys refused to hear his defence, abused him in the scurrilous language of which he was master, browbeat and silenced his counsel, and procured a verdict of guilty against him, practically without trial.

At the same time a Parliament, which, according to the laws then existing, could only consist of Episcopalians, and was elected entirely by Episcopalians, was held in Scotland, and was induced not only to grant such subsidies as it could afford, but also to pass a sanguinary law by which any one preaching in a conventicle under a roof, or being present at an open-air conventicle, was made guilty of a capital

crime. The persecution of the Covenanters, too, in the hands of Claverhouse, was carried out with extreme rigour. The King had himself led a cruel persecution against them, when in the last reign he had acted as vicegerent of Scotland. Under his directions now the Western counties, where the Covenanters were strongest, were given over to the hands of the army and the Episcopalian militia, and fearful stories are told of the cruelty with which they exercised their power. It is to this period that the well-known story of the drowning of Margaret Wilson, exposed to the rising of the tide at the Solway Firth, belongs. "Only say," cried her friends, "God save the King." "May God save him," she replied as the waters closed round her, "if it be God's will." "Will she abjure the Covenant?" said the commanding officer. "Never," she replied; "I am Christ's, let me go," and the waves closed over her.

The Parliament which assembled on the 22nd of May was such as might well gratify James. His two great objects of domestic policy were the removal of the Test Act and the consequent admission of Roman Catholics to office, and the destruction of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the consequent possession of arbitrary power. The Parliament was almost entirely Tory. The failure of the Rye-House Plot had produced a reaction, which for a time entirely annihilated the Whig influence; while the charters of the towns which had been confiscated had been restored, so arranged as to throw the whole power into Tory hands. When Edward Seymour, member for Exeter, ventured to question the legality of a Parliament thus elected, no one was found to second him. The whole revenue of the late King was voted to James for life; and, in addition, duties were imposed on sugar and tobacco, which put the Crown altogether in possession of £1,900,000. The only clouds which yet appeared on the horizon were the resolutions of a Committee on Religion, calling on the King to put into execution the penal laws against those who were not members of the Church.

The apparent triumph of the King and the Tory party was completed by the disastrous failure of the insurrection planned by their adversaries. A knot of exiled malcontents, some Scotch, some English, had collected in Holland. Among them was Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle, son of that Marquis of Argyle who had taken so prominent a part on the Presbyterian side in the Scotch troubles of Charles I.'s reign. Mon-

Persecution of
the Covenanters
by Claverhouse.

First Parli-
ment Tory.

Grants revenue
for life.

Insurrection
of Monmouth
and Argyle.

mouth had kept aloof from politics till, on the accession of James, he was induced to join the exiles at Amsterdam, whither Argyle, a strong Presbyterian, but a man of lofty and moderate views, also repaired. National jealousy prevented any union between the exiles, and two expeditions were determined on,—the one under Argyle, who hoped to find an army ready to his hand among his clansmen in the West of Scotland, the other under Monmouth in the West of England.

Argyle's expedition set sail on the 2nd of May. The Prince of Orange was desirous of preventing it if possible, being very anxious to secure the adhesion of James to his plans against France. But the awkward double government of the United Provinces allowed the local magistrates of Amsterdam to thwart the command of the central government, the States General, and both the expeditions got away in safety. Argyle's invasion was ruined by the limited authority intrusted to him, and by the jealousy and insubordination of his fellow leaders. He was anxious himself to secure the country of his own clansmen, and make that the basis of future operations. In this he was supported by Rumbold, an old soldier of Cromwell's, and the owner of that Rye-House from which the plot had taken its name. But Hume and Cochrane, two Lowland gentlemen, insisted upon the invasion being directed towards the Lowlands. Argyle was compelled to separate his forces. But experience proving that the Lowlanders had no intention of rising, the detachments again assembled in the Isle of Bute. The castle of Ealan Ghierig was captured and made a dépôt for provisions, and Argyle at length yielded to the importunity of the other commanders and advanced towards the Lowlands. They had scarcely landed when they heard that their provisions had been captured by the English frigates. Thus deprived of supplies, in a hostile country, without the natural support of his clansmen, Argyle's attempt was hopeless. On crossing the river Leven he was met by the Royalist troops, and again thwarted in his desire for immediate action, was forced to begin a retreat, during which his army disbanded. He was himself taken in Renfrewshire, and after an exhibition of admirable constancy, was beheaded, not upon any charge for his present conduct, but for an old unrepealed charge of treason, notoriously supported on such weak evidence, that Halifax stated that in England it would not have been considered sufficient to hang a dog.

A week before the final dispersion of Argyle's troops, Monmouth had landed in England. He was well received in the West. He had

Execution
of Argyle.
June 30.

not been twenty-four hours in England before he found himself at the head of 1500 men; but though popular among the common people, he received no support from the upper classes. Even the strongest Whigs disbelieved the story of his legitimacy, and thought his attempt ill-timed and fraught with danger. The militia in the neighbourhood was collected by the Royalist Lord-Lieutenant, and Parliament hastily passed an Act of Attainder against the Duke, authorized the King to raise extraordinary sums of money to be derived from new duties, and brought in a Bill declaring it high treason to utter words which should bring the person or government of the sovereign into contempt. This Act was however never completed; the necessary work was hurried through, and the House was adjourned, that all attention might be given to the insurrection. Meanwhile Monmouth had advanced to Taunton, had been there received with enthusiasm, and vainly thinking to attract the nobility, had assumed the title of King. Nor was his reception at Bridgewater less flattering. But difficulties already began to gather round him; he was in such want of arms, that, though rustic implements were converted into pikes, he was still obliged to send away many volunteers; the militia were closing in upon him in all directions; Bristol had been seized by the Duke of Beaufort, and the regular army under Feversham and Churchill were approaching. His first thought was to march up the right bank of the Severn into Cheshire; but this was pronounced impracticable. He then thought to take Bristol; but he wished to attack it on the weaker or northern side, and losing time in repairing the bridge of Keynsham, and in marching by that indirect course, he allowed the regular cavalry to come up; his vanguard was beaten on the bridge, and the attack on Bristol given up. He then pushed forward towards Wiltshire, where he expected to find reinforcements, followed on his march by Feversham, the royal commander. A skirmish took place at Philip's Norton, which was favourable to the insurgents, and Monmouth marched to Frome, where he hoped to find both men and arms. But the Earl of Pembroke, with the Wiltshire militia, had already captured that town and carried off the arms. Bad news too was received on all sides. Argyle's expedition was a failure; Feversham's artillery had come up, and he was preparing for battle, and Monmouth losing heart, determined to return towards Bridgewater.

He reached that place in a much less triumphant condition than when he had last entered it. The Royalist army was close behind him, and on the 5th of July encamped about three miles from Bridgewater,

on the plain of Sedgmoor. Feversham was no general, and although Churchill was with him, he was unable to interfere with the arrangements. The Royalist army was consequently encamped, without much care, in three distinct divisions, and Monmouth, though despairing of the fate of a pitched battle, thought it possible that by a night attack he might surprise and destroy them. The night was not unfitting for such an enterprise; for the mist was so thick that at a few paces nothing could be seen. Three great ditches by which the moor was drained lay between the armies; of the third of these, strangely enough, Monmouth knew nothing. Two of them were passed, but, in the passage of the second, delay was caused by the mist, and a pistol which was discharged by accident alarmed the Royalist scouts, who went off to collect the troops. Monmouth at once pushed forward his cavalry under Lord Grey, but inexperienced themselves, mounted upon unbroken horses, and under a commander whose courage under fire was questionable, these horsemen were astonished to find a third deep drain, called the Bussex Rhine, immediately between them and the enemy, who were already lining its banks. They at once broke and dispersed. The infantry in its turn advanced, and fought gallantly across the ditch. But the surprise had evidently failed. Alarmed by the fugitive horsemen, the ammunition waggons left the field. The royal troops under Churchill, for Feversham was only now rising from his bed, were well handled, and fell upon the insurgent infantry in all directions. Monmouth saw that the day was lost, and with the love of life which was one of the characteristics of his soft nature, he turned and fled. Even after his flight the battle was kept up bravely. At length the arrival of the King's artillery put an end to any further struggle. The defeat was followed by all the terrible scenes which mark a suppressed insurrection. The victorious soldiery spread riot and destruction in all directions, and military executions filled the country with bloodshed. Monmouth and Grey pursued their flight into the New Forest, and were there apprehended in the neighbourhood of Ringwood. They were brought to London, and the King, with strange cruelty, had a personal interview with the nephew he was determined not to pardon. Monmouth lowered himself to the most unmanly petitions for life, but in vain. The King listened to his prayers, but told him that his repentance was too late, and he was executed, leaving behind him a memory which was fondly cherished by the commonalty.

The failure of this insurrection was followed by the most terrible cruelties. Feversham returned to London, to be flattered by the

Monmouth's
expedition.

Battle of
Sedgmoor.
July 6.

Execution of
Monmouth.
July 15.

King and laughed at by the Court for his military exploits. He left Colonel Kirke in command at Bridgewater. This man had learned, as commander of Tangier, all the worst arts of cruel despotism. His soldiery in bitter pleasantry were called Kirke's "Lamba," from the emblem of their regiment. It is impossible to say how many suffered at the hands of this man and his brutal troops; 100 captives are said by some to have been put to death the week after the battle. But this military revenge did not satisfy the Court. Jeffreys, with four judges, was sent out on the Western Circuit. The death of Lord Guildford enabled the King to hint that the Great Seal would reward his good services. This hope and his natural temper filled him with a ferocity which has given the name of the Bloody Assizes to his cruel circuit. In Dorchester 300 prisoners were tried, 292 sentenced to death, and 74 actually hanged. In Somersetshire 233 prisoners were hanged, drawn and quartered. These sentences were rendered more bitter by the brutal levity of the judge, constantly heightened by drink. Besides those executed, 841 prisoners were transported, which means that they were to be slaves for ten years in the West India Islands. These poor wretches he granted out as presents to courtiers. They were valued at from £10 to £15 apiece. The Queen and the ladies of her Court did not shrink from obtaining a share of them.

This bloody triumph brought the power of James to its height: the Tories had stood by him, the Whigs had not joined the insurrection; he felt himself safe. With his large income from Parliament, he fancied he could do without the help of France, concluded an alliance with Holland, and entered into negotiations with Spain. And this he thought he could do without relinquishing his domestic plans—the repeal of the Test Act and of the Habeas Corpus, and the creation of a standing army. On all these points, however, even the subservient and Tory Parliament which he had assembled was likely to oppose him. He began by allowing Roman Catholic officers to hold commissions in the newly-raised regiments, and asserted that, even if he could not get the Act repealed, he would none the less break it. This produced much indignation, which Halifax expressed in the Council, and was therefore dismissed. Halifax was not alone; Danby and his friends were also staunch supporters of the Church. Apprehension was increased by the persecution of Protestants which Louis XIV. was carrying out in France; the general feeling was so strong that, when Parliament again met, an Opposition had been formed.

¹ The Edict of Nantes was revoked, Oct. 26, 1685.

Cruelties of
Kirke and
Jeffreys.

Climax of
James's power.

James breaks
the Test Act.

In his speech from the throne, James made use of the rebellion to recommend his two favourite projects. "It was plain," he said, "that, to avoid such risings in the future, a standing army was necessary, and he hoped that supplies to meet this expense would be granted." At the same time he by no means intended to remove any of those Roman Catholic officers who had served him so faithfully, although disqualified by the Test Act. He thus touched on both points on which the High Tories felt most strongly. The Opposition, headed by Seymour, at once proceeded to oppose the increase of the army; but the first trial of strength between the parties occurred upon the question whether the supplies should be discussed before the Test Act, according to the order in which these points occurred in the King's speech. Every effort was made to secure a majority; but even in the House of Commons, which had been chosen by the most unscrupulous exercise of power, the Opposition were victorious by one vote. A petition against the infringement of the Test Act was then carried; and, to complete the misfortune of the Government, the supply granted only amounted to half what the King demanded. The Commons would grant no more than £700,000. The Opposition also manifested itself in the House of Lords. Compton, Bishop of London, and Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, began to act against the Court. In spite of the presence of the King, it became evident that his speech would meet with somewhat the same treatment as it had in the Commons; the King therefore prorogued the Parliament.

In his determination to support his own religion, James began to take steps which rapidly alienated from him his firmest supporters in the Church of England. Although Charles had declared himself a Roman Catholic upon his deathbed, the step had been taken so quietly and secretly that it was still open to loyal Churchmen to believe that he had died an Anglican. James had found among his private papers a short recapitulation of the chief arguments against Protestantism. This, although the arguments were of the most ordinary description, seemed to James so triumphant a piece of reasoning, that, without caring how much he shocked the feelings of loyal Protestants, he had it published, and was constantly referring to it. In fact, the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion had now become his chief object.

The Court was divided into two parties. At the head of one was Rochester, the brother of James's first wife, a passionate man, of low morality, but a strong Churchman. Around

Wishes to in-
crease the army.

Opposition in
both Lords and
Commons.

James alienates
the Church.

Parties at
the Court.

him gathered the party of the English Church, and also the more moderate Catholics, such as Lords Powis and Bellasyse, who, partly from love of civil freedom, partly from fear of the consequences, deprecated hasty measures. In close alliance with this party it is somewhat strange to find the Papal Legate, who was moreover acting in strict accordance with the wishes of the Pope himself. Political interests were for the time paramount at the Court of Rome. In the quarrel then raging between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, Innocent XI. had in some degree adopted the cause of the latter, while Louis XIV. of France was the champion of the Jesuits. The Pope's quarrel with Louis had induced him naturally to seek his allies among the enemies of France. He had connected himself not only with Austria, but with the Protestant Dutch. It would have much strengthened his cause could England have been added to this alliance. But such a step was possible only if James was at one with his Parliament; the Pope therefore strongly deprecated any of those vigorous measures for the restoration of Catholicism which would inevitably cause a breach between James and his people.

Against this party were arrayed a cabal of extreme Catholic partisans, such as the Irishman Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel; the Jesuit Petre, who represented the interests of that powerful association; and as their chief, Sunderland, anxious at all price to destroy the influence of Rochester and to obtain supreme hold on the Government. The struggle for pre-eminence was sharp. Rochester's party did not disdain to use the influence of Catherine Sedley, the King's mistress; but the religious influence of Petre and the anger of the Queen succeeded in driving her from the Court. From that time Rochester's influence began to decline. Everything showed the triumph of Sunderland's party. The King openly declared that all thought of entering upon an independent foreign policy was over. He prorogued the Parliament till November. He sent a stately embassy, under Castlemaine, to Rome, where however it was but coldly received, and when a large subscription was raised for the Huguenot exiles from France, unable to withdraw a royal letter in their favour, he forbade all preaching on the subject, and would not let them touch a penny of the money unless they accepted the Anglican form of worship.

These measures were but preparatory. He believed himself possessed of two powers which, unless checked by Parliament—which he prorogued a second time—would enable him to do all he wanted in

**Triumph of
Sunderland and
the extreme
Catholic party.**

**Parliament
prorogued.**

England. By the dispensing power he could admit Roman Catholics to all offices; by his position as Head of the Church coerce the clergy to obedience. Charles II. had in 1672 attempted a general declaration of indulgence. This he had been forced to withdraw, and solemnly to declare illegal. It was not however so clear that the right of dispensing with the action of penal statutes in individual cases was not still part of the prerogative, a sort of exercise beforehand of the royal right of pardon. James determined to get the question settled by law. He therefore discovered the sentiments of the judges, and displaced those whom he found opposed to him. In the same way he found it necessary to turn out of office Finch, the Solicitor-General, and to appoint in his place Thomas Powis, a man of no ability, but likely to prove subservient. With counsel and judges thus ready, a sham suit was instituted by one of his servants against Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic, and Colonel of a regiment. He sued him for the penalty of £500, to which he was liable for not having received the sacrament in the Church of England for three months. The facts were allowed, and the question of law was tried. The Chief-Justice, Sir Edward Herbert, declared that of the twelve judges eleven thought that the King had the right to dispense with a particular statute on particular cases. It is possible that the one dissentient gave his vote according to order, to give an air of plausibility to the judgment.

The King at once acted with his newly-fortified power. He authorized Roman Catholics to hold ecclesiastical benefices. Obadiah Walker retained the Mastership of University College, Oxford, and the College became in fact a Roman Catholic seminary, where a printing-press and chapel were established. More important than this, the Deanery of Christ Church, not only a University but a Cathedral office, was given to Massey, a Roman Catholic, and two of three Sees vacant at that time were given, if not to avowed, yet to concealed Catholics. James's power as Supreme Head of the Church was checked by his want of coercive machinery. He therefore proceeded to re-establish the Court of High Commission, at the head of which he put the infamous Jeffreys, and by aid of which he at once proceeded to suspend Compton, Bishop of London, because he had refused to prevent one Sharp from preaching against the Roman Catholics. Not content with these illegal acts, James further excited the anger of the inhabitants of London, till they broke out into open riot, by exhibiting before their eyes all the paraphernalia of the

**Dispensing
power asserted.**

**Upheld by
the Judges.**

**Used to give
benefices
to Roman
Catholics.**

**High Commis-
sion Court
established.
1686.**

Roman religion. He used this riot as an excuse for forwarding his other great plan, and formed a permanent encampment of regular troops upon Hounslow Heath.

Permanent army
at Hounslow.

Similar action had also produced much discontent in Scotland. The Earl of Perth, the Chancellor, and his brother Lord Melfort, the Secretary of State, having apostatized to the Roman Church, secured the fall of Queensberry, the Lord-Treasurer, and were attempting to remove the disabilities of Catholics, while continuing the persecution of the Covenanters. They hoped the Estates would support them, but although general toleration might have been carried, support of the Roman Catholics alone found no favour. The Lords of the Articles, themselves named by the Crown, refused to propose such a measure. Even a very much softened Act, allowing Roman Catholics private worship, was thrown out. The Parliament, therefore, like the English Assembly, was prorogued, and arbitrary government in fact established. The King filled up on his own authority municipal offices, and annulled all Acts against Papists.

In Ireland the same work was going on; but there the circumstances were different. For in that country there was an indissoluble connection between the interests of religion and of race, so that any attempt to replace the Catholics in a position of supremacy or even of equality was in fact to destroy the predominance of the English race, which had been secured by the

First Act of
Settlement,
1652.

Act of Settlement. The settlement of Ireland, begun by Cromwell in person, was completed under his influence by Ireton and Fleetwood, his sons-in-law. The measures taken had been of the severest description, and aimed at the thorough subjugation of the island, not only in the interests of Protestantism, but in those of the Commonwealth and of England. A certain number, about 200, of the insurgents of 1641 were executed; all officers in the late Catholic army were banished, each chief taking with him a certain number of men, so that between 30,000 and 40,000 of the Catholic population withdrew to the Continent, and took service with foreign powers. The Royalists and Catholics were then arranged in classes, and their property confiscated in various proportions, according to the degree in which they had been implicated with the Catholic confederates of Kilkenny. All the larger Catholic landowners were thus deprived of from one to two thirds of their estates. They were not even allowed to keep the residue of their old estates, but obliged to accept an equivalent in

Connaught and Clare, for it was the intention of the Government to restrict the Catholics and Irish to the right bank of the Shannon. The estates thus left deserted in ten of the counties on the left bank were set aside for the English adventurers who had advanced money at the beginning of the Irish disturbances, and to pay the arrears due to Cromwell's army. The vacant lands in Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow were reserved for future disposal. A certain number of the dispossessed proprietors refused to accept the alternative offered them in Clare and Connaught, and took to the mountains and bogs, but 800,000 acres beyond the Shannon were thus occupied. Strict martial law was established to secure the carrying out of this sweeping measure, and very severe laws against the Catholic religion passed. On the succession of Charles II., similar difficulties with regard to the land with those which had arisen in England met him in Ireland. It was difficult to dispossess the adventurers whose claims had been accepted by Charles I., and dangerous to touch the property of so formidable a body as the Commonwealth soldiers. Yet thousands of petitions were presented, demanding restitution of property by banished Royalists, both Protestants and Catholics, many of whom had held aloof from the Kilkenny rebels, by officers who had served in the Royalist not the Catholic army, and by others who had served in the royal army in Flanders. There was yet a considerable amount of forfeited land undistributed, and relying upon this resource, an Act of Settlement was passed, by which the adventurers and Commonwealth soldiers were to keep their possessions, or be compensated from the funds in hand; and all Royalists, whether Catholic or Protestant, innocent of rebellion, were to be restored to their estates, and those who had not accepted the grants in Clare and Connaught were to get back their property. But when this Act came to be executed insuperable difficulties were found to exist. The funds at the King's command had been so exhausted by lavish grants to great lords and to the Church, that there was nothing left to meet the claims of those whom the Commissioners had declared innocent, and who amounted to upwards of 3000. After some years of disturbance, the soldiers, adventurers, and those who had lately received grants, consented to yield up a third of what they had gained; and, by an explanatory Act passed in 1665, the claims of the Royalist officers and some fifty-four Catholics were allowed, and paid out of this new fund. All the rest of the very numerous claims were simply disregarded. When the transaction was completed, its results appear to

Second Act of
Settlement.
1661.

have been that about one-half of the island previously in the hands of Protestants remained unchanged; of the other half which had been forfeited, about two-thirds now remained also in the hands of Protestants, the remaining one-third only having been restored to Catholic proprietors. So complete was the English supremacy thus established, that one Papist only had been returned to Parliament since the Restoration. A wise governor, having the good of England at heart, would have attempted to uphold the Act of Settlement,

James favours
the Irish
Catholics.

while employing able men of both races. But James, urged by Tyrconnel, seemed determined to destroy the Act, and with it the English supremacy, to lavish all his favours on the Celts and Catholics, and even, should need arise, to use an Irish army against his English subjects. Clarendon, Rochester's brother, was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant; but he speedily found that the real power was in the hands of Tyrconnel; and when that nobleman came himself to Ireland in the capacity of general, it became evidently the intention to fill the entire army, both officers and privates, with men of native birth. Many of the Protestants fled to England. At length Clarendon, who was a staunch Churchman, was told that he was not zealous enough for the King, and his place was taken by Tyrconnel.

About the same time Sunderland's party completed their victory by securing the fall of Rochester. It was in vain that Rochester is dismissed. he had done everything that the King required, had even lowered himself to pretend that he was beginning to question the truth of his Protestant belief; the choice was at length put to him to change his religion or to lose his place. One spark of honesty which was left in him showed itself, and he gave up his post as Lord Treasurer. This office was then put into Commission, at the head of which was placed Lord Bellasyse, a Roman Catholic.

The fall of the Hydes marks the final triumph of the extreme Catholic Cabal. With reckless disregard of consequences James determined on a sweeping measure, the declaration of a general indulgence, by which he hoped to gain the support of the Protestant Dissenters. The Declaration was issued on the 4th of April. In it, by his sole authority, he annulled all penal laws and all religious tests. It was plain that in this he was acting wholly illegally. So broad a measure was very different from his dispensation in the case of Sir Edward Hales, and was in direct contravention of the law as declared after a similar effort of Charles II. James was disappointed in its effect. Although some few of the Nonconformists

Declaration of
Indulgence.
April 4.

gave him their adhesion, and others were glad to enjoy the indulgence, the greater part of them, in their love for civil liberty, expressed disapprobation of the measure. It was plain to them, in fact, that it was only an indirect way of opening the door to the Catholics, who already presided at the Treasury, and held the Lieutenancy of Ireland and the Privy Seal.

Strong
opposition.

All these measures had raised so strong an opposition in England that James was afraid to meet his Parliament. The Whig party indeed, joined by the greater part of the Tories, was again raising its head, and had found a leader in the Prince of Orange. His ambassador, Dyckvelt, entered into close relations with the Opposition; and although the Prince declined immediate action, he henceforward watched with close attention the turn of affairs in England. Afraid to meet his Parliament, James dissolved it, and proceeded in his high-handed course.

The Whigs
apply to
William of
Orange.

The Court of High Commission had as yet confined itself to spiritual functions. It now began to attack the property of its victims. In February 1687, contrary to all law, the University of Cambridge was ordered to give the degree of Master of Arts to a Benedictine monk called Francis. The University declined, unless he would take the usual oaths. The Vice-Chancellor and deputies from the Senate, among whom was Sir Isaac Newton, were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and after being rated by Jeffreys, the Vice-Chancellor was deprived of his office and of his salary as Master of the College, which was freehold property. At Oxford the same line of conduct was pursued. The President of Magdalen College had died. The Fellows had a right to elect his successor; when they met for the purpose they found that the King had recommended Anthony Farmer, a man of notoriously bad life and a Roman Catholic. Their protestations were without effect. They therefore proceeded to elect, contrary to the King's mandate, John Hough, one of their number. They were summoned before the High Commission, but in spite of Jeffreys' bullying, the proof of Farmer's unfitness was so plain that his election was not pressed. In his place Parker, Bishop of Oxford, was nominated; but the Fellows replied that Hough was duly elected, and refused to accept anybody else. In the summer the King, during a progress, visited Oxford. He there had an interview with the Fellows, but found them still firm. Consequently, a special commission was sent down, which, after ejecting

Further aggra-
vations of the
Court of High
Commission.

at Cambridge
and Oxford.

Hough, installed Parker, and turned all the Fellows out of the College, making them incapable of holding any Church preferment. Shortly afterwards the "demies" or scholars of the College, who had shown sympathy with the ejected Fellows, were themselves turned out; and the death of Parker enabled the King to put in a Roman Catholic President, and to fill the College with Roman Catholic Fellows.

The chief dread of James's advisers was lest the death of the King without children should put Mary and her husband, the Prince of Orange, on the throne. All their work would then be undone, and probably bitter revenge taken for it. They were therefore delighted when it was reported as probable that the Queen might have a child.

Schemes for a Catholic successor.

Before that, they had been planning to change the succession; it was hoped that Anne might become Roman Catholic, and that then the throne might be passed on to her. They found her, however, obstinate, and the more violent of them had had thoughts of putting either the Duke of Berwick, or some other Papist, not of royal blood, on the throne. James and Tyrconnel had also set on foot a plan for separating Ireland from England, and putting it under the protection of France. These plans seemed now unnecessary; and the King considered his system triumphant if he could but get a Parliamentary sanction for it. Both the electors and the House of Lords, he knew, were strongly opposed to him.

A favourable Parliament could only be obtained by violent exertions of power. From these, however, James did not shrink. He set to work to organize the electoral body. A Committee of seven Privy Councillors was appointed to regulate the corporations, and branch committees were scattered through the country. For the returns from the counties the King trusted to the Lords-Lieutenant. He ordered them to assemble the deputy-lieutenants and justices, to inquire whether they would assist the King's measures, and to furnish lists of Papists and Nonconformists fitted for office. Half the Lords-Lieutenant at once resigned, numbering among them the greatest of the nobility of England. Their places were occupied by creatures of the Court. Thus Jeffreys had two counties; to the Duke of Berwick was intrusted Hampshire; to Preston the counties of the North. The plan was a complete failure. The country gentry, whether Whig or Tory, were now thoroughly roused. A clever ambiguous form of answer was circulated, which they all accepted; and in spite of all the efforts of

His vain attempts to secure a favourable Parliament.

the Lords-Lieutenant, it was evident that the elections must go against the Court. The regulators of the corporations found the same state of affairs; it was in vain that they destroyed and remade corporations again and again in a few weeks; the new authorities were as firm as their predecessors. It was plain that all hope of a favourable Parliament had disappeared. James still however declared that he intended to call one not later than next November.

Meanwhile he published a second Declaration of Indulgence, much the same as the preceding one; but the clergy, to their horror, shortly heard that an order in Council had been made that this Declaration was to be read in the churches in London on the 20th of May and on the following Sunday, in the rest of England on the two first Sundays of June. This was a burden too heavy for the Church to bear. In spite of their doctrine of non-resistance, it was impossible for them quietly to publish a Declaration which they knew full well was intended for their destruction. The public mind was in the greatest excitement, for the clergy were afraid that the Nonconformists, thinking only of toleration for themselves, might accept the Declaration. The Nonconformists, however, acted with noble patriotism. They solemnly refused to accept or countenance so grave a breach of the Constitution. With their hands thus strengthened, the London clergy determined that they would not read the Declaration; and at a meeting at Lambeth, Sancroft, the Primate, drew up a petition full of assertions of loyalty, but begging to be free from the necessity of breaking the law, by reading an illegal Declaration in the midst of public service. This paper was signed by the Archbishop and six Bishops.¹ With this petition they repaired to the King, having first asked Sunderland to present it. James, taken by surprise, received them very roughly, declaring it was the standard of rebellion. By some means the petition was printed and circulated immediately, and was rapidly bought up throughout the country. The petition was presented on the Friday before the 20th of May. On that day the people thronged the churches to hear what would happen. Four only of the London clergy attempted to read the Declaration, and their congregations left the church as soon as they began to read.

Orders Declaration of Indulgence to be read in churches.

The seven Bishops petition against it.

The King, somewhat frightened at this demonstration, determined, ¹ Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Trelawney of Bristol, Lake of Chichester, and Turner of Ely.

on the advice of Jeffreys, to bring the Bishops before the King's Bench for having published a seditious libel. He felt sure of the partisan judges he had appointed, and of the jury nominated in London, now that the charter of that city had been forfeited. When summoned before the Council, for a long time the Bishops refused to acknowledge their writing, but when absolutely commanded by the King to answer, they naturally supposed that there was an implied promise that their word should not be used against them, and confessed their signatures. They were ordered to find bail,

Are sent to
the Tower.
June 8.

but pleaded that they were Peers, and not bound to do so for libel. They were therefore committed to the Tower. The excitement was prodigious. They passed down the river between lines of boats full of enthusiastic people calling on God to bless them; the very sentinels at the Tower prayed for their blessing, and drank to their health. Many of the most important of the Peers crowded to pay their respects to them; and what was still more offensive to the King, a deputation of Nonconformists waited upon them. The King insisted on carrying through the trial. They were brought to the King's Bench, and discharged upon their own recognisances. In the midst of the agitation, the birth of the Prince of Wales took place (June 10), but as the nation universally believed the child to be supposititious, and the birth a mere invention of the Jesuits to exclude the Princess Mary from her due, it only added to the popular excitement.

At length the trial took place. The handwriting was only proved by producing the clerk of the Council, who could swear to the Bishops having there confessed their signatures. It was plain from the way in which this evidence was introduced that the prosecution was itself ashamed of using it. The next step was to prove the publication, and as no one had been present when the petition was presented, this seemed impossible. The judges were already summing up, a verdict of acquittal seemed necessary, when Finch, one of the Bishops' counsel, checked the proceedings, and asked to be heard. This step was nearly disastrous. Before the summing up was resumed, news was brought to the Solicitor-General that the Lord President could prove the publishing of the libel, and the traitor Sunderland, who, finding his influence waning, had lately, though notoriously an unbeliever, professed himself a Roman Catholic, appeared in the box, and told how the Bishops had begged him to present the petition. The technical difficulties being thus removed, the question was tried on its merits. After a trial of some hours, in

which the prisoners' counsel had obviously the best of the argument, and which was closed by a terse, unanswerable speech from their junior counsel, Summers, the judges proceeded to give their judgments. They all, even Wright, the venal Chief-Justice, were afraid openly to uphold the indulgence, and one of them, Powell, was bold enough to assert his firm belief in its illegality, but the jury could not at first agree. The night was passed by the whole town in a feverish anxiety. One of the jury, Arnold, the royal brewer, refused for a long time to risk the King's patronage by a hostile verdict; he was at length overpersuaded, and a verdict of "not guilty" was followed by an explosion of enthusiastic joy such as has seldom been seen. The very army at Hounslow, which the King had only just reviewed, burst into joyful shouts at the news, even before the King was out of hearing.

That very same day Admiral Herbert, dressed in the clothes of a common sailor, left London, to take to Holland a letter signed by seven names, representing great sections of popular opinion, requesting William, Prince of Orange, to bring an army into England, to secure the liberties of the people. These names were those of Henry Sidney, the brother of Algonon; the Earl of Devonshire, who was regarded as the chief of the old Whigs; Shrewsbury; Danby, the old Tory minister of Charles II.; Bishop Compton, the suspended Bishop of London, who had been the tutor to the Princess of Orange; Lumley; and Edward Russell, who had been the first to bring to the Prince of Orange the suggestion that he should appear in arms in England. The invitation set forth the injuries of England, the discontent of the people, and the excellence of the opportunity. The gentlemen who had signed the document pledged themselves to join him.

The invitation, backed by such important names, was accepted by William, though indeed the difficulties in the way of his undertaking appeared almost insuperable. In England the temper of the majority of the people, though at present in his favour, might speedily turn against him. A victory which should arouse the national pride would be almost as disastrous as a defeat. In his own country he had to expect the opposition of that great oligarchic party which was the hereditary opponent of the House of Orange. War and peace, alliances and taxation, rested with the States-General; but that body could only act on the approval of the provincial states. Those provincial states could only give that approval after it had been given by all the towns represented in them.

Acquittal.
June 30.

Invitation sent
to William of
Orange.

William's difficulties.

The obstinate veto of one town would therefore prevent the States-General from acting. Such a veto William had every reason to expect from Amsterdam, where the oligarchic and French party was very powerful. Besides these particular difficulties, there was one of a more general character. William's views were those of a European, not of a Dutch statesman. His object was to curtail the power of France. For that purpose he had with consummate skill consolidated a great alliance in Europe, consisting of members of both the Protestant and Catholic communions. The addition of England to that alliance would be of the highest value, but even for so valuable a prize nothing must be risked which might shake the stability of those connections which had already been established. Now the success of the great general scheme of William depended on his keeping together a vast alliance, consisting of both Protestant and Catholic states. If he threw himself too heartily into the quarrel in England as a religious quarrel, the chances were great that he would have to break with his Catholic allies.

His task was lightened by the infatuation of James and the high-handed errors of Louis. James would naturally have relied chiefly upon the clergy, who habitually upheld the theory of passive resistance, and upon the army which he had enrolled for his own express purposes, and into which he had introduced many Catholics, in virtue of the dispensing power which he claimed. He proceeded to shock the loyalty both of the clergy and the army. Full of anger at the acquittal of the Bishops, he determined to act in future through a less scrupulous court than the Court of King's Bench. Within a fortnight of the trial, an order was given to all chancellors of dioceses and archdeacons to return to the High Commission a list of those who had failed to read the Declaration. Their number was probably little short of 10,000. His intended vengeance was indeed foiled; the archdeacons and chancellors did not send up the lists; when the High Commission met, it had no ground on which to proceed; but the threat of vengeance none the less alienated the clergy. What had most distressed the King, after the acquittal of the Bishops, was the conduct of the army, whose joyful cheers he had heard as he drove from Hounslow to London. He felt that he could not rely upon the soldiers. His more energetic counsellors urged him to bring over those Irish forces which Tyrconnel had been organizing. Afraid to bring over the whole army, which might perhaps have re-established his authority, he was yet foolish enough to bring over considerable numbers, too few to effect his

Removed by the
folly of his
enemies.

purpose, but enough to excite the anger of the English regiments with which he incorporated them. By these means the English troops were so irritated that the lieutenant-colonel and five captains of one regiment alone refused to serve if the Irish recruits were admitted; while the whole nation, who regarded the Irish as barbarians, were excited to anger, and the danger of shocking the national pride which William had feared was removed. The defeat of James's army, half composed of barbarous Irish, by the Dutch troops and their English allies, would have caused no displeasure to the people.

While James thus removed William's chief difficulties in England, Louis was pursuing the same course abroad. His conduct to the Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was such as to excite the strongest anger in Holland. As if this was not enough, he proceeded to interfere with what was, if possible, dearer to the Dutch than their religion, namely, their trade. He passed laws prohibiting the importation of several of the chief articles of commerce, notably their herrings. The consequence was much commercial distress, and so complete an alienation of all classes from the French interests, that William had little to fear from his compatriots. There remained the difficulty of insuring the co-operation of William's Catholic allies. Louis took the opportunity of alienating the Pope. The right of asylum and freedom from Government interference had been enjoyed by the foreign embassies at Rome. The privileges had been extended to considerable distances round those embassies. The Pope, eager for the better government of his city, had persuaded all the nations to give up this pernicious right, with the exception of Louis. In the haughtiest and most overbearing manner, Louis sent troops to Rome, and established his ambassador in his old privileges by force of arms. Nor was this all. The archbishopric of Cologne had become vacant. Louis wished to establish his influence in this district, which gave him access to the Rhine. By intrigues he believed he had secured the election of Fürstensburg, Bishop of Strasburg. The rival of Fürstensburg was Prince Clement of Bavaria. As both claimants were Bishops, in accordance with the rules of the Church the votes of two-thirds of the Chapter of Cologne were necessary for their election. The Pope contrived to secure more than a third, and as Prince Clement alone had the Papal dispensation to accept the archbishopric, he was declared elected. Louis wrote very bitterly on the subject, and it was plain that he intended to uphold the claims of his candidate by arms.

These steps of his enemies, together with the skill with which he himself presented his undertaking to the Catholics as political and aimed against France, to the Protestants as religious and aimed against Catholicism, enabled William to triumph over the difficulties which beset him, and he proceeded to make great preparations, both naval and military, veiling them under the thin excuse of an expedition against the Algerine pirates, who had lately appeared in the North of Europe. While thus engaged, William received from England an offer of support from two men of the greatest importance. One of these was Sunderland, the most trusted minister of James. This unprincipled nobleman, to retain his offices, had lately become a convert to the Romish religion. But now seeing the threatened reaction against James, he contrived, by means of his wife and her lover Henry Sidney, to keep William well informed of what was going on in England. The other offer of friendship came from a man of even lower principles, but of greater talents, Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough. He and his wife had become absolute masters of the Princess Anne. His accession to William's plans therefore implied that of the Princess. He was moreover really at the head of the army, though Feversham was nominally its leader, and now devoted himself with the basest treachery to the task of undermining the fidelity of the commanders of the army, while declaring his loyalty to James, and became in fact the head of a great plot for the desertion of the monarch.

It was in vain that to the eyes of all Europe the objects of William's preparations were obvious; James refused to believe them. It was in vain that Louis attempted to save him in spite of himself, and declared to the States-General that he had taken the King of England under his protection, and should treat any action against him as a declaration of war. James, with ill-timed anger, declared that this was not so, and asked whether he had fallen so low as to require, like a petty Elector of Cologne, the support of France, forgetting at the wrong moment the servile position with regard to that country he had been contented so long to occupy. Thus did he throw away his last chance. Louis, justly angry at his display of pride, withdrew the troops he was preparing to pour into the Spanish Netherlands, and began a rapid and successful campaign against the Imperialists on the Rhine.

This movement withdrew the last danger from William, and gave him time to carry out his plans. He could now without danger

He prepares for his descent on England.

demand the approval of the States-General, and having obtained it, he appointed Schomberg, the greatest soldier of the time (who was now a fugitive from France on account of his religion), his second in command, and issued a great Declaration, drawn up with much skill by his friend, the Grand-pensioner Fagel, and translated by Burnet, Princess Mary's chaplain, and subsequently Bishop of Salisbury. In this he calmly recapitulated all the unconstitutional acts of James—the admission of Papists into the public service, the establishment of the High Commission Court, the dismissal of officers for refusing to support the Court policy, the confiscation of the charters, the degradation of the judicial bench, the trial of the Bishops for a respectful petition. He then declared that, as husband of the heiress of England (for grave doubts hung over the birth of the young Prince of Wales), and in compliance with the request of many Lords, both spiritual and temporal, he was going to England with an armed force, sufficient to secure a free and legal Parliament, by the decision of which he pledged himself to abide.

The appearance of this Declaration at length convinced James of his danger, and he hastily took a series of steps which he hoped might yet conciliate his subjects. He promised to protect the Church and maintain the Act of Uniformity; he rescinded Compton's suspension; he offered to exclude Roman Catholics from the House of Commons; he replaced magistrates who had been dismissed for their constitutional conduct; on the petition of the clergy, he abolished the Court of High Commission; he restored the charter to the City of London; put back the excluded Fellows of Magdalen College; and returned the confiscated charters to the boroughs. On the dispensing power, however, he would not retract. But these concessions were too late; they were too obviously the fruit of fear. Mistrust, the growth of many years, could not be so easily effaced. At the same time, suspecting the duplicity of Sunderland, he removed him from his office, appointing Preston in his place.

Meanwhile William, after being driven back once by the winds, on the 2nd of November started a second time from Holland, and led his fleet of nearly 600 vessels through the Straits. To avoid insulting the English pride, Herbert was put in command of the fleet. At first he proceeded northward, and all men expected the landing would be in Yorkshire, where indeed William's friends had already prepared to receive him; but suddenly changing his course, and sailing before a prosperous wind which held

William issues his Declaration. Oct. 10.

James, convinced, makes concessions.

William sails.

the English fleet in the Thames, he turned towards Devonshire, and on the 5th of November reached Torbay. For an instant it seemed as if, after all, his hopes would be frustrated. In the haze he passed beyond his appointed landing-place. The next port, Plymouth, was garrisoned for James. It was hopeless to return in the teeth of the east wind; suddenly the wind changed, the haze rose, and he was enabled to enter quietly into Torbay, while at the same time the wind, freshening to a gale, drove back Dartmouth and the English fleet, which had come in close pursuit. William advanced to Exeter, and was well received by the common people, though for some time no one of importance joined him. This was partly caused by the change of his place of landing; he had been expected in the North, and would there have found his friends ready; partly also by the terrible impression that the Bloody Assizes had made in the West country. Men were afraid to risk all till they saw that the invasion was something more than the careless expedition of the ill-fated Monmouth. At length, however, the gentlemen began to come in. Danby and Devonshire organized an insurrection in the North, of which Nottingham became the centre. Other men of importance, as Seymour, Lord Colchester, and the Earl of Abingdon, joined him. His residence at Exeter began to assume the appearance of a Court.

The royal army, under Feversham, had been meanwhile collecting at Salisbury. But now the deep villany of Churchill began to disclose itself. It was first seen in the desertion of Cornbury, the eldest son of Clarendon. This young officer found himself, by Churchill's management, chief in command at Salisbury. He suddenly ordered three regiments to attend him, and pushed westwards, professing to be leading them against some of the Prince's troops stationed at Honiton. On their march, the suspicion of the officers was aroused; they refused to proceed further without seeing Cornbury's orders. He had none to show, and finding that his treachery was suspected, fled alone to the Prince. Some of his troops, separated from the main body, completed their march. They found the forces at Honiton well prepared to receive them, and it seems plain that Cornbury's intention had been to hand the three regiments over into their enemy's power. The King himself now took command of the army at Salisbury, and almost fell a victim to a second machination of Churchill's. Kirke and Trelawney commanded the regiments which had been brought from Tangier, and were stationed at Warminster. They had hitherto been strong

Lands at Torbay.
Advances to
Exeter.

Churchill's
treason at
Salisbury.

in their assertions of loyalty. Churchill persuaded the King to go and inspect these regiments, and he was only prevented by a sudden bleeding of the nose. He had scarcely recovered when he heard that the two colonels had deserted to the Prince, and that Churchill, with a protest that his conscience would no longer allow him to oppose the Protestant cause, had followed their example. Step by step fresh instances of the same plot came to light. The advance of the Prince compelled the King to fall back towards London. At Andover, Prince George of Denmark and the Duke of Ormond, who had been supping with him the night before, deserted, and the treachery with which he was surrounded seemed complete when, on his arrival in London, he heard that, at the instigation of the Churchills, his daughter Anne had just fled and joined the Northern rebels.

On reaching London, James summoned all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, then in town, and asked their advice. At the persuasion of Halifax, who, in accordance with his usual way of thinking, hoped to play the mediator between the two parties, the King decided on sending commissioners to treat with the Prince. Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin were chosen. Writs were prepared at the same time for a new Parliament; free pardon was granted to all those in rebellion, and the Papist governor of the Tower was removed.

The negotiation and these concessions were a mere blind. James had already made up his mind. He only wanted to get his wife and child safe out of England. He would then himself fly either to France or to Ireland, where he still had hopes of re-establishing his authority. He at once set about the project. It seemed even to his friends so pusillanimous, that Dartmouth, who commanded the fleet at Portsmouth, refused to take the Queen and the little Prince to France. They had to be recalled to London, and smuggled away under the care of a French gentleman named Lauzun. Freed from domestic anxiety, the King could now study his own safety. The negotiations with the Commissioners were carried on with all solemnity at Hungerford. The noblemen and gentlemen who were with William were somewhat divided in opinion as to whether negotiations should be opened or not. After a lengthened discussion, the question was settled in the negative; but William, who was anxious that nothing which he might do should seem either the act of a conqueror or to press hardly upon the King, and who believed, as it proved correctly, that he might safely trust James to destroy his own cause, overruled the decision. He agreed

James sends
commissioners
to treat.

Meanwhile de-
termines to fly.

that the Parliament which James had summoned should meet; he agreed even to the demand that his army should not approach within forty miles of London while the Parliament was sitting; but at the same time, holding that a Parliament could not be free in the presence of the King's army, demanded in turn that that army should not approach within forty miles upon the other side of London. He would thus be occupying the position of arbiter, allowing the nation to settle its own affairs. The Commissioners were astonished and delighted with the success of their mission, and wrote in most hopeful terms to James. But the King was determined to complete his folly. Even after the receipt of their letter he continued his preparations for flight. As though to prove the thoroughness of the deception he had practised in negotiating, he burnt all the writs for the Parliament which had not yet been sent out, and in the hope of leaving inextricable confusion behind him, took with him the Great Seal, and as he fled across the river with Sir Edward Hales, late Governor of the Tower, flung it into the stream. He then proceeded towards Sheerness, where he was met by a custom-house ship. Nothing could have suited William's policy better than the King's flight. Without any severity on his part, without in any way departing from his Declaration, he was free from his greatest difficulty.

Nor was this all. Halifax, whose adhesion was invaluable, enraged at the way in which he had been trifled with, henceforward heartily joined William; and a large section of the Tories, who held themselves bound by their allegiance while the King was in England, were ready to acknowledge, as they thought in accordance with their own principles, any King who might be placed upon the throne now vacant.

The morning after James's flight, London was in consternation. All men seemed to agree that there was nothing to be done but declare for the Prince. To preserve order for the moment, the Peers that were in London took upon themselves the government, and placing Sancroft, the Archbishop, at the head of their Council, issued a declaration that they would join the Prince of Orange, and took the responsibility of keeping order meanwhile. It was well that some authority had been established, for London burst out into wild riots. The Roman Catholic houses and chapels were sacked and burnt, the houses of the Spanish and Tuscan ambassadors pillaged. In the midst of the tumult Jeffreys was discovered, and with difficulty saved from the savage vengeance of the mob. The following night, known as "the Irish night," rumours were spread that the wild

His flight.
Dec. 11.

Position of the
Tories.

Peers assume
the government.

Irish army of Feversham, which the King, to increase the disorder, had disbanded, was coming to burn the City. The rumour was a false one, but the excitement for the moment was extreme, all London rushed to arms, and the streets were barricaded. Nothing but William's presence could restore order. He therefore hurried towards London, having previously instructed Churchill to bring the dispersed army again into discipline.

William
approaches
London.

It seemed as if the struggle was over, as if nothing was wanted to complete the triumph of William, when, to the distress of all moderate men, it appeared that James had been stopped by some Kentish fishermen, under the impression that he was a fugitive Catholic, and after much insult, had been rescued from their hands and taken to Rochester. The reappearance of the King upon the scene, for he shortly returned to London, again withdrew from the Prince the adhesion of those Tories who were willing to obey the King "de facto." It seemed to William necessary to frighten James into a second flight. On his arrival in London, some slight show of loyalty having been exhibited, James plucked up some courage: Whitehall was again crowded with Jesuits and Catholics. He expressed extreme displeasure with the Lords who had usurped his authority, and pressed for a personal interview with the Prince. The interview was refused; so was his request to the Common Council of London, that they would secure his safety. The situation was now somewhat difficult. William was determined to come to London. Yet the presence of two commanders and two armies in one city was likely to be highly inconvenient. He insisted that James should withdraw, recommending him to take up his residence at Ham. James had neither will nor courage to resist, but still, with the idea of a second flight, he begged to be allowed to go to Rochester. William was only too glad to allow him to do so, and on the 18th of December, James fell into the trap which William had set for him, rose in the dead of the night, attended only by his natural son Berwick, and took ship for France, where he was received by Louis with a chivalrous respect which is almost touching.

James returns.

Finally escapes
to France.

Again, then, William's course was fairly clear before him, but immense difficulties beset him. Most of his friends urged him to assume the crown by right of conquest. Yet he felt that this would not only be giving the lie to his Declaration, but would also be injuring the feelings of a high-spirited nation, and inasmuch as no important fighting had really taken place, would

William's
difficulty.

be untrue. He resolved to pursue to the full his constitutional policy. He summoned the Lords, and as no House of Commons could be for the moment got at, he requested all those gentlemen who had sat in Parliament during the reign of Charles II. to meet him, and discuss the state of the nation. The upshot of this debate was that William should issue writs in his own name summoning a convention, freely elected, and to all intents, except in name, a Parliament; and that to this convention should be referred the question of the settlement of England.

Almost identically the same course was followed with regard to Scotland. There, too, Protestant outbreaks had taken place, and the chief agents of James's tyranny had been imprisoned or put to flight. A number of important Scotchmen being in London, were assembled to advise the Prince, and they recommended, that in Scotland, as in England, the Estates should be convened on the 14th of March following.

As was certain to be the case, the elections, now free, were largely in favour of the Whigs. Yet still there was a considerable minority of Tories, almost all of whom, however, were in favour of some strong course for securing future good government. The plan of the highest Tories, among whom were most of the clergy, was to open a negotiation with James, and to let him return upon conditions. A second plan, which originated with Sancroft, was to allow James to continue nominally on the throne, but to put the Government entirely into the hands of a regent named by Parliament. This seemed to Sancroft a way by which oaths of allegiance could be kept and good government secured. A third party, at the head of which was Danby, asserted that the English crown could not be vacant; the flight of the King having terminated his reign, the Princess Mary, as next of kin—for he was willing to ignore the doubtful Prince of Wales—became "ipso facto" Queen. The Whigs, on the other hand, throwing to the winds all notion of Divine right, asserted the principle which had been gradually accepted in England since the Revolution of 1640, that the monarch held his position only in virtue of a contract with the people, that when that contract was broken the people had a right to remove him and to choose another king. In the Commons, the majority of the Whigs was so great that there was not much difficulty in arriving at a resolution. This resolution asserted that "King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and

Decides for a convention.
Jan. 22, 1689.

Three views of arranging the succession.

Commons declare the throne vacant.

people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked people having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the Government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant." In the Lords more difficulty arose. The Tories insisted upon discussing, first of all, the plan for the regency, and it was only lost by a majority of two. Danby had now the opportunity of bringing forward his plan. He had hitherto acted with the Whigs, but when the question was raised whether the throne was vacant or not, holding, as has been said, the view that this was impossible, he joined the Tories with his followers, and the majority decided in the negative. For a moment great difficulties arose. The House of Commons refused to accept any change in the resolution; the Lords for a time held firm.

William all this time carefully abstained from declaring any opinion in the matter. But it now seemed as if his wife would probably be made Queen, while he himself must occupy the position of minister. The fidelity of Mary saved him from the awkward position. She wrote to Danby expressing her abhorrence of such a scheme. Sure of his wife's views, William now expressed himself strongly. Danby gave way, and a sort of compromise was hit upon, by which it was declared that the throne should be filled by William and Mary as joint sovereigns, the administration of Government being in the hands of the Prince.

Compromise decided on.

STATE OF SOCIETY.

1660-1688.

Modern character of the period of the later Stuarts. IN reading the history of the later Stuarts, we cannot but be struck by the great change which has taken place since the Restoration. The shadow of the Middle Ages has wholly disappeared; we find ourselves in presence of an entirely modern world, of a state of society easy to understand, of a political life which, in most respects, exactly resembles our own.

Europe had assumed the form which, with certain changes, it still wears. The Thirty Years' War had completed the religious struggle.

In Europe. At the Peace of Westphalia, the Protestant and Catholic religions had found fixed limits which have never since been materially altered. The shadowy importance of the mediæval Empire had disappeared, the independence of the great Princes of Germany was acknowledged, and the Empire became little more than a loosely connected confederation. Spain, the great power of the last century, had been hurrying onward in its course of decay, and was no longer a source of dread to Europe, or a power whose friendship or enmity was of the first importance in political calculations. The short-lived greatness of Holland was already on the decline, though her fleets were still the most formidable in Europe, and her wealth increasing. The pre-eminence of Spain had passed to France. The consolidation of the monarchy was there completed; the part she had taken in the later years of the Thirty Years' War had secured her a position of paramount importance in Germany. French diplomacy mingled authoritatively in the policy of every nation, a large army kept in a complete state of organization even in peace secured the power the country had won. Even on the sea the French navy found a rival only in Holland.

1688]

CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD

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The same establishment of modern forms and relations was visible at home. The mediæval baron, the Tudor lord of the council, had given way to the modern nobleman. The country gentleman and the wealthy trader, now admitted into the ranks of the gentry, had come into existence. The great religious questions of the sixteenth century, the great political questions of the seventeenth century, had been alike fought out. The deep enthusiasm, the fixed convictions, and the laborious and subtle policy of the preceding generation had disappeared, to make room for questions of personal power, and the more petty interests of party politics. Of course, great principles and interests have arisen from time to time in later days, but one of the most essential

At home

Want of conviction.

differences between modern and mediæval times is the absence of certainty, the general weakness of men's convictions, and a readiness to compromise. The rapid changes through which England had been passing naturally produced such a state of mind in the reign of Charles II. Loyalty, and the belief in the divine right of kings, had received an irretrievable blow. Puritanism, the subjection of the State to the purposes of religion, had been tried and had failed. The enthusiasm which had marked the earlier efforts of the Puritan party had proved evanescent; the enthusiasm which greeted the Restoration was of even shorter duration. The old beliefs of the preceding centuries had received rude shocks. Bacon had opened the way for a new method of natural philosophy, and thrown even an undue amount of discredit upon the deductive method of inquiry. Hobbes had traced royalty to a contract between the governor and the governed, a contract permanent indeed, and leaving the monarch's authority inalienable and apparently despotic, but leading directly to the more liberal views which were prevalent at the Revolution. He had assaulted the very source of religious authority by applying reason as the sole means of explaining inspiration. Thus shaken, both by experience and through their intellects, from their old creeds, men had lost for the time the power of clear conviction. This exclusion of seriousness from public life was fostered by the careless and pleasure-loving character of the King, for it must not be forgotten that constitutional monarchy in the present meaning of the term had not yet been established, the King, and not the Prime Minister, was still the source of all political advance; it was therefore necessary for aspirants to office to find means of pleasing the monarch, whose personal character thus exercised an influence far greater than at present. As a con-

sequence of this, the political leaders of the time were courtiers, and the Court was filled with men by no means representing the deeper feelings and opinions of the nation, but drawn from that class who were most affected by all the causes which were operating to produce intellectual and political scepticism. At the same time, the enormous salaries paid to the great officials reduced politics to a trade, and rendered office an object so desirable, as to outweigh, in the eyes of those whose consciences were not very scrupulous, considerable sacrifices of principle. Even the greatest questions thus assumed a mere personal and political character, and when the Revolution came, it was the work rather of a party driven to desperation by the complete failure of their plans, and by the headstrong conduct of the King, than that of a nation stirred to its depths by strong love of principle and truth. There is in it none of the grandeur which marked the opening of the Long Parliament, nor did it count among its leaders one man of heroic character. Yet, although a deplorable want of principle is throughout visible in the politics of the time, and the personal influence exercised upon them by the King very great, the very opposite lessons which had been taught by the Great Rebellion had not been wholly in vain. The Revolution was, in fact, the completion of the work of the Rebellion thrown into a practical form. Although the struggle between the Puritan and Episcopalian was for the present laid aside, there was enough of religious party feeling left to render all classes hostile to the Catholic Church; while the Puritan regarded it as the chief enemy to that spiritual creed which he considered the first necessity of life, the English Churchman saw in it the threatening enemy to his own position as a member of a dominant and national Church. All classes recognized the necessity of constitutional government, not indeed in the strict sense in which we now employ the word, but with a very strong determination to uphold the safeguards, such as they were, of life and property, which the English Constitution offered. It was when the desire of the Kings Charles and James (directed to establishing on the one hand a despotism resembling that of the French, and on the other the Roman Catholic religion) hurried them into actions which seemed to touch the security of person and property, that the nation almost universally combined to change its dynasty.

Thus the objects of party were very similar to those which have ever since existed, either personal aggrandizement in the possession of power, or the maintenance of constitutional right; and as, on the whole, these objects were sought by Parliamentary means, we are

able to realize without difficulty the political situation of the time.

But in spite of this modern character, the condition of England was very different to what it now is. The population ^{Condition of the population.} was not accurately numbered, but a fair estimate can be arrived at by a comparison of the number of houses assessed a few years after the Revolution in the last collection of the hearth-tax, and the report drawn up for ecclesiastical purposes about the same time. From these it has been calculated that the inhabitants of England were between five and six millions in number. This population was much more generally distributed than at present; while the inhabitants of towns numbered about 1,600,000, nearly 4,000,000 lived in the country.

The relative importance of land, whether as a source of wealth or of political influence, was therefore far greater than it is ^{Agriculture.} at present. But important though it was, the management and cultivation of land would have seemed to us extraordinarily backward. The agriculture was of the rudest description, half of the country was still unreclaimed waste; it was not for another half century that enclosure bills became numerous. Though the principle of the rotation of crops was already known, it was little applied. There was great difficulty in preserving the cattle through the winter, and it was customary to kill a great quantity about October, and salt them down for winter use. Even the households of the nobility tasted no fresh meat during the winter months. The appliances of farming were very primitive, the ploughs and harrows so inefficient that the clods left by them had to be broken up with a heavy beetle before the land could be sown. The yearly harvest of all sorts amounted to little more than ten millions of quarters, of which the wheat crop is estimated at not more than a fifth. Wheaten bread was consequently an article of luxury, and the ordinary food of the peasant was rye bread or oat cake. Although flocks and herds were abundant, the cattle were diminutive and of poor quality. It must be taken into consideration, when we hear of the price of sheep and oxen, that the average weight of a sheep did not exceed 28 lbs., that of an ox 370 lbs. At present the former would weigh nearer 100 lbs., the latter 1000 lbs. The horses of England had not yet attained the celebrity they now enjoy; they were so bad that good judges held that the meanest hack from Arabia or Africa was better than the best English horse, and Flemish horses were habitually imported for purposes of show. Races, which had become fashionable, had already been the cause of the intro-

duction of Eastern blood, but the present English horses, from the race-horse to the huge London draught-horse, were the creations of the next century.

But although the land and agriculture, such as it was, formed the main occupation of Englishmen, it is not fair to regard the whole rural population as exclusively agricultural.

Employments of
the rural
population.

Already most of the great industries of England, which a century later gave their character to English civilization, were in existence; but the period is an intermediate one, during which manufactures were local and domestic, carried on in the midst of the agricultural population, and locally distributed in accordance with the opportunities afforded for them by the various advantages of different districts, and not yet brought to great centres by the unlimited power of steam. Consequently the geographical arrangement of the population was also very different from what it now is. The South and West of England were then much more populous than the great Northern counties, which were in part still suffering from years of wasting war with the Scotch, in part regarded as uninhabitable on account of their rough and mountainous character. It was not till machinery was largely employed, and the water power supplied by the rills of the mountainous districts became a matter of prime necessity, that the change in the balance of population took place.

The chief manufacture of England was woollen cloth of various sorts, and the Cotswold Hills and Wiltshire and Hampshire Downs afforded the chief grazing ground for sheep; moreover, the waters of the Avon and the Stroud were regarded as particularly good for fulling and dyeing. Frome, Bradford, Trowbridge, Devizes and Stroud were the chief towns in which the manufacture was carried on. But both the spinning and the greater part of the weaving was pursued chiefly in the houses of the workmen, who occupied villages lying round the manufacturing centres, where the factors, who collected the cloth, and the fullers and dyers, who completed it for the market, lived. The trade extended far into Devonshire, where Exeter was famous for its market of serge; but it was not confined to the Western counties. In Yorkshire the same causes apparently that had been at work in the West had established a large clothing trade. Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Halifax, and Leeds were already important centres of this manufacture. Here again the trade took much the same form, the workers inhabited scattered villages, and the water of the neighbouring rills, supplied to every house, afforded the means of dyeing. Here, however, manufacture

Woollen manu-
factures.

seems to have been separated from agriculture,—neighbouring counties furnished the corn, and well-supplied markets the meat for the clothing districts. The Bridge of Leeds was the great cloth market; the streets in the neighbourhood were lined with open counters, to which each man brought his modicum of cloth, which was there purchased by the great factors. There was one great instance of a manufacturing town, and that was Norwich. Thither, centuries before, the art of cloth-making had been brought from Flanders, and there it still flourished, rendering the town the third city in the country. The number of its inhabitants was about 23,000. So completely was the woollen manufacture regarded as the chief industry of England, that all others were sacrificed to it. The exportation of wool was strictly prohibited, though the Dutch offered higher prices for it than English purchasers. In the first year of William III. most stringent measures were taken for this purpose, and the wool-growing counties were overrun by a swarm of customhouse officers, whose efforts to enforce the law not unfrequently gave rise to bloody encounters.

Manufactures of other fabrics had begun, but were so completely in their infancy that they had to be sustained by strict protective laws, and when their interests interfered with those of the woollen trade, their destruction was regarded as good economy. Thus Manchester was already employed upon cotton brought from Smyrna and the Levant. But while, on the one hand, it was thought necessary, shortly after the Revolution, to foster this manufacture by the prohibition of the use of Indian calicoes, on the other hand, within a few years, for the sake of encouraging the use of the lighter woollen fabrics, the use of calico was entirely forbidden. Warrington manufactured linen, but every discouragement was given to the trade, which was regarded as the special occupation of Ireland. The manufacture of silk had been early introduced into England; in 1629 the silk throwsters of the metropolis had been formed into a company, and in 1666 the trade is said to have employed no less than 40,000 men. The influx of French refugees after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had still further increased the trade, of which Spitalfields, where they chiefly settled, became the centre. During the whole of the reign of Charles II. foreign silks were from time to time prohibited, but on the whole their importation was free. Yet, according to the perverse economical policy of the time, although in the midst of this importation, which amounted to nearly £700,000 worth annually, the English

Cotton, linen,
and silk manu-
factures.

trade was continually advancing, it was thought necessary shortly after the Revolution to bolster it up by a complete prohibition of the silks both of Europe and of Asia.

The mineral wealth of England, on which it now so much relies, was but little developed, and, as in the case of wool, local circumstances determined the position of the works connected with it. Although the possibility of using pit coal for the smelting of iron had been discovered by Lord Dudley in 1619, it was not till the middle of the next century that the process was largely employed. The necessity of a supply of wood for charcoal had therefore rendered the Forest of Dean, in Monmouthshire, where the old workings of the Romans were continued, and the well-wooded counties of Surrey and Sussex, the chief centres of the trade; but the quantity of iron produced was little more than 12,000 tons a year, not the 200th part of the present produce. It was enough, however, to employ a certain number of furnaces and anvils at such towns as Stourbridge, Wolverhampton and Birmingham. The last-named town was sufficiently important to have been chosen by Cromwell to send a member to his Parliament. But the manufacture of iron rose little beyond smiths' work, and was chiefly confined to the production of rough agricultural implements. Sheffield, too, continued that manufacture of steel for which, as we learn from Chaucer, it was even in his age celebrated; but the greater part both of our iron and steel was imported. Salt, so important an element in many manufactures, and so necessary as an article of food, had been originally obtained from the sea by evaporation. In 1670, rock-salt was discovered at Nantwich in Cheshire, but the processes employed in procuring it and cleansing it were so bad that it was extremely unwholesome, and many of the prevalent diseases of the time were popularly traced to its use. It was early taken possession of by financiers as an article on which a tax might advantageously be laid, and it was not till the heavy duty, amounting to many times the value of the article itself, was removed, that its employment in the production of soda, and consequently in the manufacture of soap and other articles, became of much importance. Even coal was comparatively but little used. The Welsh pits gave fuel to the Western counties, and Northumberland supplied the capital; though the quantity required and the number of ships employed in its transport were the objects of wonder and admiration at the time, the whole quantity raised was infinitely small compared to what it now is. China and porcelain, the other great

Iron, salt
and coal.

productions of England, may be said not to have been manufactured at all. There were indeed potteries where rough earthenware vessels were made, and at Burslem a few ovens for glazing with salt, but Holland supplied most of the earthenware used in wealthier houses, while all such finer porcelain as existed was brought from the East. It is perhaps worth observing with regard to machinery, that comparatively small as the manufactures were, the discoveries which subsequently changed the face of England had already been made, but were kept from development by false political economy, and by the extreme difficulty of movement caused by the absence of good roads. Thus Lea's stocking-frame was used in Nottingham; the Marquis of Worcester had, in 1663, discovered the motive power of steam; and rails, although only of wood, were already used in the collieries.

It will be plain from this summary of the manufactures of England that the exports of the country must have consisted chiefly of woollen fabrics, but that there must also have been a considerable domestic trade, by which the products of different parts of the country were exchanged against each other. Much of this domestic trade was carried on by pack-horses; the means of locomotion were very bad, the roads few and in wretched condition, wheeled vehicles were seldom employed. Inland water communication had not yet found its way into the country; the works of the French engineers were wondered at and admired but not yet copied. Naturally therefore, where possible, carriage by sea was employed. There was a considerable amount of small coasting trade, and a number of little ports, since wholly decayed, were at this time thriving places. Those on the South coast were still further enriched by the trade with France, and Topsham on the Exe, Weymouth and Lyme were places of some importance.

By far the larger part of the foreign trade was in the hands of the inhabitants of London; the tonnage of that port (84,000 tons) was more than a fifth of the tonnage of the country.

There the great companies had their houses; for the trade with distant foreign nations was chiefly in the hands of companies, such as the Russian, the Turkey, and the East India Company. Some of these were on the exclusive joint-stock principle, trading in common, and enjoying a monopoly of the trade in which they were engaged; others were what is called open or regulated companies, in which each individual member traded with his own capital and at his own risk, but subscribed something towards a common stock for the

Domestic trade.

Foreign trade.

general purposes of the trade. In both instances the object of the co-operation was the same. It was held that, in order to open up a trade with a strange and distant country, the power of contracting treaties and the use of such apparatus as is usually employed by Government—soldiers, consuls and diplomatic agents—was a necessity. As Government was disinclined to meet this expense, the companies undertook to bear it: in the case of the chartered and joint-stock companies, they received in exchange the monopoly of the trade; in the case of the regulated companies, where competition was not limited, the work which was done in common was carried out for the sake of the direct advantage derived from it.

The population and wealth of London was even then probably greater than that of any other capital in Europe, and no other town in England at all approached it. The second trading city was Bristol, numbering rather less than 30,000 inhabitants, and growing wealthy by the trade with the Western colonies, and the commercial enterprise of its inhabitants, of whom it is remarked that even small shopkeepers were not content without some venture to the West Indies. This trade brought with it the not very honourable occupation of trading in slaves, and still worse, in English criminals and kidnapped vagrants, who were exported and apprenticed to the planters. Liverpool was in existence and thriving, but as yet there was no dock; the goods were landed in the open river, and carried by pack-horses through England, for the Lancashire roads were notoriously bad, and of water communication there was none.

All the trade of the country, such as it was, was organized in accordance with that view of political economy known as the mercantile system, under the restrictions of the Navigation Act, and of those arrangements which limited the intercourse of the mother country with her colonies. The mercantile system was a further development of the same theory that had regulated the trade of the Plantagenets. It was still the universal belief that money alone was wealth; but the severe measures which had restricted commerce in earlier times, when bargains were so arranged that each should produce an immediate influx of the precious metals, had been found inapplicable to extensive and distant trades; and writers, especially Thomas Mun, whose first work reached a second edition in 1621, but whose second and more important work was published soon after the Restoration, had begun to point out that some relaxations were necessary. It was chiefly in the interests of

The mercantile system.

the East India Company that the change of system was introduced. The natives of India, always a hoarding people, demanded payment for their goods in silver. The Indian trade therefore required a constant export of the precious metals, but it was pointed out by Mun, and those who thought with him, that eventually, if not immediately, the money would come back to England with a considerable increase, and that, if that was the case, it was foolish to check the export of silver because in each particular bargain there was no immediate return. It was urged that a more general view of the question was necessary, that the real way of estimating the increase of wealth was by observing what was called the balance of trade. If England exported to any country more than it imported from it, the balance must have been made up in money payments, and the transactions of that particular branch of its commerce was advantageous to the country by the amount of this balance. Commercial wisdom was thus supposed to consist in checking importation, in fostering exportation, and in preventing as far as possible trade with any country where the balance was unfavourable to England. It was held to be impossible that mutual advantage should arise from commerce; what one country gained the other must of necessity lose. From these principles an incessant jealousy sprang into existence, together with the system of fostering domestic manufactures, however little adapted for them the country might be, the imposition of heavy and often prohibitive customs on the importation of goods, and the bestowal of bounties upon exportation. Thus the trade with France, whence much more wine and silk was imported than counterbalanced the cloth exported, was regarded with extreme jealousy as tending to the ruin of the country, the balance of trade being all against England. The war with France after the Revolution enabled the upholders of this theory to give effect to their jealousy; the trade with France was stopped, and the little ports on the south coast reduced to ruin. The Navigation Act passed in 1651, in the time of Cromwell, and renewed in 1672 in Charles II.'s reign, is an example of a similar jealous and selfish view of commerce. In both cases the Act was directed against the Dutch, and—by compelling goods to be imported either in English vessels or in the vessels of the country in which the imported articles were manufactured—aimed at destroying, as far as England was concerned, the carrying trade, which was the great source of the wealth of Holland. The same selfish character is again visible in the legislation with regard to the colonial trade. Colonies

were regarded as valuable, solely in so far as they afforded markets for the English merchants. This view of the colonies was not the original one, but an Act of 1650, passed by the Republican Government, confined both the import and export trade exclusively to British or colonial ships. The Navigation Act of 1651 enacted further, that a great number of articles, known as "enumerated" articles, should not be exported directly from the colonies to any foreign country, but should be first sent to England. This Act was followed, in 1663, by one which practically excluded the colonists from every market for European goods except that of England. The effect of this legislation was to force the industry of England into the production of articles for which it was unfitted, and to encourage a great amount of smuggling.

The character of the inhabitants of the country of which the material condition has been sketched was much influenced by two points already mentioned—the pre-eminent greatness of London, and the difficulty of locomotion. The distinction between the courtiers and the whole body of the nation, and the great influence exercised by the country gentry, are two of the features which seem most peculiar in the state of classes at the time.

London was in fact a wholly different place from the rest of England. Scarcely lighted at all, ill paved, swarming at night with riotous young men of birth, called by various nicknames, such as Tityre Tus, Muns, and Scourers, who rendered traffic in the dark dangerous, it was yet the abode of the chief wealth and the chief culture of the nation. That culture was by no means wholly good. The reaction from the Puritan times, the pre-eminence of France, and the introduction of French manners, in all their wickedness, without their refinement, had produced a state of licentiousness among the courtiers which we can now scarcely conceive. It was visible on all sides; the statesmen who ruled England did not think it beneath them to be guilty of such scandals that the very people of London were with difficulty restrained from taking the law into their own hands to punish them. As an instance of the temper of the time, it may be mentioned that Buckingham killed in a duel the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose runaway wife, dressed as his page, was standing beside her paramour at the moment. Literature did not escape the taint. At the playhouses might be nightly seen acted in public, comedies of a grossness of language and action which could not now be whispered, and this language now put for the first time into the mouths of women. But in spite of this external licen-

Character of
the people.

Condition of
London.

tiousness, it was in London almost exclusively that elegant manners and refined learning were to be met with. It was there alone that Churchmen of eminence were to be found, of a wholly different race from the impoverished and dependent country rector: and it was there that the commercial world was rapidly acquiring that consideration, wealth and capital, which render it so important an element in society after the Revolution.

But into this strange world the country gentlemen seldom entered. Though there was an increasing disposition to gather round the Court, the country towns were still centres of a fashion of their own. The great country families still retained their houses there, where they passed some portion of the year. The ordinary squire was not likely to find a visit to the capital very agreeable; his rustic manners, speech and dress laid him constantly open to ridicule, and his homely morality was shocked by the open profligacy he saw around him. The gentry thus resided for the most part upon their own estates. As a class they were extremely ignorant, in manners little better than a small farmer of the present day. Seldom opening a book, unless it were a work on heraldry, they spent their time in the management of their estates and in hunting. Yet ignorant and boorish as they were, their position was one of great importance: nearly the whole of the justice of the country was gratuitously performed by them. In a rough way they were to those around them the representatives of law and government. In their hands was the only army which England possessed. There were indeed a few regiments of regular troops, the Life Guards, the Blues, a regiment or two of dragoons, and some regiments of infantry, such as Monk's Coldstream Guards and the garrison of Tangier (which was kept on foot when that dependency was abandoned), but on the whole not much more than 6000 troops were permanently embodied. The military force of England was the militia, under the command of the Lord-Lieutenant, and officered by the country gentlemen. They thus in their own districts exercised an influence far greater than their cultivation seemed to justify. Rivals they had none, for the clergy, whose income is estimated to average between £40 and £80 a year, in many cases eked out this pittance by holding the position of domestic chaplain in some neighbouring gentleman's house, where they ranked as little better than servants. Such influence as they had—and it would be wrong to underrate the power vested in the hands of a body who had the whole spiritual guidance of the country—was employed for the same objects as that

The country
gentlemen.

The clergy.

of the country gentlemen. Both classes were bigoted upholders of the national Church. Below the gentry we find mentioned a very large class of small freeholders, who must have formed the really independent power of the country, with incomes varying from £40 to £90 a year.

It is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the condition of the labourer and artisan. Their wages at first sight appear very low. It was the habit to engage farm labourers by the year, and to keep them in the farm-buildings themselves. When hired in this manner, a thoroughly good servant was paid about £5 a year; when working as a day labourer, such a man was paid about sixpence a day with his food, or a shilling without it. A master artisan received the same wages. But, no doubt, at times higher wages were given. Sir Edward Hales speaks of ten shillings a week, and De Foe mentions the refusal of his offer of nine shillings. The wages of the country were generally settled by the justices in their sessions, and it was then a punishable offence to receive more than the sum fixed. The usual amount of wages paid does not however give any very certain knowledge of the condition of the labourer unless the current prices of the time are also known. It seems probable that, although meat was considerably cheaper than it is now, the condition of the peasantry was not on the whole so good as at present. Clothing was comparatively more expensive, and wheat, the price of which fluctuated much, was quite as dear. It averaged during Charles II.'s reign nearly fifty shillings the quarter, and the change in the habit of the people which induced them to eat wheaten bread in the place of rye, is mentioned as one of the causes of the prevailing distress. Ordinary vegetables also were then rarities and fetched proportionately high prices. For instance, cauliflowers cost as much as 1s. 6d. a piece, while potatoes were but little grown. In other respects the position of the poor was much to be pitied. The inconvenience of the poor man's lot was considerable. The poor law of Elizabeth had compelled parishes to undertake the maintenance of their own poor; and, naturally desirous to prevent the increase of the poor rate, each parish looked with jealousy upon any stranger who arrived within its borders, regarding him as a possible pauper. But up till 1662, the labourer had been allowed to change his residence as he pleased. In that year the Law of Settlement was passed, to determine what was meant by the poor of a parish. In order to obtain a settlement, that is, a claim upon the poor rate, a man must either have been born in the parish or have resided in it forty days. On his

arrival in a fresh parish, the justices, before the expiration of the forty days, might, upon the complaint of the parish officers, remove him to the parish where he had already a settlement. The execution of this law, on which parishes in their jealousy would naturally insist, stopped the circulation of labour. Thus, while on the one hand the justices settled the local maximum of wages, it was impossible on the other hand for the poor man to remove into any other parish where his labour was more wanted. He was in fact again bound to the soil, and liable, if his parish became over full, to sink into the ranks of the pauper population, who are said to have amounted to one-seventh of the people. This enormous number naturally attracted the attention of thinking men, and many schemes for the purpose of lessening it were proposed. They all tended in one direction. It seemed absurd either to punish for idleness men willing to work when no work was to be found, or to spend large sums yearly in keeping them in idleness. All the schemes were directed to employing the rates to supply work, or in other words, for the establishment of public workshops, in which the poor rates should be employed as the capital for carrying on some manufacture, which it was deemed desirable to promote in the country; a plan which might in some degree answer in a thinly-populated country with undeveloped resources, but obviously impracticable where capital is seeking employment in every lucrative manufacture, and the labour market already overstocked.

We find in the condition of classes here described some explanation of the phenomena of the Revolution. It cannot be truly called a popular movement. Though the whole nation shared largely in it, its direction was chiefly in the hands of courtiers and statesmen of no high principle, to whom liberty meant the diminution of the power of the Crown and the establishment of aristocratic influence. Its strength was derived chiefly from the temporary support of the country gentry and clergy, hurt on their tenderest point—their love for the English Church,—and from the acquiescence of the rising moneyed class, who saw in it an opportunity for the better employment of their capital. The lower classes followed blindly as their local rulers bade them.

If this view appears dark, it must be taken with considerable modifications. The external appearances of the time were worse than the reality. The Puritan feeling was by no means wholly extinct. In all classes, especially among the lower classes, connections and traditions of the great Cause were still kept alive. There were still

many men who honestly loved liberty for liberty's sake, and ardently desired some restoration of purity of life. It is thus only we can explain the success and popularity of such a book as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the distinct efforts at religious revival of which we find traces. Among the young men in London, religious societies were formed, of which there are no less than forty mentioned a few years later. These societies, which were in connection with the Church of England, bound themselves to a thorough performance of the duties enjoined by the Church, established frequent Communion and public prayer in many churches, and devoted themselves to relieving the poor, assisting prisoners, reclaiming the vicious, and to the education of the young. It is nevertheless true that in spite of the great effects which the Revolution produced, we find among its leaders scarcely any men, with the exception of William III. himself, of Lord Somers, and perhaps Halifax, whose character commands our admiration or respect, or who appear to be actuated by an unselfish desire for national advance.

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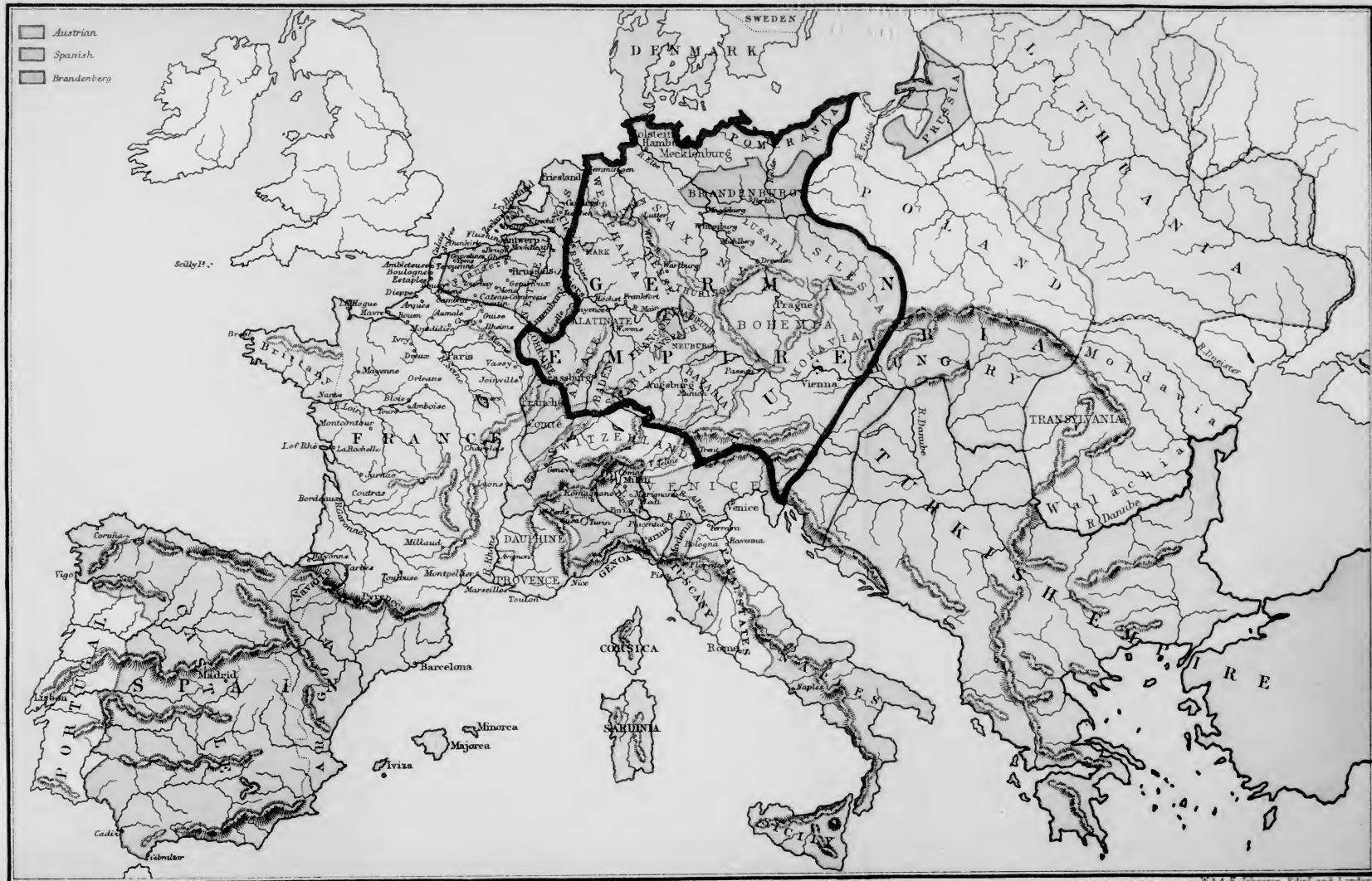
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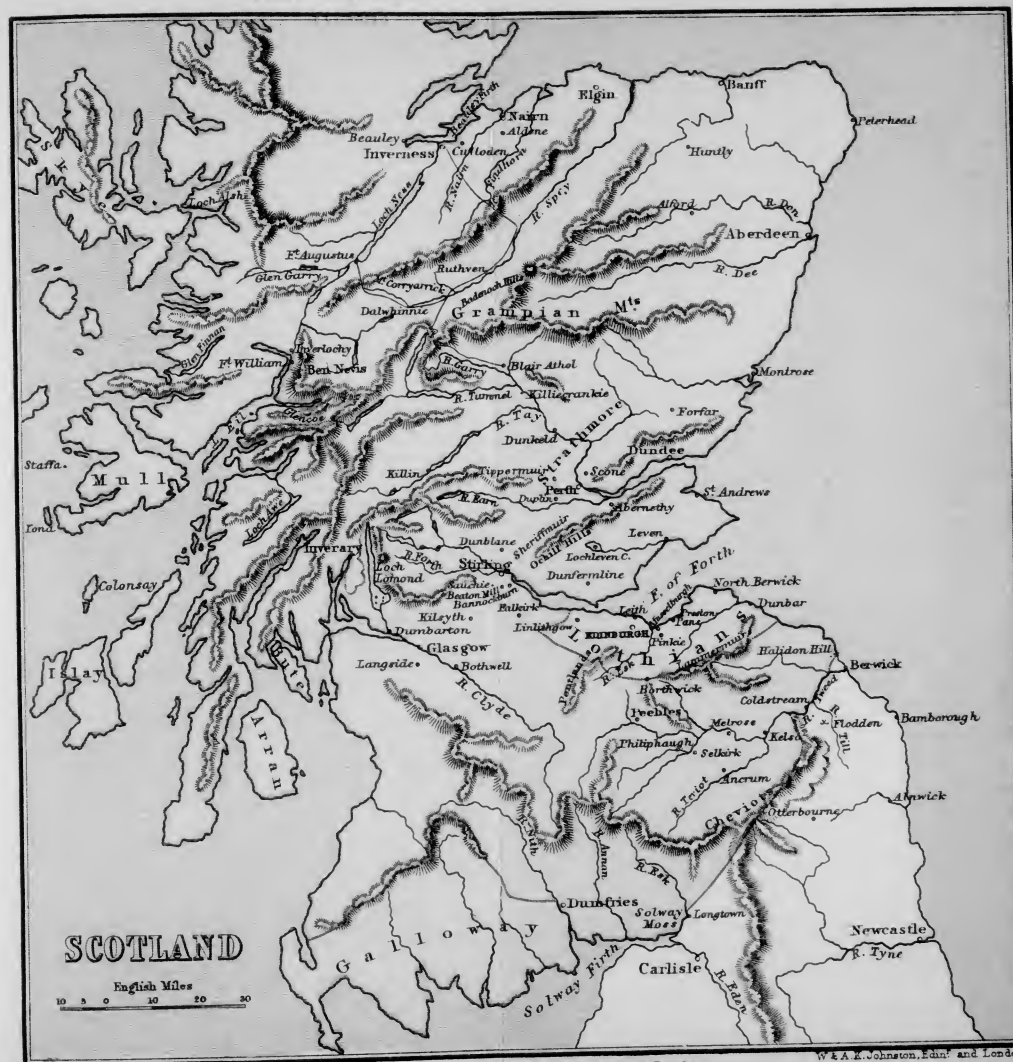
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1689—1837

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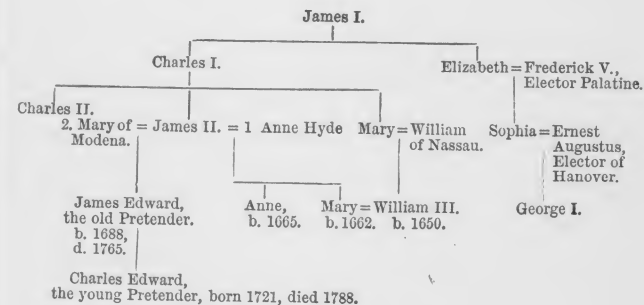
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WILLIAM AND MARY.

1689--1702.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>France.</i> Louis XIV., 1643.	<i>Austria.</i> Leopold I., 1658.	<i>Spain.</i> Charles II., 1665. Philip V., 1700.	<i>Prussia.</i> Frederick I., 1701.
<i>Russia.</i> Peter the Great, 1689.	<i>Denmark and Norway.</i> Christian V., 1670. Frederick IV., 1699.	<i>Sweden.</i> Charles XI., 1660. Charles XII., 1697.	

POPES.—Alexander VIII., 1689. Innocent XII., 1691. Clement XI., 1700.

<i>Archbishops.</i> William Sancroft, 1678. John Tillotson, 1691. Thomas Tenison, 1694.	<i>Chancellors.</i> (In Commission, 1689.) Sir John Somers, 1693. Sir Nathan Wright, 1700.
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First Lord of the Treasury.

1689. Mordaunt.
1690. Lowther.
1690. Godolphin.
1697. Montague.
1699. Tankerville.
1700. Godolphin.
1702. Carlisle.

Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1689. Delamere.
1690. Hampden.
1694. Montague.
1699. Aaron Smith.
1701. Henry Boyle.

Secretaries of State.

1689 { Nottingham	1697 { Shrewsbury
{ Shrewsbury	{ Vernon
1690 { Nottingham	1699 { Jersey
{ Sidney	{ Vernon
1693 { Shrewsbury	1700 { Hedges
{ Trenchard	{ Vernon
1695 { Shrewsbury	1702 { Manchester
{ Trumbal	{ Vernon

BEFORE the Crown was absolutely offered to William, the Convention was eager to reform a number of the most prominent abuses of the last reign. It was shown by the wiser leaders among them that such reforms would entail a mass of legislation which, to be done well, must occupy several years. It was therefore determined that, for the present, a solemn declaration of principles only should be drawn up. This is known as the Declaration of Right. In it, after enumerating the evils from which the country had suffered, the Lords and Commons declared that the dispensing power does not exist, that without grant or consent of Parliament no money can be exacted by the sovereign, and no army kept up in time of peace. They also affirmed the right of petition, the right of free choice of representatives, the right of Parliament to freedom of debate, the right of the nation to a pure administration of justice, and the necessity, in order to secure these things, of frequent Parliaments. This Declaration having been read to William and Mary, the Crown was solemnly offered them by Halifax, and by them accepted. They were immediately proclaimed amid general plaudits.

Thus was consummated, with scarcely any bloodshed, and by what appeared an almost unanimous action on the part of the nation, a complete revolution. It was not the less a revolution because it was held that the whole Constitution of England passed on in its minutest detail unchanged. By it was overthrown for ever the theory which came into existence under the Tudors, and was brought to perfection under the Stuarts; henceforward it was impossible that the King should be regarded either as the proprietor of the country, or as a ruler by divine right, the representative of God upon earth. In the place of this theory was substituted that great Whig theory, which, arising among the Puritans, had enjoyed a brief

triumph in the successes of the Great Rebellion, and, violently overthrown at the Restoration, had succeeded in making good its position during the reigns of the two last Stuarts,—the theory which regarded the King as reigning by the will of the people and in virtue of an implied contract with them. As a natural consequence of the position thus taken by the nation as the supreme power in the State, Parliament, its representative, became in its turn supreme, and although the change was not yet fully understood, the representatives of the people were gradually taking to themselves not only the duties of legislation, but also the executive. The ministry, therefore, however much they may have been still regarded as the King's ministers, became by degrees the national ministers, answerable for their conduct in Parliament, and before long became in fact little else than the executive Committee of the majority in Parliament.

The unanimity of parties which had secured the triumph of William was of short duration, nor was his personal popularity long-lived. The apparent coldness of his demeanour, his carelessness of the pomps of the Court, his wretched health, which obliged him to withdraw from London and establish his Court at Kensington, speedily rendered him personally unpopular; while, as soon as the general danger which had caused their union was removed, the fundamental differences which divided political parties at once made themselves obvious. Moreover, the tendency to reaction, visible after all political excitements, began to show itself. Two classes were by no means ready to accept kindly the revolution which had been wrought. These were the clergy and the army. The greater part of the clergy had spent their lives in inculcating the duty of passive obedience. Although that theory had broken down in practice when the attacks of the Crown were directed against themselves, they could not bring themselves to submit without difficulty to a complete reversal of their political creed, nor could they help seeing that the success of William implied nothing short of the substitution of the Whig doctrine for that of monarchy by divine right. A very large portion of them were therefore disaffected. The army, though it had disliked the introduction of Catholics and of Irish among its ranks, and was not prejudiced in favour of any theory of monarchy, felt its professional honour injured by the sorry part it had played in the late events. So deep was the disaffection that one regiment quartered at Ipswich broke out into open mutiny, marched northward in arms, and was only brought to obedience after

Personal
unpopularity of
William.

Crown accepted
by William and
Mary.

Character of the
Revolution.

Discontent of
the clergy

and the army.

a skirmish with some Dutch troops under Ginkel, which had been rapidly sent in pursuit. The signs of general disaffection at the same time were so obvious that it was thought necessary to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act.

Before this happened, William had had to form a ministry and to furnish himself with a Parliament. For this latter purpose, in spite of the opposition of many of the old Tories, who regarded a Parliament not summoned by the King's writ as no Parliament at all, the Convention was changed into a Parliament, and proceeded to act in that capacity. It was not indeed reasonable that a freely elected body, whose choice of a king both sides were willing to allow, should still be regarded upon technical grounds as incapable of settling matters of much less importance. The choice of ministers was a matter of more difficulty.

At the present time the choice of ministers is tolerably simple. The House of Commons having obtained the position of both legislature and executive, the administration is placed in the hands of a Committee of that party which is predominant in the Commons; the Crown, in fact, having but little choice in the matter. This theory of government, which is a necessary consequence of the Parliamentary triumph at the Revolution, was in the years immediately succeeding that event not understood. The notion of a king whose duties are rather ornamental than real had scarcely entered men's minds. The King was still expected to have the direction of the executive, to be, in fact, his own Prime Minister, and to nominate as heads of departments such statesmen as he thought

best fitted for the employment, without exact regard to their political views. The effect of this was to make the King responsible for the Government; and though the right of impeachment, as exercised in the case of Danby, rested upon the supposition that ministers were responsible to Parliament, the fact was not yet fully recognized. It was this responsibility of the king which had produced the disasters of the Great Rebellion and the late Revolution. The gradual substitution of Parliamentary ministry, which should serve as an intermediate body between the Commons and the Crown, and save the Crown from direct responsibility, is the great constitutional change which was completed on the accession of the Hanoverian house. Such a change becomes absolutely necessary when Parliament has once secured a complete control of the executive; otherwise it is plain that the acts or proposals of the executive, constantly met by a hostile majority in Parliament,

The Convention changed into a Parliament.

William's difficulties in forming a ministry.

Ignorance of the constitutional change.

could never be brought to a completion. It also of necessity implies a mutual responsibility among the ministers, who upon essential points must all agree with the Parliamentary majority. These necessary consequences of the triumph of the Whig theory of the sovereignty of the people were little understood even by the best English politicians; and William, able as he was as a foreign statesman, had never a clear insight into the working of the English Constitution. Nor was his character such as to fit him to occupy the place of an ornamental king. Thus he both himself intended and was expected by the nation to exercise a supreme influence in the Government, at the same time that the newly won powers of the Parliament were liable constantly to thwart his schemes. Besides the difficulty which this general ignorance of constitutional principles caused, peculiar difficulties, arising from the manner in which he had obtained the Crown, beset William. He had been brought to the throne by the Whigs. By the Whigs he was expected to become a party leader. They looked forward, under his guidance, to a triumphant revenge on the party at whose hands they had suffered so much. On the other hand, William's own wish was to hush the storm of faction, to become King of the whole English nation, not of one party, and to be able to use the resources of England for his great European measures; he therefore had no intention of becoming a mere party leader. Again, his view of the duties and responsibilities of a king was a high one, whereas the Whigs, on whom he might be expected to rely, were pledged to give greater prominence to the influence of Parliament. William's natural tendencies, therefore, when once safeguards for a just Government and personal liberty were secured, inclined him rather to the Tories, whose view of the prerogative was higher.

It was in the midst of these difficulties that William had to select his ministry. He attempted to conciliate all parties, with the exception of the extreme Jacobites, and his ministry was a mixed one. Danby had been mainly instrumental in bringing William to England. He had indeed in the Convention thrown some obstacles in the way of the Parliamentary change of dynasty, but might fairly look for a high reward. He was displeased at being appointed President of the Council, a post of high honour, but not of great political activity. Halifax was appointed Privy Seal. His intellect, which always saw two sides of a question, was not such as to fit him for decided statesmanship. The places of real importance, the Secretaryships, were shared between the Tories

The Whigs' desire for vengeance.

William's ministry.

and the Whigs; Nottingham, the leader of that class who expressed with perfect honesty their willingness to acknowledge any King *de facto*, and Shrewsbury, a young man of great ability and as yet a consistent Whig, were appointed to those places. Neither Treasury nor Admiralty were intrusted to any single individual, but were placed in Commission, both Whigs and Tories sitting at the Boards. At the Treasury, though only third on the Commission, Godolphin, by his superior skill and knowledge, soon became pre-eminent. The purity of the judgment-seat was secured by a careful selection of the ablest lawyers from a list supplied by the Privy Council, while the great places of the Household, where personal rather than political influence was wanted, were chiefly given to William's personal friends from Holland, the most prominent being Overkirk, Master of the Horse, and Bentinck, subsequently Earl of Portland.

By the appointment of his ministers, and by the conversion of the Convention into a Parliament, the apparatus of Government was complete. The Whigs were for a time triumphant. The revenue was settled on a peace footing at £1,200,000 a year; the hereditary taxes being given to William for the support of his Crown (a grant which forms the origin of the Civil List), while the Parliamentary taxes intended for the support of Government were granted only for limited periods. The hearth tax, the most obnoxious and unjust of taxes, as it is at once inquisitorial in its action and presses with undue severity upon the poor in comparison with the rich, was abolished. The settlement of the Church, and of the oaths to be taken by the holders of places, at once rendered obvious the strength of faction which still existed, and the difficulties which must beset all attempt at impartial government. Three Bills were produced, a Toleration Bill, a Comprehension Bill, for the purpose of so changing the construction of the Church and its Liturgy as to admit numerous Protestant Dissenters, and a Bill for the removal of the Test Act, for the purpose of enabling the King to employ, as he was most desirous of doing, all Protestants in his service. Of these three, one only, the Toleration Act, was carried. In fact the Comprehension Bill, which was introduced by Nottingham, was no doubt intended, after admitting a certain number of Dissenters, to render the exclusion of the rest more absolute. Fear of this rendered the Dissenters themselves hostile to it, and William's personal efforts to produce at once comprehension and relaxation of the Test Act were in vain; both Bills were thrown out.

There yet remained the question of the oaths of allegiance and su-

premacy. It was acknowledged on all hands that all lay place-holders and all newly appointed holders of ecclesiastical preferments should be obliged to take these oaths, slightly altered to suit existing circumstances. The case of the clergy already holding benefices was not so clear. Many were willing to accept the new Government peaceably, and it seemed hard that they should be required to take oaths which gave the lie to all their former political views. With regard to the Bishops too, the High Church Party advanced the doctrine that the Episcopal ordination was indelible, and that it was impossible for any Act either of King or Parliament to prevent a man who had once been a Bishop from being so always. Against the King's wish the party who were for the most stringent application of the oaths carried the day. All the clergy were required to take them by August 1689; if they had not been taken by February 1690, those clergy and Bishops who refused them were to be deprived. Between 300 and 400 refused the oath, and there thus sprang up that section of the clergy known as Nonjurors. The settlement of the country was completed by the Coronation Oath, which declared that the King would uphold the Protestant religion as settled by law. It was a foolish miscomprehension of these words, which obviously did not prevent a Parliamentary change in the arrangements of religion, which subsequently led George III. into his obstinate opposition to Catholic emancipation. When the oath had been arranged, the coronation took place (April 11), and some new titles were given; thus Danby became Lord Caermarthen, Churchill Earl of Marlborough, Bentinck Earl of Portland, and Mordaunt, First Lord of the Treasury, Earl of Monmouth.

When the Government of the country was fairly settled it was time for William to receive his reward. Parliament gratified him by a strong declaration against the policy of Louis abroad, and assurance of hearty support should he find it necessary to have recourse to arms. On the 13th of May war with France was therefore declared. William stated that he had no choice in the matter as France had already begun war upon England. This was an allusion to the action of France in Ireland; for Louis, though unable to trust James and his English and Irish friends in that implicit manner which would have rendered his assistance irresistible, was yet so far convinced that the real key to success against the coalition was the neutralization of England, that he had allowed James some assistance in troops. The other great countries of the coalition had already declared war with France. Louis found himself with

Oaths of
allegiance and
supremacy.

Settlement of
the revenue.

Settlement of
the Church.

The European
war breaks out.

one ally only, who did him, if possible, more harm than good,—this was the Porte. He succeeded in inducing that power to continue its attacks upon Hungary, which was a constant source of weakness to Austria; but the unnatural alliance between the most Christian King and the great enemies of Christendom gave an opening for the invective of his enemies, which received still further point from his subsequent behaviour. Unable to sustain the forward position which his armies had assumed in Germany the preceding year, especially when some of his forces were required in Ireland, he ordered a retreat. What he could not keep he determined to destroy, and the Palatinate was laid waste with a reckless, unsparing fury, which enabled each country, as it declared war with him, to point out that his conduct was more cruel than even that of his Turkish ally. It had such an effect on the Continent, that war was declared at intervals of about a month by Austria, the Empire, Spain, Brandenburg and Holland. William's primary object was attained; Europe was combined against France. The resources of England were placed in his hands to support that coalition, but there was yet much to be done before he was free to act.

It has been already related that, on his flight, James stated his intention of finding if possible a new centre of action in Ireland. State of Ireland. The view was a natural one, for he had throughout his reign been preparing that island as a refuge in case of danger. He had there acted with more freedom than was possible in England, and gone far to carry out his plans for re-establishing Catholicism. Talbot, Lord Tyrconnel, a perfectly unscrupulous man, was at the head of the Government. Almost all the other important offices were in Romanist hands. Rice, chief Baron of the Exchequer, made the law courts subserve the same policy; he openly asserted his intention of assaulting the Act of Settlement; all who had or thought they had claims against the actual possessors of land, brought their claims into his court, and no proof was held too weak, no witness too untrustworthy, for the purpose of re-establishing the old Catholics in their possession of the soil. From private acts he proceeded to public. Charter after charter was forfeited; municipal corporations re-established, with reckless indifference to all forms of right, on a Roman Catholic basis. While aldermen in the boroughs thus became Roman Catholic, sheriffs of the same religion were appointed, and in their hands lay the choice of juries, so that the whole legal apparatus was directed against Protestantism. The army meanwhile had been similarly reorganized; 6000 Protestant veterans had been disbanded and their

places occupied by vehement and disorderly Catholics, who lived, we are told, constantly at free quarters on the Protestant inhabitants.

The arrival of William in England had brought matters to a crisis. The Papists thought their time was at length come. The whole country was full of panic and rumours of a coming massacre. Many of the English fled. The gentry and yeomen gathered themselves together to the towns and strong houses, to attempt if possible to make good for themselves that security which the Government would not give them. The two most important of these centres were Enniskillen and Londonderry. At the former, early in 1689, the Protestant population refused admittance to two companies of Popish infantry which had been ordered to be quartered on them. The gentry collected, drove the soldiers away, appointed Gustavus Hamilton governor, garrisoned the houses round Lough Erne, and held the district for King William. At Londonderry the same process took place. A regiment of 1200 Papists, under the Earl of Antrim, was sent to the city, and the mayor and sheriffs, who by the new charters were Papists, were proceeding to admit them, when thirteen young apprentices of Scotch birth took upon themselves to close the gates, and the Protestant gentry were summoned from the neighbouring country to defend the city. In two days it was strongly garrisoned, and the troops withdrew. It was in vain that Lord Mountjoy, a Protestant, who still remained faithful to James, attempted a compromise. Some few troops under Lundy were indeed admitted, but the country was still held for the Protestants, and Lundy was obliged, in appearance at all events, to accept the new Government.

Meanwhile William had attempted to enter into negotiations with Tyrconnel. For this purpose he had employed as his agent Richard Hamilton, who had once held a commission in James's army, but who now professed to have changed his allegiance. Hamilton pledged his word that, if he failed in his commission, he would come back in three weeks; but, forfeiting his promise, he returned to his old allegiance, and became a chief leader on the side of James. But the character of the quarrel was already changing, the real object of Tyrconnel, in common with the greater part of the Irish Catholics, was to uphold neither James nor William, but to destroy for ever the English supremacy. For this purpose he was willing to use the name of James, trusting in fact to the assistance of Louis, to whom he opened his real design. He succeeded in ridding himself of Mountjoy.

Panic among
the Englishry.

Londonderry
and Enniskillen
garrisons

William's
negotiation
with Tyrconnel.

Tyrconnel's
object Irish
independence.

whose loyal influence was likely to thwart his plans, by sending him on a mission to St. Germain, where James now held his Court, and where he was at once apprehended. He then summoned the Irish to arms. An army of 50,000 Papists was collected, and many thousands more took arms on their own behalf, and ravaged the Protestant settlements around them. To complete the Irish supremacy, Tyrconnel ordered the Protestants to be disarmed. The destruction wrought is inconceivable. Property which His temporary success. has been estimated at £5,000,000 was destroyed. Whole herds of cattle were killed and left to rot in the fields; 50,000 are said to have been thus killed in six weeks, while about 400,000 sheep were similarly slain. Unable to withstand this general movement, the Protestants in the south and west were overpowered, or retreated if possible to the strongholds of Londonderry and Enniskillen. In those two places the flower of the English settlers stood at bay, surrounded on all sides by hordes of liberated serfs now in mutiny against their former masters. An army was ordered to march northwards under the traitor Richard Hamilton. The Protestants fled before it; 30,000 of them collected as a last asylum behind the walls of Londonderry.

The country was in this condition when James, in answer to the messages which Tyrconnel had sent him, determined, He gets James over. with the assent of Louis, and with considerable assistance in officers and arms, himself to visit Ireland. He landed at Cork, and soon appeared in the capital, while William, unable to act with energy on account of the difficulties which surrounded him, was assailed by unthinking men with violent abuse for not taking stronger measures to prevent those disasters which he was really watching with the greatest dismay.

On his arrival in Dublin it was gradually brought home to James that it was no feeling of passionate loyalty which was exciting the Irish population. Among those who attended his Court Character of Irish Jacobites. there were two distinct factions. Some Englishmen, with the loyal feelings which animated English Jacobites, were anxious to re-establish James and to retain the English influence in Ireland. Another party, which included Tyrconnel and almost all the Irish Papists, were fighting to destroy the English supremacy, they cared not how, and intriguing to secure the assistance of France. James would naturally have inclined to the former party, but soon learnt that the power of his partisans was entirely gone.

He made a feeble struggle, and, contrary to the wish of the French

and Irish, proceeded himself to the siege of Londonderry. On his march he found that the Protestants, as they retired, had destroyed all the crops and houses behind them. He journeyed through a desert, and when he found that the inhabitants of the Siege of Londonderry. city had got rid of their treacherous governor Lundy, had taken matters into their own hands, and appointed Walker, a clergyman, and Major Henry Baker, joint governors, he determined to return instantly to Dublin, there to hold a Parliament. The prosecution of the siege was intrusted to a French general, Maumont, and Richard Hamilton. The defence was so vigorous that the siege was soon turned into a blockade; and while the gallant city was holding out to the last extremity, the Parliament at Dublin met.

As a matter of course, considering the circumstances under which it was collected, it consisted entirely of Catholics. It proceeded to act with a recklessness which might be expected from an enslaved nation suddenly called to power, and from men who for years had been unused to public life. Wild legislation of the Irish Parliament. The great Act of Settlement, that compromise which in Charles II.'s reign had settled the share of land to be held by the Protestant emigrants who had followed Cromwell's victorious arms, was repealed. Many thousands of square miles were at a single blow transferred from English to Celtic landlords. The Act itself may have been unjust, but for years it had been the basis of society, and men had acted as though their titles were secure. Its repeal was therefore a violent act of unjust confiscation. Moreover, as far as James was concerned, nothing could be more disastrous, nothing could more surely destroy any influence he might yet keep in England, where it seemed to foreshadow the justice Protestants might expect from his hands were his reign re-established. Such slight opposition as James offered (for he had the wisdom to see some of the disastrous consequences of the measure) had no effect but to cause profound distrust of himself. Other legislation even more disastrous met with no opposition at his hands. In his want of money he issued false coinage of copper and brass, intrinsically worth perhaps a sixtieth of its nominal value. Thus of course all creditors and mortgagees, who were pretty certain to be Protestants, were ruined. The money was rendered current by threats of punishment against those who refused it. Prices were kept down by law; and to complete this wild legislation, the great Act of Attainder was passed, containing between 2000 or 3000 names. No inquiry was instituted as to the grounds of accusation against those

who were attainted, and opportunities were thus afforded for any man who had a personal enemy to introduce his name in the Bill. A limit of time was set within which all those named were bound to surrender themselves to justice or be liable to execution without trial; while, to prevent the King's mercy from interfering with their vengeance, the Commons passed a law that after November the right of pardon should cease.

Such legislation, sanctioned by James, while it failed to give him real popularity in Ireland, checked the reaction which was beginning in England. The feeling there grew constantly stronger against the inaction of the Government. The fate of Londonderry and Enniskillen was watched with absorbing interest. A fleet, with some troops under command of Kirke, was at length despatched, but Kirke refused to risk the passage of the river which led from Lough Foyle, and which was now guarded by forts and a boom, and the starving population of Londonderry had the misery of watching the ships as they lay idly in the Lough. But they still held out with astonishing constancy. Their friends in Enniskillen fared somewhat better. They did not confine themselves to defence; but, issuing from the little island in Lough Erne which surrounded their city, they collected from their enemies a considerable quantity of cattle and ammunition, and lived in comparative comfort and security. At length, in July, the fate of Londonderry seemed sealed. Nearly everything eatable had been devoured,—horse-flesh, rats, salt hides, all that could possibly be converted even into the most objectionable food. It seemed impossible to feed the population in any way for two days longer. At last a peremptory order reached Kirke to relieve the city at all hazards. On the 30th of July, three vessels, two transports and a frigate, sailed up the river, and, after a few minutes of difficulty, broke the boom, and in the evening, at ten o'clock, were anchored at the quay. The city was saved after 105 days of siege and blockade.

The Irish army immediately broke up from its camp and retreated. As it reached Strabane, on its backward course, it received the news of another disaster. A great effort had been determined on against Enniskillen, but Colonel Wolseley had been sent to take the command by Kirke, and was successful in defeating at Newton Butler the approaching Irish, of whom nearly 2000 were put to the sword or drowned in a neighbouring lough. The news of this defeat hastened the steps of the retreating

its effect
on English
Jacobites.

Londonderry
saved.

Battle of
Newton Butler.

army as it returned from Londonderry, and it fled in confusion to Charlemont.

The same week which saw the relief of Londonderry and the battle of Newton Butler was remarkable also for the great defeat of William's army at Killiecrankie. In accordance with the character of the Scotch people, and in some proportion to the cruelty which had been exercised upon them, the Revolution in Scotland took a more violent form than it had assumed in England, for in the North James had been able to carry out more completely those plans which had produced his fall in the southern kingdom. A Church repugnant to the majority of the people had been forced upon them by law; in defiance of the opposition of a subservient Parliament, all the high places had been filled with Papists; nonconformity had been punished with an arbitrary severity and a ferocious cruelty of which England showed no counterpart; the electoral laws also, by requiring from all electors abjuration of the Covenant and an assertion of the King's ecclesiastical supremacy, excluded all but Prelatists from the right of election. Before collecting a national Convention, to consider the state of the nation under the present circumstances, it was necessary to dispense with the Act which excluded Presbyterians from the franchise. The Convention consequently consisted almost exclusively of Whigs, and the change of Government was marked by grave disorders in many parts of the country; nor, though William disliked these excesses, was he able to repress them, and the Episcopal clergy were in many instances most roughly used. There was at first some talk of a union with England, for the national feeling of the Scotch was beginning to yield to the increasing belief that in most points, especially of a financial and commercial character, such a union was very desirable: while many even of the Whigs in England wished for a union of the Churches and the establishment of Episcopacy on some broad and general basis. But the religious feeling of the country was quite averse to such a course, and William was too tolerant a man to wish to apply any coercion to men's consciences. He therefore wrote a letter, in which he did little else than profess his attachment to Protestantism, and his wish if possible to establish the Union. The arrangements he left in their own hands.

Unable himself to be present in Scotland, he intrusted the business to the two Dalrymples, father and son, and to Lord Melville, a prudent man, who, though he had retired abroad during the storm which succeeded the Rye-House Plot, had never committed himself warmly

Violent character of the Revolution in Scotland.

Opposition to a union.

to either party. James's agents were Graham of Claverhouse, now Earl of Dundee, and Lindsay, Earl of Balcarras. The Castle of Edinburgh was in the hands of Gordon, a Jacobite; and James's agents hoped that, by their own vigour and by means of the dread inspired by the castle which commanded the town, they might yet obtain a predominant influence in the Convention. The first trial of strength was the election of a President, and before long it became evident that the Whigs would certainly have the upper hand. They elected the Duke of Hamilton, and about the middle of March the regular sittings of the Convention began. At the first meeting, letters from

Letters from
James and
William.

both King James and King William were produced; that of James, the production of Melfort, was fitted, like most of the productions of that statesman, to injure his master's cause as much as possible. There was no word of repentance, no word of conciliation; every line breathed an obstinate determination to continue in the old course, and threats of vengeance on his enemies. Dundee and Balcarras felt that all hope of maintaining a majority was lost, and having thus failed in their first object,

Dundee tries
to secede.

determined to pursue, in accordance with a plan they had already arranged, a second line of policy, to secede with their adherents to Stirling, and there establish a rival Convention. The movement was thwarted by the premature retreat of Dundee. Edinburgh was full of fierce Western Cameronians, and feeling that his life was endangered, he hastily withdrew. The news that, with a party of his old troopers, he had set out for Stirling, holding on his way a conference with the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, excited the fears and hatred of the Presbyterians in the Convention

Edinburgh arms.

They at once proceeded to rouse the people of Edinburgh to arms, and to place the town in an attitude of defence, and thus thwart the idea of secession. They then went on to consider the state of the nation, and declaring that the late King had forfeited the throne by misconduct, offered the Crown to William and Mary. The offer was accompanied, as in the case of England, with a Declaration of Right,—here in Scotland called the Claim of Right,—in which, without discussing the question, they declared that Episcopacy was abolished. The Crown was then solemnly offered and accepted.

Yet the difficulties of William were still most severe. The bigoted Covenanters held aloof from a tolerant King who had not taken the Covenant; and a number of extreme Whigs, who were attached to a monarchy so limited as to be really a republic, put themselves

at the head of a factious opposition, forming among themselves an organization known by the name of the Club. While this powerful opposition was being formed in the Lowlands, war in behalf of the fugitive King actually broke out in the Highlands. Dundee, on his flight from Edinburgh, had remained for some time peaceably in his own house. But letters passing between him and Melfort, James's minister in Ireland, were intercepted. An order was issued to arrest him, with his colleague Balcarras. Balcarras was secured, but Dundee fled towards Inverness, where he found a state of affairs which he was able to turn to the advantage of James.

The Club.

Dundee escapes.

The politics of the Highland clans bore little relation to the general politics of the nation. The Highlanders were as yet a half savage race, devoted to their patriarchal form of society, and with political attachments which seldom went beyond the head of their tribe. It mattered but little to them whether James or William were upon the Scottish throne. They were equally ready to oppose by violence any Government which interfered with their wild freedom. But among themselves they had bitter tribal jealousies and feuds, and the partial introduction of the feudal system had complicated their relations one with the other. Great chiefs, combining the character of feudal lords and clan patriarchs, had contrived to extend their power, and render other clans besides their own dependent or tributary. The Earl or Marquis of Argyre, Mac Callum More, as the Highlanders called him, head of the great clan of Campbell in Argyshire, had thus extended his pre-eminence at the expense of his neighbours. The power of this chief was great. He could bring 5000 men into the field, and his jurisdiction was so independent as to be hardly second to that of the Crown; consequently all his neighbours looked upon him with jealousy and hatred. That the politics of the head of the Campbell clan were consistently Whig was enough to make all his rivals and enemies Jacobites. But of late years the power of the Campbells had decayed; during the triumph of the Stuart Kings the Marquis of Argyre had been beheaded, and the Earl, his son, had been driven into exile. As the Campbells sunk, the Macdonalds, the chief rivals of their clan, on whose property they had encroached, had risen. But the Macdonalds had a constant feud with the Mackintoshes in the neighbourhood of Inverness, in pursuance of which Macdonald of Keppoch was at this moment engaged in the siege of Inverness, which had made common cause with the Mackintoshes.

Highland
politics.

When therefore Dundee came into that neighbourhood he found the clans already in arms on quarrels of their own. It occurred to him that, by taking advantage of the general enmity against the Campbells, he might form a union of the clans, nominally at all events in favour of King James. His plan met with a partial success. He could not indeed induce the Mackintoshes to join with the Macdonalds, but he secured their neutrality. The eastern clans as a rule followed the same course; but those of the west, more immediate sufferers from the power and encroachments of the Campbells, eagerly leapt at the opportunity of attacking the party of which Argyle was one of the chiefs. Mackay was sent to take the command of the English troops. With his regular soldiers he could do nothing against the rapid Highlanders in the mountains, and urged the plan, subsequently followed, of building a line of forts across the country. The campaign produced no event of importance. A cessation of arms occurred in June, spent by Dundee in obtaining succour from James in Ireland, by Mackay in raising troops with some difficulty among the Western Cameronians.

A fresh dispute among the clans renewed the war. The Murrays, of whom Athol was the chief, had not as yet declared for either side. The Marquis of Athol himself withdrew for safety to England, but his eldest son declared for King William, while his steward, who was believed to be in his confidence, declared for James. The two sections of the clan disputed the possession of the castle of Blair Athol, the seat of the chief. It was felt by both parties that the adhesion of this large clan was of great importance, and Dundee on one side and Mackay on the other hurried to support their friends at Blair Athol. The castle lies a little beyond the northern end of the pass of Killiecrankie, a ravine through which the river Garry rushes, and which leads from the lowlands of Perthshire to the mountains. The armies were not ill-matched in numbers. Mackay's troops were suffered by the Highlanders to get clear of the difficult pass, and then found themselves in a little valley, with the Highlanders occupying the hills around. As long as it was an affair of musketry, the Lowland troops, many of whom were veterans, held their ground, but when the clans suddenly threw their firelocks from them and rushed with a wild yell on their lines, they broke and fled, with the exception of one regiment, and rushed in helpless flight down the narrow pass. It was the difference in the weapons which caused this strange victory of undisciplined

Dundee in the Highlands.

Battle of Killiecrankie. July 27.

over disciplined troops. When he had fired his volley, the Highlander threw away his firelock, and was ready in an instant to rush forward with his broadsword. The bayonet at that time in use was so constructed that, when fixed, it filled up the mouth of the barrel. It took some minutes to arrange the clumsy contrivance which turned the musket into a pike. While the regulars were still fumbling with their weapons, the Highlanders were upon them.¹ Mackay brought off such troops as were left with rare coolness, and the death of Dundee neutralized the effects of the defeat. The Highland army passed under the command of General Cannon, who had brought over the Irish auxiliaries, a man of no particular ability. Mackay succeeded in rapidly re-establishing his army. He destroyed the prestige of the Highlanders by defeating a detachment at St. Johnstone's, near Perth; and when a newly raised regiment of Cameronian recruits beat off the mountaineers at Dunkeld, no longer held together by a leader of ability, they broke up and retired to their own glens, and the war was practically over.

Mackay concludes the war.

Though William's measures had thus been tolerably successful, although the Revolution was acknowledged in two portions of the Empire, and likely soon to become so in the third, his position in London was most difficult and trying. Success had dissolved the union between the Whigs and Tories, and the triumphant Whigs had time to remember their sufferings in the last reign and to form plans of vengeance. The King desired above all things the cessation of faction and the union of parties, but on every question which arose the Commons displayed a most passionate temper. A certain number of attainders were reversed, and this was well enough; but when a Bill of Indemnity was brought in, so many exceptions were made to it, that it became in fact rather a Bill of vengeance than a Bill of oblivion. The discussion of these exceptions lasted so long that the Bill had to be dropped for that session. But the intemperate Whig leaders, such men as Howe, Sacheverell, and the younger Hampden, were not contented to be thus balked of their revenge. Fierce attacks were brought against the Lord President Caermarthen, and Halifax, the Privy Seal. The position of Caermarthen was so strong that his enemies were afraid to divide the House against him. Halifax had made more enemies, and was not so firmly supported by the King's influence. The practical mind of William found little to like in the subtle and questioning intellect

Factions of the English Parliament.

Bill of Indemnity dropped.

Attack on Halifax.

¹ Taught by experience, Mackay invented the bayonet fitting round the barrel.

CON. MON.

of Halifax; and as the affairs in Ireland had been virtually entirely in that nobleman's control, the wretched condition of the Protestants, the lengthened misery of Londonderry, and the temporary success of James and Tyrconnel, were all laid to his charge. It was said that he even purposely neglected Ireland in order to render a new Government indispensable. However, he contrived to escape impeachment by a narrow majority of sixteen; and the relief of Londonderry, and the immediate despatch of Schomberg at the head of a considerable body of troops to support the Protestant interest, tended to check the vehemence of the popular anger which was directed against him.

Late in August, the Parliament broke up till October, and all eyes were turned towards the fate of Schomberg's expedition. His troops consisted for the most part of raw recruits, scarcely able to discharge their firelocks. He could not venture to fight with such an army, but displayed great skill and determination in the manner in

Misery of the
English army
in Ireland.

which he overcame difficulties apparently overwhelming. Several regiments of French Protestant refugees accompanied him; and while he was lying in the neighbourhood of Dundalk treason was discovered in their camp. The refugees themselves were trustworthy, but a certain number of other foreigners had found their way into their regiments, and opened correspondence with the Irish. Sharp vengeance fell upon the chief conspirators. But a more terrible enemy than treason attacked the English troops. A deadly pestilence arose and carried them off by hundreds: their misery was unspeakable; the ties of morality and decorum were relaxed, the men got drunk sitting on the corpses of their dead comrades, and the horror of the time is well shown by the fact, that several ships lay in Carrickfergus Bay filled with carcases, and not a live man on board. The blame of the wretched condition of the army was traceable to the general maladministration which existed in the Government. The Chief Commissary was a man named Shales, who supplied the army with quite uneatable food, drew money largely for supplies which never reached the troops, and let out the troop horses, when collected, to English farmers. But it was not only in the army that this maladministration was visible. Admiral Herbert, now Lord Torrington, sunk in debauchery, allowed the same offences to be perpetrated in the navy. It would be unfair to lay this to the charge of William. The deeprooted mismanagement of the last twenty years rendered it almost impossible for him to introduce reforms with any rapidity, nor, with all the weight of foreign affairs on his hands, could he personally supervise every department. His

own department was well and successfully managed, and the English troops abroad won some honour in a skirmish against the French at Walcourt.

Still it was not to be expected that Parliament, on its reassembling, should be in a better temper than when it separated. It again renewed its violent courses. The necessary supplies were indeed voted; The Bill of Rights, by which the Declaration of Right was to be formed into a statute, and which in the last session had been thrown aside because the Lords wished to introduce the name of the Electress Sophia in the succession to the throne, was passed without that amendment; but besides this scarcely any other work was done. On the other hand, the Whig majority proceeded on their course of vengeance. The Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, Sir Edward Hales and Obadiah Walker were impeached; a Committee to inquire into the death of Russell and Sidney, known as the Murder Committee, was appointed, and the attack upon Halifax renewed. At length the Whigs, conscious that the King was not well pleased with their vindictive temper, attempted to secure their own permanent supremacy in Parliament. They introduced a Corporation Bill, for restoring all the charters which had been forfeited in the reign of James; and to this, at the suggestion of Sacheverell and Howard, were appended two clauses, the one providing that all who had taken part in the surrender of the charters should be incapable of holding office for seven years, the other adding that all who, in spite of being thus incapacitated, presumed to hold office should be fined £500, and be debarred for life from public employment. These clauses, which would have in fact disfranchized the Tory party in every borough, they attempted to pass through the House by a surprise, when the greater part of the Tory party had returned home for Christmas. But so violent and factious a measure called out all the energies of the Opposition. The country gentlemen came crowding back to town, and, after a violent debate, the Whigs were defeated by a small majority. The Tories thought to improve their triumph by reintroducing the Bill of Indemnity without the exceptions, but they quite overrated their strength. Their attempt was defeated by an enormous majority, and a Bill of Pains and Penalties incorporated with the Indemnity Act, which rendered it a mere measure of proscription. But this violent measure was not destined to pass the House. The fierce struggle of parties was so repugnant to the King, any attempt

Parliament
meets.
Oct. 19, 1689.

The violence of
the Whigs.

The Tories
throw out the
Corporation Act.

at firm national government appeared to him so hopeless, that, having secretly arranged means of retiring to Holland, he sent for his ministers, and told them it was his intention to withdraw from England, leaving the Queen upon the throne. The threat stupefied the Whigs. To whatever excesses their passion may have led them, they felt that their safety was bound up with the prudent chief they had elected. A passionate scene ensued, in which the Tory Nottingham and the Whig Shrewsbury vied with each other in intreating William to forego his plan. At length he yielded, but determined that he would escape from the atmosphere of faction which surrounded him, and himself go to carry on the war in Ireland. Having stated that such was his unalterable intention, he prorogued and dissolved the factious Parliament which he had been unable to bring to reason.

William threatens to leave England.
Dissolves Parliament, Jan. 27, 1690, and undertakes Irish war.

The dissolution brought with it a reaction. The Tories in the New Parliament were as strong as the Whigs had lately been. Even London returned four opponents to the obnoxious clauses of the Corporation Act. As yet the theory of a ministry not having been established, there was no great change, yet the balance among the ministers was somewhat altered. Halifax withdrew from the Government; the Board of Treasury and the Board of Admiralty were both reconstituted, with a larger proportion of Tories, and Caermarthen attained such an amount of power as to make him virtually Prime Minister. Sir John Lowther was put at the head of the Treasury, while the purchase of votes, an art at which Caermarthen was an adept, and which for many years to come was constantly employed by the Government, was intrusted to Sir John Trevor, who became Speaker. William had hitherto tried to act without bribery; he had found his efforts futile, and his influence in Parliament neutralized by the passion of faction. He now, against his own feelings, allowed Caermarthen to have his way. The strange venality of Parliament at this time, and for many years afterwards, may probably be traced to the fact that the secrecy with which debates in Parliament were shrouded prevented the exercise of any wholesome popular opinion upon the vote of the representatives, while the Crown had lost that power of coercing the Opposition which it had enjoyed in the time of the Tudors. It became necessary to purchase what could not be procured by violence, while there was no pressure from without to restrain the cupidity of unprincipled members. With his new Parliament William found himself more free to act.

Tory reaction in new Parliament.

Venality of Parliament.

Its first duty was the settlement of the revenue. This had hitherto been chiefly collected under Acts passed for short terms only. It was now put on a permanent basis. The hereditary revenues, consisting of the rents of royal domains, fees and fines, post office and ecclesiastical dues, together with that portion of the excise which had been paid to Charles II. as the price for the abolition of feudal services, were given to William and Mary. These revenues amounted to about £400,000 or £500,000 a year. The King had hoped to obtain a grant for life of the other excise and custom duties which had been granted to James, and had amounted to £900,000 a year; but the Tory majority felt as distinctly as their opponents that an income which set the Crown free from the necessity of consulting Parliament might prove a source of evils similar to those of the last reign. They therefore gave William for life only £300,000 a year from the excise, the remaining £600,000, which arose from customs, they granted for four years only.

On other points the Parliament now acted more in accordance with the King's wishes, although the Whigs produced several embarrassing measures, and attempted to compel all place-holders to take an oath abjuring King James. But William was determined to check the course of vengeance; the known wish of the King enabled the Tories to throw out the obnoxious measure, and the revenge of the Whigs was finally balked by an Act of Grace from the Crown, which took the place of the unfinished Bill of Indemnity. This declared a perfect oblivion for all political offences up to that moment, excepting from the benefits of the Act only such of the regicides as were still alive, and about thirty others; of whom some were either dead or in safety abroad, while the rest, though in England, were suffered to live unharmed. It is a noble addition to the glory of William that, through his firmness and generosity, no blood was shed at the Great Revolution.

Meanwhile the King had been hastening preparations for his war. The number of the troops in Ireland had been raised to 30,000, at length well armed and well provisioned; a fleet, with still more provisions and equipments, was ready to receive the King at Chester. But at that moment it became very difficult for him to leave the country, for the Jacobites had determined to seize the opportunity of his absence for a great effort. Clarendon the Queen's uncle, Dartmouth commander of the fleet which should have opposed William's landing, and Preston

The revenue settled.

Act of Grace. May 20.

Preparation for war.

Jacobite plot discovered.

James's last Secretary of State, were the leaders of the scheme. Fortunately their secrets were intrusted to a man named Fuller, who at once determined to turn traitor. He gave over to the Privy Council the despatches from the Queen in France, which had been sewn into his buttons. His fellow-messenger was apprehended; when convicted and condemned to death, he too confessed, and the chiefs of the conspiracy were in the hands of the Government. Nevertheless it was a terrible time to be absent from home. An insurrection might break out at any moment, and an invasion was threatened from France.

William was determined that, come what would, he would put an end to the disgraceful state of affairs in Ireland. He placed the Government in the hands of the Queen, assisted by a Council of nine, with Danby for her chief minister, Admiral Russell to advise her on naval, and Marlborough on military affairs, and then crossed to Belfast. Fortunately the two objects of the Jacobites proved incompatible; the threatened invasion so roused the national spirit, that domestic insurrection became impossible. While

William advanced southward, and the Irish army, reinforced by a considerable number of French under Lauzun, fell back behind the Boyne, a great French fleet under Tourville appeared off the Needles. Torrington, the English commander, had been reinforced by a Dutch squadron, yet shrunk from the encounter, and retreated towards the Straits of Dover. The Queen and her Council sent peremptory orders to fight. Jealous of Russell, afraid of risking a great battle with superior numbers, Torrington unwillingly obeyed. With shameful policy, he

sent the Dutch squadron forward to bear the brunt of the danger, and left it almost unsupported, till, after exhibiting their usual stubborn bravery, the Dutch were compelled to fall back with their shattered ships, and Tourville swept the Channel unopposed. Almost at the same time as the news of this disgraceful defeat reached London, tidings arrived that the allies, under the Prince of Waldeck, had been beaten by Luxemburg at the battle of Fleurus. But the very misfortunes which

seemed falling upon the nation roused its spirit. The Lord Mayor offered the Queen at once £100,000, 10,000 Londoners, well armed for immediate purposes, and six regiments of foot and two regiments of horse, to be raised at once, without cost to the Crown. The same temper was visible throughout England, and suddenly, after three days of depression, hope was again raised in the national mind by the news of the battle of the Boyne.

William goes to Ireland.

Threatened invasion and insurrection.

Battle of Beachy Head.

Spirited behaviour of England.

James had determined to make a stand behind that river, which separates the counties of Louth and Meath, falling into the sea at Drogheda. The position was a fairly strong one; the ground rose immediately from the river, and some of William's generals scarcely liked to venture upon an attack. But he felt that some great blow was necessary to retrieve the disasters of the last year, and he gave orders for crossing the river at once. Early in the morning of the 1st of July the English began to advance. Young Schomberg was sent some miles up the river, to cross at the bridge of Slane, and thus turn the left flank of the Irish army. His success in this movement alarmed Lauzun. There was a narrow passage at Duleek, four miles south of the Boyne, where two carriages could scarcely pass between impassable bogs. If Schomberg could secure this pass the Irish would be enclosed in a trap. It was necessary at any price to avoid this danger; Lauzun therefore marched to oppose him, taking with him all the French troops, leaving the Irish alone to hold the river. William commanded the left wing, formed entirely of horse. He fought his way across the river not far above Drogheda. In the centre Schomberg led the main body of the infantry across the fords of Old Bridge. The Irish infantry which should have opposed him, thoroughly demoralized by a year spent under lax discipline and in habits of plunder, fled at the first onset. The cavalry, who had been more carefully drilled under command of the traitor Richard Hamilton, strove in vain to restore the day. For half an hour the struggle in the bed of the river was fierce. The leader of the Protestant refugees was killed, and Schomberg himself, while rallying these troops, and calling out to them, "Come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors," also fell. But William, having crossed with the left wing, now came up on the flank of the Irish, and the passage was secured. The Irish cavalry were left entirely unsupported by the infantry. Fighting bravely, and with considerable loss, they were slowly driven from the ground. Their leader Richard Hamilton was taken prisoner. James, whose personal courage it had been usual to praise, turned early from the fight and fled towards Dublin. The rout of fugitives hurried through the pass of Duleek, covered by the French infantry, who had been resisting young Schomberg's flank attack all the day. William is said to have been slack in the pursuit; Schomberg's death, and his own exhaustion, after having been thirty-five hours out of the last forty on horseback, may have been the cause of this. On neither side was the loss very great. Of the English about 500 are said to have been

Battle of the Boyne.
July 1, 1690.

killed, of the Irish 1500; but they were chiefly cavalry, the only trustworthy Irish troops.

James, having reached Dublin, summoned the Lord Mayor and principal Catholic citizens to the castle. Forgetful of his own speedy flight, he upbraided the Irish for cowardice, and vowed he would never more command an Irish army. He then at once took flight again, hurried to Waterford, and thence by Kinsale to France. Lauzun and Tyrconnel, with the remains of their army, also thought it desirable to evacuate the capital, which William entered in triumph. For a short time he thought of returning to England, for news of the defeat of Beachy Head and of the battle of Fleurus had reached him, and his presence in London seemed necessary. But when he heard of the courageous spirit showed by the nation, and knew that the only use Tourville had made of his victory was to attack and burn Teignmouth, thus still further exasperating the people, he felt that the crisis was over, that he might remain to complete his victory.

He gradually conquered the country as far as Limerick. There the Irish stood at bay. In the eyes of the French commander nothing could be more useless than the attempt to defend the city. "The walls could be knocked down with roasted apples," said Lauzun. He consequently withdrew his troops, and the Irish were left to themselves, under the command of Sarsfield, the only Irish general who seems to have possessed any military character, and vain though their hopes seemed to Lauzun, the defence of the city was successful. The want of artillery at first checked the proceedings of the besiegers. A daring raid, headed by Sarsfield, destroyed the convoy which was bringing up the siege train. The artillery was buried and exploded, and Sarsfield's party returned unhurt. Then came the heavy rains which occur at this season in Ireland; the country around the town became a marsh. A final

Siege of Limerick.
William returns to England.
Sept. 6.

Marlbrough's success in the south.

vigorous assault proved unsuccessful, and the siege was raised. This check was somewhat balanced by the success of an expedition planned and commanded by Marlborough, which had landed in the south, and in five weeks had conquered both Cork and Kinsale. William returned to England in September, intrusting the government to three Lords Justices, and the management of the war to Ginkel. But no further military operation of importance took place till May in the following year.

The northern and eastern part of the island was in the hands of

the English, and brought under some sort of government by the Lords Justices. In that part trade and industry had revived. In the Irish portion of the island, into which the Celtic inhabitants had crowded, there was wild confusion and much distress. Gangs of robbers infested the country, the soldiers were little better themselves than robbers. The currency of James's brass money entirely ruined trade. As usual in Ireland, jealousy of race began to show itself. In the Councils of Regency and of War, to whom the management of James's affairs were intrusted, men not of Irish blood had considerable influence; they were therefore involved in constant quarrels with the purely Irish party. Some order however began to show itself when Tyrconnel returned from France, accompanied by a French general of ability called St. Ruth. St. Ruth devoted himself with extreme energy to discipline the crowd of disorderly bandits whom he had to command, and prepared as well as he could to oppose the advance of Ginkel, who, seconded by Tollemache and Mackay, moved in the beginning of June from their headquarters at Mullingar. The French generals, both now and before, had been of opinion that Athlone was the right spot for the Irish to make a stand. It lay almost in the middle of the island, half on one side, half on the other of the Shannon, separating the provinces of Leinster and Connaught. Ginkel determined that he would take this place, which seemed to him to be the key of the Irish frontier. It was a work of no common difficulty. St. Ruth thought the attempt absolutely hopeless. "His master," he said of Ginkel, "ought to hang him for attempting to take the town, mine ought to hang me if I lose it." The half of the town upon the English side of the river was taken on the 19th, but the real difficulty yet remained. The narrow bridge which joined the two towns was gallantly defended. There was a ford lower down, but it was almost impassable. During the rest of the month the efforts of the besiegers were in vain. At last want of supplies compelled them either to succeed or to retreat. A gallant assault on the ford, which was almost up to the necks of the men, proved successful; to the astonishment and anger of St. Ruth the town was taken (June 30).

In spite of the advice of Sarsfield and the rest of the Irish generals, who wisely wished to employ their undisciplined troops in a partisan warfare, St. Ruth determined to fight. He fell back about thirty miles from Athlone, to the hill of Aghrim, where his troops occupied rising ground, covered along its whole front by a deep bog; while along the bottom of the firm ground ran enclosures, which were turned into

St. Ruth comes from France.

Siege of Athlone.

breastworks. Against these difficulties Ginkel marched. But the Irish, now well posted and well commanded, showed such firmness, that it seemed probable they would make good their position, and evening was already drawing on, when at length Mackay, with the English and Huguenot cavalry, succeeded in passing the bog, and placing his troops on the flank of the Irish army. At this critical moment St. Ruth was killed. With singular folly, his friends concealed his death, not only from his men, but also from his generals. Sarsfield had been ordered to remain immovable with reserves till St. Ruth ordered his advance, as the order did not come Sarsfield did not move, and the victory of the English thus became complete. The Irish army broke up, and was pursued with relentless cruelty; 6000 or 7000 Irish are said to have been put to death as they fled. The plain beyond the field of battle was so studded with white corpses, that it was described as looking like a pasture covered with flocks of sheep.

This battle completed the conquest of Ireland. The fall of Galway immediately followed, and Ginkel proceeded to attack for a second time the city of Limerick. The chances were now all in favour of the English, while the Irish were thoroughly disheartened by their late defeat. Ginkel's army was well supplied, and all hope of succour was cut off from the besieged by an English squadron which occupied the Shannon. Under these circumstances a capitulation was granted, the terms of which were fairly favourable to the Irish. By the military treaty, all officers and soldiers who desired it were conveyed to France, under command of their own generals. By the civil treaty, the Roman Catholics were promised the enjoyment of such privileges as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. To all who took the oath of allegiance a perfect amnesty was promised. It is to the disgrace of England that this treaty with regard to the Catholics was not kept. For the time, however, Ireland was completely subdued, and the English supremacy established so firmly, that for more than a century, in spite of the difficulties which more than once beset the English Government, no outbreak of the Irishry against the Englishry was even suggested.

In Scotland, at length, the establishment of the Government was equally complete. The members of the factious Club had gone so far as to make common cause with the Jacobites. But in the Parliament which met in 1690, under the management of Melville as Lord High Commissioner, the

Battle of
Aghrim.
July 12, 1691.

Second siege
and capitulation
of Limerick.
Oct. 3.

End of the
Irish war.

Revolution
completed in
Scotland.

Government succeeded in obtaining a majority. The union among its opponents was at once dissolved. A general acquiescence met the re-establishment of the Presbyterian form of Church government, and no further difficulties of importance were to be apprehended. William could now turn his attention to the affairs of England and of the Continent.

In England, from the middle of 1690, the Jacobite intrigues continued. The lenity shown by William, after the abortive efforts of the Jacobites during the threatened French invasion, encouraged further conspiracies. It seemed certain that William's presence would be required abroad, and that again during his absence an opportunity would be offered for striking a blow against the Government. In December 1690, a meeting was held of the leading Jacobites, and it was determined that Preston should be sent to St. Germain. He was to beg James to return to England, bringing with him a sufficient French force to secure his success, but at the same time, in the name of the Jacobites, he was to intreat him to allow the Protestant religion to remain undisturbed, and to rule in strict accordance with law. Besides this general letter, separate papers were intrusted to Preston, especially one from the nonjuring Bishop Turner, apparently in the name of Sancroft and his brother Bishops. He also took with him notes as to the most vulnerable points of the coast. But the captain of the ship which was engaged to take him over thought it wiser to inform Lord Caermarthen what he was doing, and just as the messengers thought they were safe out of the river, a vessel of remarkable swiftness belonging to Lord Caermarthen's son suddenly appeared alongside, and they were discovered hidden among the gravel which formed the ballast of their vessel.

The capture of Preston, and the disclosure of the Jacobite plot, allowed William to go abroad, leaving the complete investigation of the treason to his ministers in England. On the Continent his diplomacy had been singularly successful. He had brought together a great coalition, and had succeeded in winning the Duke of Savoy, whom the King of France had reckoned among his allies, and whose territory closed the passage of the French to the Spanish dominions in Italy. Success would have cemented the coalition, and induced Denmark and Sweden, which were still wavering, to join it. But in rapidity of action a coalition is seldom a match for a single power, and Louis was able to forestall the action of the allies, and capture the important fortress

Jacobite plots
in England.

Preston's plot
thwarted.

William's
successful
policy abroad.

of Mons, in spite of all William's efforts to relieve it. But this first success, though damaging to the coalition, produced no very important military events; the advantages of the French both in Spain and Italy were counterbalanced by the disasters which befell their allies the Turks in Hungary, and the main armies in Flanders under William and Luxemburg were content merely to watch each other. The first crisis of the war was in fact over. The centre of the coalition was William; his strength was derived from his position as King of England; deprived of that position, he would have lost most of his influence, and the only chance of depriving him of it had been the success of the Irish. It was in Ireland, therefore, that the real crisis of the war had arrived. The defeat of James at the Boyne in 1690, and of St. Ruth at Aghrim almost exactly a year after, had thus rendered all hopes of destroying William's position futile. Once again, in the following year, the same critical situation of affairs arose. With the battle of La Hogue the success of James became hopeless, and though the war continued for many years, there is no other point in it which can really be called critical.

The causes which led James still to cherish hope, and which induced him to persuade Louis to contemplate that invasion of England to which the battle of La Hogue put an end, are to be found in the conduct of the Jacobite party in England: for while William's attention was constantly turned to the Continent, treason found its way among his own immediate ministers. Uncertain even yet of the stability of the new Government, three of the greatest among them determined to be safe on either issue. Admiral Russell, and Godolphin, head of the Treasury, succeeded in obtaining written pardons from James; and Marlborough, whose previous treachery might have been supposed unpardonable, made such a show of repentance, that he obtained the same favour, promising in exchange, when he should be in command of the English troops, to bring them over to the enemy. But even the treachery of Marlborough partook of the greatness of his character. His views reached far beyond this commonplace act of treason. He was already devising plans by which the fate of England and of Europe should be in his own hands. As his schemes were not yet ready, though the opportunity he had mentioned to James arose in Flanders, he contrived to excuse himself from performing his promise. But before long circumstances led him to believe that he might carry out his treacher-

First crisis of the war over.

James's hopes upheld by the treason of the ministry

and of Marlborough.

ous plans in a way more in accordance with his own wishes. The session of Parliament had been a somewhat stormy one. The immense emoluments of place-holders had excited the anger of the Opposition, and although the extreme measures suggested, which went so far as to cut down all official salaries to £500, had destroyed all attempts at wholesome reform, there was much continued discontent against the Court. There had been bitter quarrels also between the Upper and Lower Houses upon new arrangements of the Treason Law which had been suggested, and all parties seemed to be combined in mistrust and dislike of the favours lavished on foreigners. This state of affairs seemed to open the way for Marlborough's intrigues. In fact, years of rivalry and several bloody wars, coupled with constant outrages on one side or the other on distant colonies, had rendered the Dutch at least as hateful to the English as the French; nor was the feeling diminished by seeing many of the greater and more lucrative offices in the hands of members of the hated nation. By working on this feeling, Marlborough hoped to induce Parliament to petition the King to discharge all foreign troops, a line of conduct which at a subsequent period was actually followed. Once rid of these troops (and he thought it impossible that William, situated as he was, could withstand a formal Parliamentary request), Marlborough relied on his own ability to induce the English army, which was very jealous of William's liking for his own Dutch troops, to further his views. The absolute authority which his wife exercised over the Princess Anne enabled him to secure her adhesion to his plans. She wrote friendly and repentant letters to her father. With the army at his command, and with the Protestant heiress inclined to favour his projects, Marlborough would declare for James, and secure his return without the danger of foreign invasion, without the shedding of a drop of blood. Such at least was the story he told the Jacobites. Men who knew his character mistrusted him. It was more likely, they thought, and this seems to have been his real plan, that he would declare not for King James, but for Princess Anne herself. He would thus become indirectly the ruler of England, and as such the head of the European coalition, and the arbiter of Europe.

Luckily for William, even the Jacobites looked with suspicion on the scheme; Bentinck received information of Marlborough's treachery. The King, placed on his guard, stripped him of all his offices; and when Anne, who knew well the reason of his disgrace, persisted in ignoring it and in

Marlborough is deprived of his offices. Jan. 10, 1692.

bringing the Duchess of Marlborough to Court, the spirit of the Queen was roused, and a bitter quarrel broke out between the sisters. The full details of the plot were not at the time known, and a false plot, invented and brought to light by a wretched informer of the name of Fuller, gave Marlborough an opportunity of ostentatiously clearing his character. He was thus regarded as a martyr to the jealousy of William, and to an unreasonable dislike of her sister on the part of the Queen.

Although for the time the danger of Marlborough's treason seemed to have been escaped, it was undoubtedly the knowledge of its existence, and of the feeling prevalent among William's other ministers, that encouraged James still to retain hopes of success in England.

Before passing to the events to which those hopes gave rise, an incident must be mentioned which, though it had but little effect at the moment, has been always considered as a blot on William's character, and added point to the bitter attacks directed against him towards the close of his reign. Melville had proved unequal to the task of governing Scotland, and the management of the affairs of that country had passed almost entirely into the hands of the Dalrymples, father and son, the elder of whom was President of the Court of Session, having been lately raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Stair. The son, known as the Master of Stair, was appointed Secretary for Scotland, resident in London. To him now fell the duty of pacifying the Highlands, where the civil war continued to smoulder. Unable to give the Highlanders any effectual support, James had told them that they were at liberty to make peace with the conqueror. It has been already mentioned that local politics had more to do with the conduct of the Highlanders than any question as to the reigning dynasty, and that their hatred directed against the head of the Campbell clan arose largely from the condition of dependence to him in which they found themselves, and which was due in a great degree to unpaid arrears of rent. It was determined now to adopt a plan which had been formerly suggested, and to expend some £15,000 in relieving them from their difficulties. The distribution of this money was unwisely intrusted to Breadalbane, himself a Campbell, and too much interested in the encroachments of that house not to be unpopular. He was profoundly and justly mistrusted by the Highlanders, and the negotiations for the distribution of the money proceeded but slowly, the chief leader of the opposition to the settlement being

*Massacre of
Glencoe
Feb. 13.*

Macdonald of Glencoe, one of that tribe which had suffered most from the growth of the Campbells. Pressure was put upon the Highlanders to bring the negotiation to a conclusion. A proclamation was issued, promising pardon to all who, before the 31st of December 1691, should swear to live peaceably under the existing Government. All who refused to take this oath were to be regarded as public enemies. As the Government appeared to be in earnest, the chiefs yielded, making it a sort of point of honour to yield as slowly as possible. In this foolish contest of honour Mac Ian of Glencoe was unfortunately the victor. Not till the very day named did he appear at Fort William to take the oaths. When he arrived there he found to his dismay that there was no magistrate to receive them, and he was compelled forthwith to set out through the winter snow to Inverary to find a magistrate. The journey was so difficult that it was not till the 6th of January that he reached Inverary. Under the circumstances, the sheriff there consented, though after the prescribed date, to receive the oath, and sent it, with a certificate stating the circumstances to Edinburgh. The slowness of Macdonald had played into the hands of his enemies the Campbells. Breadalbane and Argyle were at one in their determination to use their advantage, and they found a ready assistant in the Master of Stair, whose views, free from all local feeling, were of the sternest description, and who thought the Highlanders should be treated as uncivilized barbarians. He had been disappointed at the submission of the clans, and rejoiced at the opportunity of making one example. By his means the certificate granted by the sheriff appears to have been suppressed, and an order was drawn up and laid before William, in which, along with other instructions to the commander of the army in Scotland, were these words with regard to the clan of Glencoe: "It will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." William signed the order, probably without carefully reading it, almost certainly without understanding what Dalrymple meant by extirpation. His scheme was one of the utmost barbarity. A detachment of soldiers was sent into the glen as though on a friendly mission. They were kindly received and hospitably kept for more than a week. Then, at a fixed date, when other troops were to have stopped all the passes, they suddenly fell upon their kindly hosts and cruelly murdered them. The plan was but partially carried out. The passes had not been stopped, and not more than thirty-eight of the Highlanders were actually killed. But the villages were destroyed, the cattle driven off, and it is unknown how many more

perished as they fled in the dead of winter in the wild mountains which surrounded their glen.

It was just after this event, in March, that William went abroad to resume the Continental war. As usual, his absence was the time of danger for England. An invasion from France had long been planned, and was on the point of taking place. Excited by the constant untruthful account of his agents in England, encouraged by the artful and well-planned treachery of Marlborough and William's other ministers, James had never ceased to press upon Louis the wisdom of an assault upon England. His urgent instances had always been met by the opposition of the war minister Louvois. Conscious that his superiority lay in the organization of large disciplined armies in the field, and led by the experience of his life to look to the great operations of regular warfare on the Rhine and in Italy as the real sources of greatness for France, that minister had always set his face against little wars. He was moreover jealous of the influence of Lauzun at the Court of St. Germain, and had repeatedly pointed out what was very true, the falseness of the Jacobite accounts, the weak character of James, the total untrustworthiness of his resources, and the consequent necessity which would be laid upon France of carrying out such an invasion, in fact, entirely unaided. He had dwelt also upon the strong national feeling of the English, repeatedly exhibited when an invasion was threatened, and the uncertainty, even were the attempt successful, of the continued assistance and alliance of a Prince so ignorant and selfish as James. Nevertheless, in this instance James was right, not that all and more than all that Louvois urged was not true, but that the separation of England from the coalition, the command of the sea, and the blow which would be dealt to William's influence, were worth any sacrifice which France might make. Louvois' arguments, however, had hitherto prevailed; the assistance given to James had been but slight. But Louvois' death (which took place on the 16th of July 1691) opened brighter hopes to the exiled King. Louis was at length persuaded; and a vast plan was made which, had it been carried out as intended, might well have been successful. An army was secretly collected during the winter on the coast of Normandy. Two fleets were assembled at Brest and at Toulon, numbering together 80 ships of the line, and placed under the command of Tourville and D'Estrées, to convoy this army to England. James, misled by his hopes and by the double-dealing of Russell, believed, and made Louis believe, that the English fleet was thoroughly

Threatened
invasion of
England.

disaffected. Secure in this belief, it was without much anxiety that the invaders found the spring far advanced, while still the weather prevented the junction of the fleets.

But meanwhile all secrecy had been lost. The Queen in England, and William in Holland, had put forth all their energy, and a combined Dutch and English fleet of 90 ships was in the Channel under command of Russell. At last one French squadron, that of Tourville, consisting of 44 ships, made its appearance. It was supposed that, weak as it was, it was sufficient for all necessary purposes; it could probably beat the Dutch contingent, and the English fleet was of no account, for neither Russell nor his men were likely to fight. Relying on this false belief, Louis issued peremptory orders to his admiral to cover the invasion, and fight the enemy wherever he met them. But James's folly had already gone far to thwart any hopes based upon the temper of the English. He had issued a Declaration, the work of his counsellor Melfort, excepting from all hope of pardon, not only a long list of gentlemen by name, but whole classes of Englishmen, all judges, jurymen, and lawyers who had been employed in any of the prosecutions of Jacobites, all magistrates who did not instantly (regardless of where they might be) make common cause with him upon his appearance, all spies and informers who had divulged his secrets, even the insignificant fishermen of Sheerness who had hindered him on his first attempt to escape from England. So ridiculous, so ill-judged was the Declaration, that, far from suppressing it, the English Council reprinted it, and distributed it largely, with a few pungent criticisms of their own. Even Jacobites had to confess that at least 500 men were excepted. It is easy to conceive the effect of such a Declaration, when contrasted with William's noble Act of Grace of the preceding year. What James's folly had thus half done the Queen's sagacity completed. Urged on all sides to apprehend known Jacobites, with the denunciations of a plot, perfectly fictitious indeed, but none the less very plausible, the creation of a rascal of the name of Young, just placed in her hands, and fully conscious of the intrigues of Russell her admiral, she wrote a noble letter, expressing her trust and reliance on the patriotism of her fleet, and sent it to Russell, with orders to read it to the captains of his fleet. Russell, at heart a Whig and a devoted lover of his profession, hesitated no longer. He would fight, he said, though King James himself were in the hostile fleet. He went from ship to ship, encouraging the crews, and when Tourville bore down upon him there was no sign of faint-
CON. MON.

Battle of
La Hague.
May 19.

[C]

heartedness in the English fleet. Overpowered by numbers, the French fleet fled, broke into fragments, and was destroyed piecemeal. But twelve of the largest ships, with Tourville himself, took refuge under the Forts of La Hogue, under the eyes of James and Marshal Bellefonds, commander of the army. There, as they lay in two divisions in shallow water, they were attacked on two successive days by a flotilla of English boats, under Admiral Rooke; and under the guns of the forts, which were supposed to render them quite secure, they were taken and burnt, while James looked on and saw the destruction of this his last hope.

This great victory over the French, the first which the nation had won for many years, drove the people wild with delight. Second crisis of the war over. All the more heavy was their disappointment at the feeble manner in which it was followed up, and at the ill success of the war in the Netherlands in the latter part of the year. An expedition against St. Malo failed through the jealousy of its commanders. The broken fleet of Tourville, unable to keep the sea, assumed a new form. French cruisers and privateers covered the ocean, and hundreds of English merchantmen fell a prey to them. The commercial world suffered more heavily from the individual enterprises of men such as the privateer captains Jean Bart and Dugouay Trouin than from the great united fleets of France, and almost regretted the victory which had called to life such enemies.

The chief incidents of the war in the Netherlands—the fall of the great fortress of Namur, and the battle of Steinkirk—Fall of Namur. June 30. were very characteristic of the art of war at this period. It was a time of slow, methodical, and scientific movement in the field, but of great advance in the art of attacking and defending fortresses, which in the hands of Vauban and Cohorn was so far perfected, that for more than a century no important change was made in the system they advocated. Louis did not press his advantage; after taking Namur his army was diminished by detachments sent to other quarters, and William thought he saw an opportunity of striking a heavy blow against his weakened opponent. A traitor in the English army had habitually informed Marshal Luxemburg of every movement of the allied troops. His correspondence was discovered, and with a pistol at his breast he was forced to write false information which William dictated. Having thus, as he hoped, misdirected the vigilance of his enemy, the King determined upon a surprise. The unexpected difficulties offered by the country prevented its success.

Battle of Steinkirk. Aug. 4.

Luxemburg got his troops into order with extraordinary rapidity, and the English division under Mackay soon found itself hotly engaged. It was successful in its first efforts, but the household troops of Louis were sent against it, and Count Solmes withheld the supports which should have come to its assistance. The division was nearly destroyed, and the anger of the English blazed up fiercely against the Dutch general, who, set over the head of the English commanders, thus basely deserted their troops.

It was thus, with many causes of discontent, that, upon the return of William to England, the Parliament assembled. Mismanagement had neutralized the great victory of La Hogue; the discovery of Preston's plot had not been followed by a single act of justice upon the Jacobites; a sharp quarrel had broken out between the Queen and her sister, which, as Marlborough's treachery was unknown, seemed merely capricious and causeless; the war in the Netherlands had been a mere disastrous repetition of the last year's campaign; William's chief misfortune was commonly attributed to the mismanagement, or perhaps the treachery of the Dutch general; the House of Lords had been alienated by the apprehension of two of its members, who had been put to their recognizances, and no further charge brought against them; the harvest in England had failed, so that corn had doubled its natural price; and the police had grown so lax that highwaymen in gangs of twenty and thirty infested the country, and robbed almost within sight of London. Both Lords and Commons consequently entered warmly upon the consideration of the state of the nation. But the continued jealousy which existed between the two Houses brought their inquiries to nothing. As yet neither Ministry nor Opposition was sufficiently organized to secure the advantages either of stable government or of thorough reform. The administration was carried on as before with all the evils of a Ministry divided against itself, in the presence of a factious and disorganized Opposition.

Some important steps were however taken with regard to finance. There was still a tolerably unanimous feeling in favour of the war, and money had to be procured. In the arrangements for supplying the necessary money, the financial talents of Charles Montague, a young and rising member of the Whig party, first became conspicuous. Early known as a man of letters, and the author in company with Prior of "The Town and Country Mouse," he had been introduced to the King by his patron the Earl of Dorset, and, after strengthening his position by a marriage with the Dowager

Discontented Parliament. Nov. 4.

The Land Tax.

Countess of Manchester, had entered political life, and had been appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury in 1691. The financial measures recommended consisted of a reorganization of the Land Tax and of the first establishment of Government loans. The extraordinary expenses of Government had in early times been met by subsidies. These subsidies were levied both on moveables and on land, but were chiefly supported by an assessment on the land at the nominal rate of four shillings in the pound. Land had increased greatly in value as the demand for it increased, while gold and silver had fallen greatly in value after the discovery of America. In the assessment for subsidies neither of these circumstances was taken into consideration. The four shilling land tax had come in reality to be less than twopence in the pound. During the Commonwealth, and subsequently, a different method of taxation had been followed. The sum to be raised had been first determined, and each landowner had been called upon to pay a proportional share. In 1692 the Land Tax was reintroduced and reorganized. A new valuation was made, and upon this basis a tax was annually laid upon the land varying from a minimum of one shilling in time of peace to four shillings in times of emergency. Four shillings on this new valuation produced about £2,000,000. This sum fell considerably short of what was required. In addition, therefore, a loan, which is the origin of the National Debt, was raised. Money was plentiful in the country, and was so easily obtained, that bubble companies and stock-jobbing had become rife. Montague determined to turn some of this superfluous wealth to the use of the country, and to spread the payment of the debt over several generations. The plan at first adopted in raising these loans was not exactly the same as our present method of perpetual funding. The lenders were life annuitants, and the interest of the loan was secured on new duties on beer and other liquors. As each annuitant died his annuity was divided among the survivors, till their number was reduced to seven, who would at that time be naturally in receipt of an enormous interest on their original loan. After that, on the death of each of those seven, his annuity lapsed to Government. The whole debt would therefore be extinguished at the death of the longest-lived annuitant.

The money thus collected was soon spent upon another disastrous campaign. Louis, in spite of the exhausted condition of his country, made extraordinary efforts in all directions. As far as the English only were concerned, the two great events of the campaign were the battle of Landen and the destruc-

Origin of the
National Debt.
Jan. 20. 1693.

Disastrous
campaign.
1693.

tion of the Smyrna fleet. Louis, using his late conquest, Namur, for his point of departure, had formed two armies, one under Boufflers, the other under Luxembourg, and hoped to repeat the triumph of former years by the capture of either Liège or Brussels. But he found it was impossible to take either of those cities without fighting a pitched battle with William. In spite of the earnest request of his generals, he withdrew to Versailles, and removed the army of Boufflers to the Rhine. Though thus weakened, Luxembourg, by a threatened attack upon Liège, induced William to reduce his forces to save that town, and then falling upon him at Landen, defeated him after a battle, the stubbornest and bloodiest of the war. William's skill somewhat neutralized the effect of his defeat, and Charleroi was the only new acquisition of the French in the Low Countries.

Battle of
Landen.
July 19.

The loss of the Smyrna fleet made perhaps even greater impression upon the English than the defeat of Landen. The fleet, in which was accumulated more than a year's supply for the Eastern markets, and which numbered 400 ships, was to be convoyed in safety from London through the Straits of Gibraltar. After passing the Channel unopposed, the English admirals, supposing that the danger was over, withdrew towards England with their ships of war, and the trading fleet passed onward, guarded only by Rooke with about twenty men of war. Off St. Vincent it fell in with the whole combined navy of France, for the squadrons of Toulon and Brest had joined, and were lying in wait for their rich prey off the coast of Spain. The convoy was completely broken up, many vessels destroyed, while the others fled for safety in all directions. The loss of the English was estimated at many millions. The disaster would certainly have been much worse had not two Dutch ships which formed part of the convoy gallantly sacrificed themselves, and engaged no less than eighteen of the enemy's fleet.

Loss of the
Smyrna fleet.
June.

In other parts of Europe the armies of France were equally successful. Catalonia had been invaded and Rosas taken. Catinat had defeated the Duke of Savoy in the great battle of Marsiglia (Oct. 3). The Turks had compelled the Germans to raise the siege of Belgrade. Yet, in spite of these successes, France was so worn out, that hints of a desire for peace began to reach the English King.

The possibility of being called upon to settle this great point, and the necessity of taking speedy advantage of his enemy's weakness, brought more clearly home to William the great difficulty which had

beset his reign. For the position which was necessary to enable him to engage authoritatively in the affairs of Europe, for the money required for the pay of his army, and for the subsidies by which alone the allies were kept true to their engagements, he was dependent upon Parliament. For at the Revolution the Parliament had taken upon itself the supreme authority of the nation. Yet upon that Parliament he was unable to rely; for the representative body, though conscious of its power, had not yet learnt to use it advantageously. It was that worst of all forms of supreme power, a large disorganized assembly. Well aware that, both as head of a confederacy and as a general, freedom of action was necessary for him, William had kept as far as possible the management of foreign affairs in his own hands, and had sought to win the favour of all parties by a judicious impartiality. In the main he had been well supported in his foreign policy; but faction was so rife, the increasing divergence of opinion so great, and the capricious character of the Lower House so evident, that he could take no important step with confidence. He could not answer for a year's continuance of the war spirit, nor be certain that any steps he might take with regard to peace would be acknowledged even by his own ministers. It became necessary, if possible, to introduce some order and organization into this uncertain body. It would be better to risk a formal opposition of a certain number, and be sure of unanimity in his own administration, than to be at the caprice of a popular assembly. William therefore listened to the suggestions of Sunderland, and determined to place himself entirely in the hands of the Whig party, that party to which he owed his elevation to the throne, and which was pledged to the continuation of the war. During the next two years a change in ministry was gradually carried out, which ended by the establishment in 1696 of the first united ministry in English history. It was led by the chiefs of the Whig party, of which the leaders were Somers, Halifax, Russell and Wharton (known afterwards as the Junto).

Parliament during these years was occupied in financial arrangements to meet the constant drain of the war, and in perpetual party struggles which terminated in the complete triumph of the Whigs, and in the substitution of the leaders of that party for their Tory rivals in all the chief offices of the administration. The first trial of strength between the parties arose upon the question of the naval administration of the former year. The whole nation smarted under

William's
difficulty with
regard to his
Parliament.

He forms a
united Whig
ministry.

the disasters which had followed on the great victory of La Hogue, which the Whigs had attributed not only to the maladministration of the two Tory admirals to whom the fleet had been intrusted, but also to treachery. It was impossible, they argued, that Louis could have denuded the Channel of his fleet, and allowed a junction of his admirals so far south as St. Vincent, unless he had had good reason to believe that the rich prey he desired would fall into his hands but weakly guarded. The Tories, who were unable to deny the maladministration, were anxious to exclude the word "treacherous" from the motion. The Whig party was however triumphant, and by a considerable majority the word was retained. But though the general assertion of treason was thus made, the Commons, as was not unusual, shrunk from fixing the treason upon any particular person, and each individual accused was acquitted by a small majority. Enough had been done, however, to give the King a fair opportunity of re-establishing Russell, the great enemy of Nottingham the Secretary, at the head of the Admiralty, and thus taking one step towards his Whig ministry. It was impossible for Nottingham to remain in office with Russell; he was consequently removed from the Secretaryship, and a fresh vacancy thus created, which, after some delay, caused by the conscientious scruples of Shrewsbury, who felt keenly the fault he had once committed in tampering with the Jacobites, was filled by that nobleman, one of the Whig chiefs. At the close of the session, therefore, William found himself with most of his chief officers belonging to the Whig party. Trenchard and Shrewsbury were Secretaries. Russell was the head of the Admiralty. Somers was Lord Keeper, and Montague Chancellor of the Exchequer. The only two Tories of importance left were Caermarthen, Lord President, and Godolphin, at the head of the Treasury. But the character of the latter minister led him to devote himself almost exclusively to his official business, of which he was master. Caermarthen was therefore, in fact, the only important element of discord in the administration.

Montague owed his elevation to the continued success of his financial plans. A fresh loan, known as the Lottery Loan—because though the whole rate of interest was low, in exceptional cases chosen by lottery it was very high—was successfully negotiated, and more important than this, the Bank of England was triumphantly established. Banking with private goldsmiths had come into fashion within the last two reigns, when the convenience of cheques in the place of ready-money payments

Party struggles.

Establishment
of the Bank of
England.

had become obvious, while the advantage to the banker who had the use of the ready money was also plain. The fault of the system was its insecurity, which had been proved by the not unfrequent bankruptcy of one or other of the banking goldsmiths. A Scotchman of the name of Paterson had some years previously suggested the plan of a national bank, by which the Government should obtain some of the advantages of the banker, and the public, while gaining the convenience of cheques, should have a better security than private goldsmiths offered. This scheme Montague now adopted. He borrowed rather upwards of a million, and formed the lenders into a banking company, allowing them to treat the loan to Government as part of their capital, the interest of which, secured upon taxes, gave them the requisite supply of ready money. They were bound to pursue no other business except banking, yet, even with this restriction, so desirable did the plan seem, that it was at once triumphantly carried through. As a contingent advantage to Government, it is to be observed that the company, which included many of the chiefs of the moneyed interest, were pledged, for their own preservation, to support the present settlement of the throne. Their existence depended upon the regular payment of the interest upon their loan, which it was scarcely possible that the Jacobites, if successful, would pay. The importance of this point became very obvious afterwards, when, in more than one crisis, the credit of Government was saved by advances from the Bank. One other important measure

The Triennial
Act passed.
Dec. 1694.

was carried by this Parliament, and that also was in accordance with the principles of the Whigs. This was the Triennial Act, limiting the duration of Parliament to three years. The King, always jealous of his prerogative, had already once refused his assent to this Bill; but now, having placed himself in Whig hands, he withdrew his opposition, and the Bill was passed.

He was indeed in no position to enter into a struggle with his Parliament. A great blow was falling on him, which unhinged him more than any difficulties or defeats had yet done. This was the death of his wife, who had sickened of the smallpox, and, after a short illness, died on the 20th of December 1694. Her death caused universal sorrow in England and among the Protestant interest on the Continent, while it raised the hopes of James and his friends, who believed, not without a show of reason, that William succeeded in holding his place chiefly by means of the popularity of his Queen. Their hopes proved ill founded, for though at first the King seemed so broken-hearted that he declared

Death of Queen
Mary.
Dec. 20.
1694.

he could never again lead an army, when once he had conquered his first grief, he resumed his old energy, and success such as he had never yet met with attended his efforts both at home and abroad.

Meanwhile in England there was no cessation in the strife of parties. The Whigs pursued their triumphant course, and combined to remove the last of their opponents from the Government. Trevor, a Tory, had in the early part of the reign been made Speaker of the House, chiefly for the purpose of carrying out Caermarthen's plans of corruption. Employed in corrupting others, it was not likely that he should be himself above corruption. Suspicions of his venality having arisen, the Whigs proceeded to examine the accounts of the City of London and of the East India Company, which, after much contest, had obtained a renewal of its charter. The Committee found that the City had paid Sir John Trevor in the preceding session 1000 guineas for forwarding a local Bill. The proof was too clear to be questioned. Trevor from the chair had to put the question whether he was guilty or not of high crime and misdemeanour, and to declare before all men that "the Ayes had it." He saved himself from the unutterable ignominy of announcing his own expulsion by feigning illness. A new Speaker, Foley, who did not belong clearly to either party, was elected in his place.

Expulsion of
Trevor for
venality,
March 1695.

The accounts of the East India Company afforded the Whigs even greater triumph. Sir Thomas Cook, who was the head of the Company, confessed to having disbursed very large sums to secure the charter, but would give no particular accounts. The Commons, determined not to be thwarted, passed a Bill condemning him to refund all the money thus spent, in addition to a heavy fine, unless he made a full confession. In the Upper House the Bill was strongly opposed by Lord Caermarthen, now Duke of Leeds, who, laying his hand upon his heart, solemnly averred that he had no personal interest in the matter, and was moved by public considerations only. It was finally arranged that a joint Committee of the two Houses should inquire into the expenditure of the money that had been secretly spent, and that if Cook confessed he should be held guiltless. The joint Committee met; the King and the Duke of Portland, whose guilt in the matter had been suggested by the Tories, were proved perfectly innocent. But £5000 were traced, if not to the Duke of Leeds himself, at all events to his confidential man of business. Articles of impeachment were made out against him. They could not, however, be brought forward, because the man of

business, who would have supplied necessary evidence, had made his escape to Holland. The Duke of Leeds continued to assert his innocence, but confessed that he had allowed money to be paid to his steward, considering this a very different thing from taking it himself. It also appeared that the money had been refunded the very morning of the first sitting of the joint Committee. Though

and of Caermarthen.
May.

foiled of their impeachment, the Whigs and the Commons had done their work. Leeds was obliged to retire from active life, and was never afterwards employed in the administration. The sole discordant member of the Government was thus got rid of.

Abroad likewise affairs took a turn more favourable to England and the Whigs. Just before the death of Mary the Success abroad.
June 1694. war had entered into a somewhat new phase. The navies of the two great powers had transferred the scene of operations to the Mediterranean. Thither Tourville had gone from Brest, and thither Russell, with the English fleet, had followed him. He had found means to keep the French fleet in harbour, and to do good service to the general cause by the relief of Barcelona, which was on the point of falling into the hands of the French.

The absence of the French fleet from Brest, which led to the supposition that the harbour must be unguarded, seemed to afford an opportunity for an attack in that quarter. An expedition was planned; the forces were intrusted to Talmash, while the Duke of Leeds' son Caermarthen commanded the fleet. It gave occasion for a new act of villany on the part of Marlborough; though the plan was kept a profound secret, he contrived to worm it out, and as had happened once or twice before in his career, he used his knowledge only to lay the details of the plan before James, and to secure the destruction of the English expedition. Vauban, the great French engineer, was sent down to re-fortify the place. Every vantage-ground was crowned with batteries, and into the trap thus laid for him Talmash had rushed headlong to meet his death, in company with 700 English soldiers (June 7, 1694). Marlborough's treachery in this instance was rather personal than political. Talmash alone of the English generals could in any way compete with him, and he knew that at his death or failure William, who it must be recollected did not know the full extent of his treachery, would be obliged to restore him to his command. His treacherous plan succeeded. He was again employed, though so thoroughly mistrusted, that William

refused when he went abroad to give the regency to Anne, which he well knew would be but to give it to Marlborough. But the death of Mary, which occurred at the close of the year, while it excited the other Jacobites to action, for a time rendered Marlborough true to William; for it was followed by a reconciliation between the King and the Princess Anne, and Marlborough was now content to wait till the King's death for the completion of his designs. The more earnest Jacobites followed a different course, and it was in the midst of a conspiracy aimed against his life by Fenwick, Charnock, and Porter, that William set out for Flanders (May 1695).

In that country he had no longer the same formidable enemy with whom to contend. Luxemburg was dead, and his place was ill supplied by Villeroy and Louis' illegitimate son, the Duke of Maine, who was sent to learn the art of war under him. As Flanders was expected to be the great seat of war, the bulk of the French army was placed under Villeroy in that country. Boufflers, with 12,000 men, guarded the Sambre. Campaign in Flanders.
1695.

William, however, had set his heart upon regaining Namur. Judicious feints deceived Villeroy as to his intentions, and suddenly his own army, that of the Brandenburgers and that of the Elector of Bavaria, marched straight against the city. Boufflers had just time to throw himself with his troops into the town. A body of troops under the Prince of Vaudemont had been left to watch Villeroy in Flanders. When that general advanced, the Prince could not hold his isolated position, and only succeeded in making good his retreat through the cowardice of the Duke of Maine. Villeroy advanced almost unopposed. He took the towns of Dixmuyde and Deynse, the garrisons of which, contrary to the terms of capitulation, were sent prisoners to France; and hoping by threatening the capital to draw William from Namur, he approached and ruthlessly and uselessly bombarded Brussels. But, undisturbed by Villeroy's manœuvres, William energetically pursued the siege. He was assisted by Cohorn, who had originally fortified the town, and had seen it taken by the skill of his great rival Vauban. Vauban had since much increased the fortifications, and Cohorn was eager to regain his honour by capturing it. At length, after some fierce assaults, in which the English under Lord Cutts, who for his bravery under fire got the nickname of "the Salamander," had greatly distinguished themselves, the town surrendered, but the castle still held out. It became evident to Villeroy that the actual presence of his army could alone raise the siege. Drawing troops from all the neighbouring

garrisons, he approached with 80,000 men. But William now felt himself strong enough to give him battle without withdrawing from his operations. For three days the armies remained in presence, and William lay expecting the attack, but Villeroy judged his position too strong to be taken, and withdrew. The fate of the fortress was now sealed, but Boufflers thought that his honour demanded that he should stand an assault; nor was it till the English had succeeded at the cost of 2000 men in making a lodgment in the place that he consented to treat, and for the first time in history a French marshal surrendered a fortress to a victorious enemy. Having gone through the ceremony of surrender, Boufflers was much surprised and enraged at being arrested on his road to France. His angry exclamations against the breach of the terms of capitulation were met by the reply, that William was only following the example of Louis with regard to the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse. He was kept in honourable imprisonment till those garrisons were restored.

Surrender of
Namur.
Aug. 26

It was thus no longer as a beaten and unfortunate, though skilful general, that William returned to England. The Triennial Bill having come into operation, the present Parliament would have come to a natural conclusion the following year. It had on the whole acted so much in favour of William and the Whigs, that William, could he have prolonged it, would probably have been willing to do so. But he wisely judged that it would be better to call his new Parliament while still popular from his successes, than to wait the chances of the future year. The event proved that he was right. A brilliant triumphant progress through England was followed by the return of a Parliament with an immense majority favourable to the war and to the Whig interests. Four Whigs were returned for London. Westminster followed the example of the neighbouring city, and so great was the enthusiasm that even the great Tory leader Seymour, whose interest in Devonshire was believed to render his return for Exeter sure, was defeated in that town. The Parliament thus assembled had very important work before it, and, acting in unison with the King, his ministry, and the whole country, carried it through to a noble conclusion.

New Whig
Parliament.
Nov. 22

This important work was the re-establishment of the currency. The English coin had originally been of hammered metal, it was constantly liable to inequality in weight, and being left with raw edges, easily clipped. In

Re-establish-
ment of the
currency.

Charles II.'s reign this defect had been partially cured by the use of machinery, and words had been printed round the edges of the coin; but as the bad hammered coinage was allowed to be current side by side with the new milled coinage, the better coinage had either been hoarded or had left the country, as invariably happens, when some part of the coinage of the country is of less intrinsic value than the rest. Consequently the evil became worse. Coin was more constantly clipped, and as it wore out was more easily counterfeited. Its defects at length became so obvious that shopkeepers refused to take it except by weight; thus causing heavy suffering to the lower orders, who generally received their wages by tale, and had to pay by weight, and every little transaction became the occasion of a dispute. So far had the evil gone, that when trials were made in different parts of the country, the coinage had proved on an average to be little more than half its proper weight. A re-issue of coin seemed absolutely necessary. Some were for postponing the difficulty by keeping the present money in circulation till the end of the war. Some suggested that the nominal value of silver should be raised. Fortunately the arrangements fell into the hands of four able and determined men, Somers, Montague, Locke the philosopher, and Newton the mathematician. They decided upon immediate action, and would not listen to any suggestion for the alteration of the standard, which would in fact perpetrate a fraud upon all creditors. Two important questions met them. By whom should the inevitable expense of the re-issue be borne? How could the inconvenience of the short supply of coin during the recoinage be best alleviated? Two schemes recommended themselves chiefly to their attention. Locke proposed that, after a certain fixed date, the coin should be valued by weight only. This prevented any deficiency in the circulating medium, as the present money would not be withdrawn from circulation, but it threw the whole expense of bringing the nominal and real value of the coin into harmony, not on the Government, but on the individual possessors of the coin. It was evidently fairer that, where the evil was a national one, the nation should bear the expense. Somers suggested that, with extreme secrecy, a proclamation should be prepared, saying that in three days the hammered coin should pass by weight only, but that those who held it might bring it in parcels to the mint, where it should be counted and weighed, and immediately restored, with a written promise of a future payment of the difference between the nominal and real value of the coin. Thus the money would be withdrawn from circulation only for the

short time necessary to count it, while the nation would subsequently pay the difference. But for this plan secrecy and suddenness were necessary, or the intervening period would have given opportunity and temptation for unlimited mutilation of the coinage. Secrecy would have rendered it impossible to consult Parliament, and Montague, in the existing state of party feeling, shrank from the responsibility this implied. It was therefore determined to act in a perfectly honest, simple and straightforward manner; and immediately on the opening of Parliament, a Bill was framed in accordance with certain resolutions previously taken. By these it was declared that the old standard should be kept up, that milled coin should alone be used, that the loss should fall on the nation, not on individuals, and that the 4th of May following should be the last day on which hammered coin should be allowed to be used. The advantage of the good understanding between the Government and the Bank now became evident. To meet the expense of the new coinage £1,200,000 was wanted. The Bank advanced it without difficulty on the security of a window tax, which took the place of the much hated hearth tax, and which lasted on almost to our own time. At last the critical day, the 4th of May, drew near. Fortunately the country was in an enthusiastic mood. Two great Jacobite plots, closely connected, which had been concocted during the previous summer, had been discovered. These were Berwick's plot for a general insurrection of the Jacobites and for an invasion from France; and a plot concocted at St. Germain's, intrusted to Barclay, for the assassination of William on his road from Kensington to Richmond. Invasion and assassination are the two forms of conspiracy which the English people cannot bear; and the full discovery of these schemes, with the proved certainty that both Louis and James were fully conscious of all their atrocious details, roused the nation for an instant to an unusual unanimity of enthusiasm, and enabled Parliament to set on foot a great association, signed by hundreds of thousands, who pledged themselves to stand by the King, to support the war, and to pursue with vengeance any attempt upon his life. Good tempered and loyal though the people were the crisis was a fearful one. The operations of the mint were very slow. £4,000,000 of the old coinage lay melted in the treasury vaults. As yet scarcely any new silver had appeared. Money was not to be had either for trade or for private payments. Large employers somehow contrived, with a certain quantity of the old coinage which had not been clipped, to pay the wages. But the greater part of England lived on credit; and it is probable that even thus the crisis would

scarcely have been got over, had it not been for an expedient of Montague's, who issued Government securities, bearing interest at threepence a day on £100. These are what are known now as Exchequer bills, and form a floating debt due by Government. They were eagerly used, and with the paper issues of the Bank and the free use of cheques and credit by all, the dangerous time was tided over.

But the most alarming feature was not the difficulty in the commercial world, but the difficulty felt by Government ^{William's want of money.} and by the King himself in provisioning the troops and carrying on the war. In the midst of the commercial crisis the Bank of England had met with great difficulties; the goldsmiths, who had always hated their great rival, took the opportunity of attempting to destroy it by villanous means, they bought up all the Bank paper on which they could lay hands, and suddenly bringing it forward, demanded immediate payment. The Bank directors with great courage gained time by refusing to pay the nefarious claim, and referring their enemies to the courts of law. By means of calls on their subscribers they continued to pay by far the greater part of the private and just claims upon them, but they did not appear to be in a position to assist the King when he suddenly wrote home to say that £200,000 were absolutely necessary.

William had hoped that his wants would have been met by the establishment, in accordance with a favourite plan of ^{The Land Bank a failure.} the Tories, of a Land Bank, as a rival to the Bank of England. This somewhat absurd scheme had been invented by a projector of the name of Chamberlain, who supposed that every proprietor of land possessing that security ought to have the disposal of at least as much money as his land was worth, and therefore suggested a bank which should lend money entirely upon landed security, overlooking the difficulty that land is not always at hand and payable on demand as money is. Harley, the representative of the Tories, now offered to advance the Government £2,500,000 at 7 per cent. The payment of his interest was to be secured by a tax upon salt. If half that sum should be subscribed before August, and half of that half paid up, the subscribers were to be incorporated as the Land Bank. This Bank was expressly intended to suit the wants of the country gentry, and to injure the moneyed interest. The company was therefore bound to lend no money but on mortgage, and to lend on mortgage at least half a million a year. It was not allowed to receive more than 3½ per cent. interest on these mortgages. Now,

as the ordinary rate of interest on mortgages was nearly 7 per cent. it was plain that no capitalist would lend his money at half of the ordinary profits. It might have been plain also that the landed gentry whose chief object was to borrow were not likely to lend. It was not therefore very obvious where the capital was to come from. The King, however, hoping to obtain money on easy terms, headed the list of subscribers with £5000. When the Land Bank was called upon to advance its promised loan, it was found that the whole subscriptions consisted of no more than £6200. So eager was the Government for money, that it offered to give the Bank its charter in exchange for a loan of £40,000 only, but the subscriptions never rose beyond £7500, and the scheme proved completely abortive.

The King was compelled therefore to apply to the Bank of England, which by his patronage of the Land Bank he had done his best to injure. True to their political creed, a full court of subscribers consented to advance the necessary £200,000, without one dissentient voice. The Government was saved, and the connection between the Bank of England and the Whig party sealed for ever. Meanwhile, Newton's efforts as Master of the Mint had been ultimately successful. Provincial mints had been established, and from them and from the mint in London £120,000 of coin was turned out every day. By August the crisis was over, and a period of unbroken commercial prosperity began.

But although marks of commercial prosperity were already visible, the financial difficulty was not entirely over. When William, who had been abroad during the worst of the difficulty, opened Parliament upon his return (Oct. 20), he had to confess that, although the crisis had passed without disturbance in England or great disaster abroad, there was still need for some exhibition of continued firmness on the part of Parliament. In fact, the plan of reducing the standard of the coin was so plausible, and had impressed itself so deeply on the ignorance of the masses, that a very large party both in and out of Parliament were still anxious to have recourse to that step, and till all chance of such a measure was gone no speculators were willing to put the new money in circulation, and it was constantly hoarded. Consequently a scarcity of money still prevailed; and not only in England, but throughout Europe, there was a very general feeling that England was ruined, that the source of wealth which had hitherto supplied the European coalition with the means of war was dried up, and that peace was inevitable. But in the midst of these difficulties the triumph of the Whigs was

The Bank of
England supplies
the money.
Aug. 16.

complete. The Parliament stood firm, and carried by a triumphant majority three resolutions, which destroyed all the hopes of the enemies of England. First, that the Commons would assist the King to prosecute the war with vigour; secondly, that under no circumstances should the standard of money be changed; thirdly, the Parliament pledged itself to make good the deficiencies in Parliamentary funds established since the King's accession. The first promise was at once abundantly fulfilled by munificent grants for the war; the second caused the immediate production of the hoarded coin; while upon the third was framed Montague's plan known by the name of the General Mortgage. Taxes set apart to meet the interest of various loans had proved insufficient. The deficit was no less than £5,160,000. It was now ordered that, should the proceeds of the old funds and new taxes now set aside for the purpose prove insufficient, the general funds of the country should be charged with the liquidation of the debts. By such means as these the credit of the country was finally re-established.

Credit of
England
restored.

The discovery of the Assassination plot, and the enthusiasm to which it gave rise, has been already alluded to. It was one of two Jacobite conspiracies, matured in the middle of the crisis, when it was a common belief that the Government would never be able to pass securely through the dangers which surrounded it. One of these conspiracies was for a general rising of the Jacobites and a simultaneous invasion of England from France. The completion of this plot was intrusted to James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, and in it, had it been carried out, would have been involved all the best of the Jacobite gentry of England. But side by side with it was a baser conspiracy, among the more unprincipled and desperate friends of James, for the assassination of the King. The management of this conspiracy, which is known by the name of the Assassination Plot, was intrusted to Sir George Barclay, a Scotch refugee. It seems certain that the scheme was sanctioned by James himself, as Barclay was sent over with a few select followers and a considerable sum of money, authorised to do any acts of hostility which might conduce to the service of the King. It was also certainly known to the Duke of Berwick, who was informed of every step in its progress. He was too honourable himself to take a declared part in it, but did not feel called upon in any way to interfere in the matter. His own mission proved unsuccessful. The English Jacobites were willing to rise, but not till a French army

The Assassina-
tion plot.

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appeared in the country. On the other hand, Berwick could only assure them that, after the failures which had already taken place, no French army would enter the country till the Jacobites were actually in arms. On this point the negotiations broke down, and Berwick, unwilling to be mixed up with the darker schemes of Barclay, hastened to leave England before the fatal day should arrive. This day, the 15th of February, had been already fixed. Barclay had succeeded in collecting about forty men, some supplied from France, some English Jacobites of desperate character. With these it was determined to assault the King on his return from hunting in Richmond Forest. Every Saturday he was in the habit of going thither, crossing the Thames by boat near Turnham Green. The spot chosen was a narrow swampy lane leading up from the river. But, just before the time fixed, William received from Portland information that there was a design upon his life. He was induced to postpone his hunting, although he gave little faith to the information, which had been received from most untrustworthy sources. But in the course of the following week fresh information was brought by a gentleman of the name of Pendergrass, who was known to be an honourable man. Every precaution was taken to allay the suspicions of the conspirators, and on the very day when the attempt should have been made several of the leaders were arrested. The troops were set in motion, the Lord Lieutenant of Kent repaired to his county, and Russell hastened to take command of the fleet to oppose the intended invasion. French troops had been already collected at Calais, and Louis, who had been informed of the scheme, though he had not actually authorized it, had determined to take advantage of the opportunity its success would offer.

The measures taken proved sufficient. When the King went in state to Parliament, and explained what had been done, the enthusiasm of the House was roused. Two Bills were rapidly passed, the one suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, the other ordering that the Parliament should not be dissolved by the death of William, and an association was set on foot by which the House of Commons bound itself to stand by King William, to avenge his murder, and to support the order of succession settled by the Bill of Rights. Throughout the country the feeling excited was very strong. Means were taken in all the cities of England to search thoroughly for conspirators, the house of one of them was razed to the ground by the populace, and one after the other most of them were captured. Three of them, Charnock, King and Keyes, were

Excitement in
the country.
Feb. 24.

brought to trial. Only a few months before, a Bill which had occupied the public attention through several sessions had received the royal assent. By this the procedure in the case of trials for treason had been changed. Before the passing of that Bill a prisoner charged with treason had not been allowed to see the indictment before he was brought to the bar. He could not put his witnesses upon oath, nor compel their attendance, nor was he allowed the service of counsel, while the Crown enjoyed all the advantages of which he was deprived. The Bill enacted that all the above-named disabilities should be removed. The opposition to this Bill had been grounded chiefly upon the advantage it appeared to give to traitors at a time when the Government was notoriously open to their attacks; and Parliament had, by way of compromise, postponed till the 25th of March 1696 (at that time the beginning of the new year) the operation of the Act. The prisoners claimed, not without some show of reason, a postponement of the trial till that date. But their request was overruled, the trial was proceeded with at once, and they were all condemned and executed (March 24).

Arrest and
execution of the
conspirators.

But, by the witness of two of the informers, Porter and Goodman, a more important person had been implicated, if not in the present plot, yet at least in one of a similar nature which had been set on foot immediately after the Queen's death. This was Sir John Fenwick, a man highly connected, who had brought himself prominently forward as a Jacobite intriguer, and had earned the personal dislike of William by a public insult to the Queen. By the law of Edward VI. two witnesses were necessary to prove the guilt of treason, and Fenwick's chief hopes lay in his being able to bribe either Porter or Goodman to leave the country. His first attempt on Porter failed. Porter informed the Government, received the money, and gave up the agent who offered it him. Fenwick then attempted to gain time by making a confession. This was drawn up with great art: while none of the real facts were brought to light, accusations, only too well founded upon fact, were brought against Marlborough, Godolphin, Russell, and Shrewsbury. It was asserted that Marlborough had promised to bring over the army, Russell the navy, while Godolphin only held office by the leave of the exiled King. William, with great wisdom, although he knew how much truth there was in these accusations, absolutely ignored them, and ordered the trial of Fenwick to be proceeded with without delay. But some of the contents of the confession became known, and the

Trial of Sir
John Fenwick.
Aug.

Whigs decided that, for the honour of the party, it could not be passed over in silence. Godolphin, the last remaining Tory in the Government, they would have been unwilling to acquit; he was induced to resign, and the course was now clear. It was of the highest importance that a real confession should be got from Fenwick, but this he now refused to give, as he had just received information that his agents had contrived to get Goodman, the second witness against him, out of the country. Exasperated by seeing, as they thought, the enemy, who had tried to undermine the character of their chiefs, slipping from their grasp, the Whigs brought the question before the House. The confession was voted false and scandalous, and rather than let their victim escape, in the heat of their anger, they determined to have recourse to the dangerous expedient of a Bill of Attainder (Nov. 13). This attempt, which, as it superseded the law of the land by an exercise of the power of Parliament, had an unconstitutional and revengeful appearance, met with the strongest opposition, but was carried in the Lower House by a small majority. The question became one of party, and finally, after a long struggle, it passed the House of Lords by a majority of only seven. Great interest was made for the prisoner,

His execution.
Jan. 28, 1697.

but William refused to listen to any request for pardon, and Fenwick was executed. William's inflexibility is better explained by his desire to shield the Whig party, whom Fenwick would certainly have accused during his trial, than by the supposed existence of a personal hostility between himself and his prisoner.

This troublesome business having been got rid of, the session closed in complete triumph for the Whigs, among whose leaders promotions were freely distributed. Somers was raised to the Peerage and made Lord Chancellor, Russell became Earl of Orford, and Montague became First Lord of the Treasury. This triumph of the party reached its climax in the course of the year, when the war was brought to an end, and the policy of William and the Whigs vindicated by the signature of the Peace of Ryswick.

During the critical year 1696 want of money had paralyzed the action of both armies in the Netherlands, the destruction of the French magazines at Givet had rendered it difficult for Louis to maintain his troops, while William, though England was by no means exhausted as France was, was as completely hampered by the want of ready money. Louis had indeed in the course of the year made overtures for peace, but the improvement

in his prospects, caused by the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, who had deserted the coalition, joined his army to the French under Marshal Catinat, and successfully insisted that Austria and Spain should declare the neutralization of Italy, had induced him to recede from one of the fundamental conditions of peace—the recognition of William as King of England. The negotiations had been broken off, but succeeding events induced Louis, in 1697, to renew his proposals. The Assassination Plot had failed; William was more popular and better supported than he had ever been; the country had passed successfully through its period of crisis, had emerged more powerful than ever and more determined to support the war, and the great French military project for the capture of Brussels had been thwarted by the rapidity of William's movements. Louis therefore now, for the first time in his life, offered reasonable terms, consenting to resign many of the conquests he had made during the war, to give back Lorraine to its Duke, Luxemburg to Spain, Strasburg to the Empire, and to acknowledge the King of England. William, who was never carried away even by his most impetuous feelings, much as he hated France, at once recognized the justice of these offers and the wisdom of accepting them. He found however much difficulty in managing the coalition. The two great powers who had done the least to support the war now did all in their power to frustrate the pacification. Spain, moved by a foolish vanity little suitable to its weak condition, made demands which it was impossible that Louis should grant, while the Emperor, moved by selfish policy, would have been only too glad to continue a war, carried on chiefly at the cost of England, till the death of the Spanish King, which was every day expected. He would then, he imagined, be able to secure by means of the European coalition his succession to that monarchy. At length, after many difficulties, plenipotentiaries from France and the coalition were assembled (March 1697), the one party at the Hague, the other at Delft, and conferences were held at Ryswick, which lies nearly equidistant between these two towns. But the ceremonies of diplomacy, the ridiculous details of precedence, seemed to promise that the negotiations would be dragged out to an interminable length. William was not to be so treated. Having made up his mind that peace was desirable and that the terms offered were fair, he was determined that the peace should be speedily made. While the plenipotentiaries were wasting their time at Ryswick, a series of private meetings took place between Portland and Marshal Boufflers, between the

*Opposition of
the coalition.*

*Complete
triumph of
the Whigs.*
April 16.

*Louis desires
peace.*

armies, a few miles from Brussels. A few meetings sufficed to settle the terms, which were reduced to writing on the 6th of July. Beyond the general terms of treaty already offered by France, some personal questions between William and Louis had to be settled. The French king solemnly pledged himself to give no countenance to any attempt to subvert the existing government of England. For form's sake a similar promise was given by the English king. Mary of Modena was to receive whatever sum of money the English Law Courts held to be her due; and though Louis, with his usual magnanimity, refused to stipulate that James should leave France, it was understood that he should withdraw either to Avignon or to Italy. Spain and the Emperor still refused to accept the proffered terms. Louis declared that, unless they were accepted by the 21st of August, he should no longer hold himself bound by them. The day passed, and, as was to be expected, the French King raised fresh demands; he would no longer surrender Strasburg. But the opposition of Spain had already been crushed. The disasters of the year had brought that country to reason; Vendome had captured Barcelona, and a French fleet, joined by the buccaneers of the West Indies, had taken and sacked Carthage. William therefore, though much vexed at the obstinacy of the Emperor, which involved the loss of Strasburg, found himself able to accept the new terms, in concert with all the great powers of the coalition, with the exception of the Emperor, and at length, on the 10th of

Treaty of
Ryswick.
Sept. 10.

September, a treaty was concluded between France, Holland, Spain and England. France surrendered all the conquests made since the Treaty of Nimeguen, and placed the chief fortresses of the Low Countries in the hands of Dutch garrisons; William was recognized as King of England, Anne as his successor, and all assistance was withdrawn from James. A month later the Emperor also consented to treat. By this second treaty all the towns acquired since the Peace of Nimeguen, with the exception of Strasburg, were restored, together with Fribourg, Brissac, Philipsburg, and all French fortifications on the right bank of the Rhine. Lorraine was restored to its Duke, Leopold, who granted however a passage through his dominions for French troops. The Elector of Cologne was recognized, and the rights of the Duchess of Orleans upon the Palatinate compromised for money. William and the European coalition were thus triumphant. Louis had for the first time to withdraw to his own boundaries, and the succession of England was secured. At the same time France gained what had now become

absolutely necessary, time to recruit her strength, and leisure to prepare for that great struggle which all men saw to be imminent, when the death of Charles II. of Spain, without a direct heir, should leave the succession of that great monarchy to be disputed among the various claimants.

The joy of England at the conclusion of the war was enthusiastic. The King made a triumphal entry into London, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. The crowning point of his reign had been reached. Almost without knowing it, he had solved the great constitutional question of the time, and, supported by a ministry in harmony with the Commons, and the national representatives in harmony with the people, had triumphantly brought to conclusion the great objects of his life, established the Protestant succession in England, and proved to Louis the necessity of respecting the rights and feelings of the rest of Europe.

On the very day after the rejoicings to celebrate the Peace of Ryswick, on the 3rd of December 1697, the Parliament, which had hitherto shown itself so firm in support of the Crown, so unanimous and vigorous in its action, met for its third and last session. William had every right to expect a period of peace and prosperity. But, unfortunately, the very success for which England was rejoicing brought with it the seeds of faction and division. For at once a question had to be settled, on which the Whig party was itself divided, and on which the national feeling was on the whole strongly opposed to the King. The establishment of peace naturally involved the question of the fate of the great army, numbering more than 80,000 men, which England had kept up for the last nine years. The nation, suffering heavily from taxation, was not likely to be willing to continue in peace the efforts made during war. It was, moreover, a deeply ingrained feeling among the country gentry of both parties that a standing army in time of peace was an intolerable evil. The Tories had indeed already adopted the policy which long marked the party. They would have wished England to confine itself, even in war, to the pursuit of success upon the sea, which they regarded as her natural element, and to have withdrawn as far as possible from all the complications of Continental policy. But, even setting aside this view, the experience of both parties led them very naturally to regard an army in time of peace as the inevitable instrument of tyranny. While the Tories remembered with horror the triumphant Ironsides of Cromwell, the Whigs recalled with no less detestation

The Parliament
reduces the
standing army.

the importation of Irish troops at the close of the last reign, and London overawed by the great camp at Hounslow. On the other hand, William, with his eyes fixed abroad, with a profound mistrust of France, and certain knowledge of the rapid approach of another great Continental quarrel, could not bring himself to approve of the breaking up of an army which he had brought to such perfection. The ministry, under his immediate influence, and guided by the far-sighted sagacity of Somers, believed, like the King, in the approach of fresh danger, and thoroughly disbelieved in the efficacy of half-drilled militia to withstand such well-trained troops as Louis had always at his disposal. The national feeling was, however, too strong to be withstood. A resolution was passed that the number of soldiers should be reduced to the same amount as had been kept on foot after the peace of Nimeguen, a resolution which was liberally construed by the Government to mean 10,000. On other points the ministry and the Parliament remained at one. It was in vain that an attack was directed against William's lavish grants of Crown lands, in vain that an accusation of peculation was directed against Montague, it resulted only in a formal declaration on the part of the Commons of the great services of that statesman.

Montague's success as a financier had indeed reached its culminating point in this session by the temporary settlement of the question with regard to the Indian trade which had so long excited the commercial

The East
Indian trade.

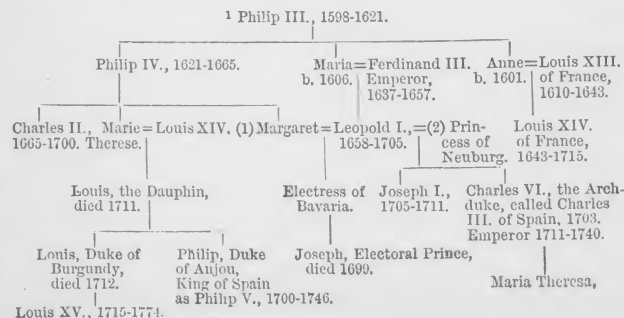
public in England. It has been incidentally mentioned that the renewal of the charter to the East India Company in 1693 had produced the fall of Lord Caermarthen. The Company, originally consisting chiefly of Whigs and incorporated by royal charter, had, in the hands of Sir Josiah Child, who exerted an almost dictatorial authority in its management, allied itself closely to the Tories. Its monopoly had also become very unpopular, as the increase of capital and the great receipts of the Indian trade had excited a wish among the mercantile community to enter more largely upon that branch of traffic. As early as 1691 an association of its enemies had been formed, which, although it was not chartered, was commonly spoken of as the new Company, and had succeeded in obtaining a request from the Parliament to the King that he would give the old Company the three years' notice of the withdrawal of its charter which was legally required. An accidental illegality had in fact just then invalidated the charter. It was to procure its restoration that, in 1693, Cook, to whom Child had now relinquished much of his authority, had so lavishly expended the secret service money,

some of which had been traced to Caermarthen. His bribery was successful. The charter was renewed by the King, but the Parliament, at the instigation of the new Company, took a different view of the question, and declared that every man had a right to trade, unless debarred by Act of Parliament. This declaration of the limits of the constitutional power of the Crown in matters of trade William could not venture to oppose. From that time onwards, therefore, the trade had been legally free, but the power of the Company had been so great in the Indian seas, and its conduct so oppressive, that it had been impossible for free traders to carry on their business with any success. Again, in 1698, the question was strongly pressed upon the attention of Parliament, and again the old Company found strong supporters in the Tory party, while the Whigs upheld the demands of those who wished to participate in its advantages. There was a division in the views of the opponents of the Company. Some were eager for perfect freedom of trade, while others joined in the general feeling of the nation, that, although the present monopoly was a bad one, some sort of restriction was still necessary. It was understood that to advance money to Government was the surest way to obtain its support, and the old Company offered £700,000, at four per cent., as the price of the renewal of its charter. But Montague, anxious for money to relieve the embarrassments of the Government, anxious to establish a second great Whig society of capitalists, who would support him as the Bank had already done, believed that he saw his way to gaining those ends by opposing the Company, and brought forward a plan by which he hoped to secure the support of both sections of its opponents. He suggested the formation of a company, to be called the General Company, and proposed that a loan of £2,000,000, at eight per cent., should be advanced to Government, and that the subscribers should receive the monopoly of the Indian trade, but be free from the obligation of trading as a joint-stock society unless they should afterwards wish it. He carried the Bill for its formation through Parliament, and, in spite of the forebodings of his enemies, found that the immense sum which had been promised was readily subscribed in two or three days. The Bill was carried on the 3rd of September, but, on the 5th of the same month, the greater part of the subscribers declared their desire to become a joint-stock company, which was therefore chartered by Act of Parliament by the title of the English Company trading to the East Indies. The struggle between the companies was found to be so destructive to English

Formation of
the General East
India Company.
1698.

trade, that, in 1702, arrangements for their union were made. A common court of managers was established, their stocks equalized, and trade carried on under the name of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies. But each company still traded with its own separate stock. Many inconveniences still attended this division of interests, and at last, in 1708, upon the award of Lord Godolphin, a final and complete union was made; and, as the separate adventurers who had not joined either company were bought out, the monopoly again fell into the hands of the great United Company. But though his plan was thus ultimately a failure, for the moment Montague had all the credit of another great financial triumph, and the Whig party might reasonably expect that, in spite of the one single defeat with regard to the standing army, their position would be as good in the new Parliament as it had been in that which was just closing.

Meanwhile the King's personal attention had been as usual directed rather to foreign than to home politics. The great question which at once occupied the minds of diplomatists after the Peace of Ryswick was the succession to the throne of Spain. It seemed very improbable that Charles II., a miserable hypochondriac, should live much longer. At his death there threatened to be a general scramble for his vast possessions. Early in the year, an embassy of unusual grandeur had attended Portland to France. The question had been there opened, and a corresponding French embassy under Tallard had subsequently and with the same object been sent to London. On the dissolution of Parliament the scene of negotiation was transferred to Holland. The question was one of great intricacy and difficulty.¹ It was not easy



to point out the legitimate successor, even had it been possible to allow the Spanish monarchy to pass unbroken into the hands of any of the claimants. The eldest of Charles's sisters had married Louis XIV., a younger sister had married Leopold of Germany. Leopold was himself Charles's first cousin, grandson of Philip III. In direct descent, therefore, the Dauphin stood next to the Spanish king. Next to him came the offspring of Leopold's first marriage with the Spanish Princess, namely, the Electress of Bavaria, but she gave over her right to her son, the Electoral Prince. The third in order was the Emperor Leopold. But the marriage of the Infanta with Louis had been accompanied by a formal renunciation of her rights, sanctioned by the Cortes. The marriage of the second Princess with Leopold had been attended by a similar renunciation, not sanctioned by the Cortes. The marriage of Leopold's mother with the Emperor had been attended by no renunciation at all. Thus, if the renunciations were valid, the claims in accordance with them came in exactly the opposite order to the claims by order of descent. But the change in the balance of Europe involved in the accession to the throne of Spain of a prince of either the imperial house of Germany or the royal house of France was of far graver importance than the mere legal rights to the throne. Both Leopold and the Dauphin, conscious that Europe would not submit to their acquiring Spain for themselves, had handed on their claims to representatives, who might be considered as comparatively harmless. Leopold had substituted for himself the Archduke Charles, his son by a second marriage, the Dauphin his second son Philip. But, in spite of this arrangement, France, England and Holland had considered it dangerous that the Spanish dominions should pass entire into the hands of either of the claimants, and the negotiations of this year were directed to forming a plan for dividing them with some sort of equality among the three. The product of these negotiations was the First Partition Treaty, definitively signed at the Hague on the 11th of October. By this the bulk of the Spanish dominions—Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands—was to pass to the least powerful of the three claimants, the Electoral Prince. France was to receive Guipuscoa in the north of Spain, and the Two Sicilies; the Austrian competitor was to be satisfied with the Milanese. The treaty had been arranged as quietly as possible, but the republican institutions of Holland were not favourable to secrecy. Rumours of what had been done reached Spain. The desire of the King and the Castilians was to preserve at all hazards the integrity of the Empire.

Charles was therefore persuaded to make a will, and to declare that candidate whom France and England seemed most to favour, namely, the Electoral Prince, heir to his whole dominions; and thus for a time the matter rested.

Having thus temporarily settled his position abroad, William returned to England with the hope of a peaceful session. New Parliament.
Tory reaction.
Dec. 6, 1698. The hope was singularly falsified by the event. The great Whig party, so noble and united in adversity, had fallen to pieces, and a Tory reaction begun. The greatness and success of its measures had left room for faction. The unpopularity both of William and Montague afforded opportunity for the attacks of malcontents. On the assembling of Parliament after the new elections (Dec. 6, 1698), it became evident that a large number of unknown men who had been elected, although nominally Whigs, intended to make common cause with the extreme Tories, and that this united faction, under the title of the Country Party, would form an opposition against the Crown. The last session had already marked out the lines this opposition would take. The points at issue would be the maintenance of the army, the distribution of Crown grants, and the conduct of individual members of the ministry. On the first of these points the King did not act wisely. Unable to understand the insular politics in favour with the English, he insisted that the ministry should propose a standing army of 20,000 men. Afraid to introduce a Bill which they knew they could not carry, the ministry suffered the initiative to slip from their grasp, and a private individual was allowed to propose that the number of troops should be further lessened to 7000, and that all those 7000 should be born Englishmen. In spite of the efforts of the ministry the Bill was carried, and William found himself compelled to order the departure of his favourite Dutch guards. Hurt to the quick, he seriously formed the intention of quitting England. He even drew up his farewell speech, and was only moved to remain by the earnest prayers of Somers and by his own returning wisdom.

Assured of their majority, the Opposition proceeded to attack the late ministry. Their favourite object was Montague, who had laid himself open to their assaults by the pride and luxury which he had exhibited in his good fortune, and still more by the indecent rapacity with which he seized on the valuable place of the Auditorship of the Exchequer, worth at least £4000 a year; this he placed in the hands of his brother, to be held until he should want it. The next victim

was Russell, Lord Orford, whose administration only escaped censure by a single vote. And before the session closed, the third point, that of grants of Crown lands, was touched upon in a way which produced much after disaster. The method used on this occasion illustrates a point deserving of notice. The Revolution had placed the supreme power in the hands of Parliament; but Rivalry between the two Houses. Parliament itself consists of two elements, of two Houses drawn from different classes. Besides the general party struggles, besides the frequent contests between King and Parliament, and subsequently between Parliament and people, there was therefore a class rivalry between the two Houses, which had shown itself already on more than one occasion during the reign, and was rendered more prominent now by the fact that the party feeling in the Upper House was on the whole decidedly Whig. The weapon which the Commons intended to use in this strife was their exclusive right of introducing money Bills. Those Bills the Upper House had the power of rejecting entire, but not of amending. The Commons now "tacked" or appended to the Bill for the Land Tax a clause appointing seven Commissioners to inquire into the manner in which the forfeited land in Ireland had been granted out. This obnoxious clause the Lords were compelled to pass, or to reject the Bill entirely, and thus stop the supplies. Though keenly feeling the coercion put upon them, by a plan which would have proved fatal to the Upper House had not the good feeling of the nation and the strength of popular opinion ultimately compelled the Commons to abandon it, the Lords passed the Bill, feeling probably that the present occasion was scarcely important enough for a great constitutional struggle. The Money Bill having been passed, the King, in some anger, prorogued the Parliament (May 4).

As usual, when Parliament was not sitting, William withdrew to Holland, a habit which, now that the war no longer necessitated his presence there, increased his unpopularity in England, and the session of Parliament which he returned to meet in November 1699 was still more stormy than the last.

The discontent in England was backed up by more serious discontent in Scotland. The whole of that nation might The Darien scheme. be now reckoned among the enemies of the Court. For, during the recess, on the 5th of October, certain news had reached England of the failure of the great Darien scheme, and the complete destruction of those wild hopes of wealth and greatness which had been for the last four years buoying up the Scotch nation. Paterson,

the same man whose scheme for the Bank of England had in the hands of Montague proved so successful, was the originator of this disastrous project. He had persuaded himself that the natural wealth of a country has nothing to do with its prosperity. The commercial cities of the ancient world, and Venice and Holland in modern times, had risen to greatness and wealth without any territorial possessions of importance. He believed that he could reproduce this phenomenon in the case of Scotland. The scheme of Columbus had been to introduce the wealth of the East by a short and direct route into Europe, and thus to destroy the traffic of the Venetians. He had found his plan thwarted by the interposition of America; and the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope had turned all men's attention in that direction, and had been the great source of wealth both to the Dutch and Portuguese. But the plan of Columbus had never been quite forgotten, and Paterson now thought to renew it by establishing a line of communication across the Isthmus of Darien. The Scotch were to colonize and occupy the isthmus, which would become, in the view of the projector, the great emporium of the whole Eastern trade. Although he did not explain the details of his scheme, it was listened to with enthusiasm by his fellow-countrymen; and in 1695, an extraordinary Act passed the Scotch Parliament, and received the assent of the Lord High Commissioner, authorising the formation of a Corporation, half the capital of which was to be held by Scotchmen, with the monopoly of the trade with Asia, Africa, and America for thirty-one years. With the exception of foreign sugar and tobacco, all its imports were to be duty free. Every servant of the Company was free from imprisonment and arrest. The Company was authorized to take possession of unoccupied territories and exercise legal rights, and the King promised to obtain satisfaction at the public charge if foreign powers assaulted it. Subscriptions to the amount of £200,000 and upwards were speedily forthcoming, and a branch of the Company established itself in London. There, however, the absurdities of the plan were at once discovered, and it met with a very cold reception. Any colony, to be useful, must be either in America or in the Spice Islands; now interference in America would not be tolerated by Spain, nor would Holland look on quietly at the occupation of the Spice Islands; a maritime war was in fact inevitable; Scotland, single-handed, could scarcely hope to carry on such a war, and England would almost infallibly be drawn into it, and this on behalf of a Company which, by changing Scotland into a free port,

would virtually make it an enormous centre for smuggling to the extreme detriment of English trade. The attention of the King was drawn to the subject. He expressed his entire disapprobation of the scheme, and dismissed the Lord High Commissioner and the Secretary; but the law was made and could not be rescinded. In 1698, in the midst of wild enthusiasm, 1200 colonists set out from Leith, with Paterson among them, and reached Darien in safety, and there established their colony, but almost immediately came into contact with the neighbouring Spanish governor, and the inevitable war began. At first, however, the reports were favourable, and in the following year a new armament of four ships and 1800 colonists left Scotland for Caledonia, as the new settlement was called. They had not been gone long before news arrived at New York that the colony no longer existed, and that the wretched remnant of its inhabitants had sought refuge in New England. In fact, the climate had proved eminently unhealthy, in spite of the assertions of Paterson. Provisions had failed, and, worn out and enfeebled, the colonists, feeling themselves entirely unable to repel the assaults of Spain, determined to withdraw. After miserable suffering, a few of them reached New York, and the second expedition arrived in Caledonia to find only uninhabited ruins. They determined upon reoccupying these, rebuilt the fort, and during the few healthy months continued, though with heavy losses, to carry out their operations. But before long a Spanish fleet appeared before the town, and an army, marching across the isthmus from Panama, blockaded it on the land side. Resistance was impossible. Already 300 of the new-comers had died, the survivors promised to depart within a fortnight, and on the 11th of April left the colony for ever. The disaster was regarded by the Scotch as a national injury on the part of England. The Company had throughout excited great anger in the Southern kingdom; the colonial governors had done all they could to discourage the colony when it arrived, and the Scotch were ready to trace this opposition to national jealousy,—to attribute it even to William's partiality for his Dutch subjects, whose trade might have been injured. In truth, the whole business was a proof, as William pointed out to the House of Lords, of the difficulty of managing two countries with different interests under one Crown, and the necessity of a closer union between the nations.

It was thus, supported by the discontent of Scotland, that the malcontents of Parliament resumed the question of the management of the royal property. After a fruitless attack

New Parliament
Nov. 16, 1699.

upon Somers, who had indeed received a grant, but one against which no reasonable complaint could be made, they proceeded to follow up the work of the last session, and to act upon the recommendation of the seven Commissioners who had been appointed by the tacked clause of the preceding session. The Crown lands had been constantly dealt

with according to the King's pleasure, without parliamentary interference. In early times, however, they had been regarded as a trust. Parliament had frequently demanded that the King should live upon his own revenues, and Acts for the resumption of grants had been passed, the last being that immediately following the battle of Bosworth. Since then the gift of the Crown had been considered a perfectly sound title. Whatever dislike, therefore, William's lavish grants to his Dutch favourites had excited, there would have been very great difficulty in calling in question his right to make them. The use to which the forfeited lands which had fallen into William's hands after the Pacification of Limerick had been put was more open to objection. A Bill ordering them to be applied to the public service had been interrupted and left incomplete, and the King had promised that the Commons should have another opportunity of considering the question. As they had since taken no steps in the matter, he seems to have considered himself free to act as he pleased. Of the forfeited lands, which amounted to about 1,700,000 acres, a fourth had been restored to its ancient possessors, according to the Limerick Pacification. Some of the rest had been mercifully given back to Irishmen, some to men like Ginkel and Galway, who had distinguished themselves in the Irish wars, but by far the larger portion had fallen to the King's personal friends, such as Woodstock, the eldest son of Portland, and Keppel, Lord Albemarle. The Commission could not arrive at unanimity, and sent up two reports. But that of the majority, which was very hostile to Government, was alone accepted by the Commons. It ridiculously over-estimated the grants at a sum of £2,600,000, and at the same time declared that very undue leniency had been shown to the Irish. Had these grants not been made, and the confiscations properly exacted, much of the present heavy taxation, they said, might have been spared. The

Commons, longing to be free from taxes and hating the Dutch favourites, took up the matter with factious warmth, and the Resumption Bill was passed, vesting all the forfeited lands in the hands of trustees, and offering large rewards to informers who would point out lands which ought to have been confiscated. They even, with palpable injustice, included in

Resumption
Bill passed.
April 10, 1700.

their inquiry lands which had never been forfeited. Expecting opposition from the Upper House, they again tacked this Bill to the Land Tax Bill. The Lords now determined upon a struggle. Little as they liked the Dutch favourites, they could not allow themselves to be thus overridden. Their opposition was, however, unsuccessful; the nation felt with the Commons, and foreign affairs had reached a crisis which rendered peace at home necessary to the King. The quarrel was pressed so far as to threaten a complete breach between the Houses, and a fatal blow to the Constitution. By the influence of the King the Lords were induced to yield, and the triumphant Commons were passing to fresh assaults on the King's friends, when, having passed the Land Tax Bill and thus supplied himself with money, William suddenly prorogued the Houses.

Parliament
prorogued.
April 11, 1700.

The necessity which had driven him to this step was the reopening of the question of the Spanish succession. In January 1699 the Electoral Prince had died. The whole question thus assumed a new shape, and William's undivided attention was required. For the same reason, probably, and to allay the opposition in the House, he thought it necessary to remove Somers from office, and to place the Great Seal in the hands of Sir Nathan Wright. The Second Partition Treaty, which the King was now engaged in arranging, was such as was rendered necessary by the death of the third claimant. The bulk of the Spanish dominions was now to be given to the Archduke. It was to him that now Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands were assigned, while Milan, which had formerly fallen to his share, was to be transferred to France, to be ultimately exchanged for Lorraine, a German fief, very important to round off the French dominions. But again these arrangements were upset. Portocarrero, the Spanish minister, was in the French interest, and supported by Harcourt, the ablest French diplomatist. By playing upon national feeling, which was strong against any partition, these statesmen excited the anger of the Spaniards against William, who had already incurred their enmity by his fancied support of the Darien scheme; and Charles was at length impressed with the absolute necessity of making another will. The events of the late session had given rise to the belief that William was not really master of England, while the visible greatness of France seemed to afford the best chance of keeping the Spanish monarchy undivided; the will was therefore made in favour of the Dauphin's son Philip, Duke of Anjou, who was declared heir to the whole of the Spanish dominions. The treaty was not well received in

Second Partition
Treaty.

CON. MON.

[E]

England. While one party clamoured that too much was given to France, another complained of the injustice of forestalling the wishes of the Spanish people, and there was a general feeling of anger at the secrecy with which the treaty had been arranged, a treaty which might easily draw England into a foreign war, and which had been concluded entirely without consulting Parliament. This anger reached its highest point when, in November, the King of Spain died, and Louis, in defiance of all his treaties, accepted his grandson's great inheritance. William had determined that the whole responsibility should lie with himself, trusting in his own diplomatic skill; he had been beaten at his own arts, and his great treaty was absolutely useless.

In fact, there was no time when the King had been so unpopular or his enemies so strong. Nearly every class, except his own immediate followers among the Whigs, were alienated from him; the mass of the people had suffered from heavy taxation, the nobles were sore at the unwise preference given to foreigners; the whole nation shared in this feeling, and disliked his constant absences from home; the scandal of the Irish forfeitures had just been brought to light; the country gentry remembered with anger the failure of their Land Bank, and saw with envy the increasing importance of the moneyed interest. One thing was plain, that nothing could be done with a Parliament so adverse as the last, with a ministry so powerless as the late holders of power had proved. William therefore dissolved the Parliament, summoning a new one for the following February; and, freeing himself from the old ministry, called to his councils Rochester, the late Queen's uncle and the head of the High Church Tories, with Godolphin and Sir Charles Hedges. For the present his only hope lay in the possibility of a general European war; of this as yet there was but little sign. Austria had indeed refused to acknowledge the new King of Spain, and withdrawn its ambassador from Madrid, but in other countries it seemed as if the will of the late Spanish King would be quietly accepted. William himself could do nothing, and for the time was compelled to submit. His new ministry entreated him to

acknowledge Philip; his Parliament showed no disposition to support him in any hostile steps against France. Two questions which he placed before them in his opening speech were, the succession of the throne of England, the settlement to which had been rendered necessary by the late death of the Duke of Gloucester, the young son of the Princess Anne (July 29, 1700), and the position which England should assume in the face of the

*New ministry.
Dec. 1700.*

*New Parliament.
Feb. 1701.*

altered aspect of European politics. It was in vain, upon this latter point, that he attempted to urge them to energy. The King of France had driven the Dutch to acknowledge Philip, by suddenly entering the Low Countries, and capturing 15,000 of their troops who had been intended to garrison the barrier fortresses. William and the Dutch States had in vain demanded the withdrawal of the French troops and the surrender of the strongholds. But even this act of aggression did not arouse the Parliament to energy. They acknowledged the obligations of England under the Treaty of 1677, and promised to send succours to the Dutch, but there seemed no immediate prospect of any grants for the purpose. Nor was the other point much more vigorously prosecuted. A Bill of Succession was indeed produced, but nearly every clause seemed evidently aimed against the King's former conduct. The new sovereign was not to leave the kingdom without leave of Parliament; no person not a born Englishman was to be capable of holding any position of trust, or of receiving any grant from the Crown. England was not to be engaged in war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the Crown of England. All matters relating to the Government were to be transacted in the Privy Council, and countersigned by such members of that body as should advise or consent to them. Having thus secured, as they thought, the insular position of England, the House proceeded to settle the succession upon the Electress Sophia of Hanover. Thus, though the Protestant succession was secured, a Bill which William had hoped would be a singular expression of popular sympathy with his own efforts was in fact a vote of censure on many of the acts of his reign.

While public business was thus proceeding languidly, the whole energy of the House was directed against the old Whig leaders and against the House of Lords. Impeachments were hurried on against Lord Portland, Lord Orford, Lord Somers, and Montague, who had now become Lord Halifax. Against each of these the main charge was the share they had taken in the Partition treaties. But, in the case of Portland and Montague, there were additional charges in reference to the grants and dilapidations of the royal revenue, for which they were said to be answerable; while against Somers and Orford was alleged a ridiculous story concerning their participation in the notorious exploits of Captain Kidd. This man had been sent out by private enterprise to destroy piracy in the Indian Sea, and had there himself turned pirate. Both Somers and Orford had

Succession Act.

*Impeachments
against the
Whigs.*

subscribed to the original enterprise. Somers, as Chancellor, had sealed Kidd's commission. It was now ridiculously suggested that they had all along known of his piratical intentions. But, while sending up these impeachments, the Commons felt absolutely certain that the Whig majority of the Lords would at once acquit their victims, for it was well understood that the measure was not one of justice but one of faction; they therefore passed an unjustifiable address to the King, praying him to dismiss the four Peers from his Council, even before the impeachments were heard. The House of Lords produced a counter address. The Commons demanded longer time to complete their impeachments, but the Peers were determined to bring a matter on which their judgment was in fact foregone to a speedy issue, and had now both law and right on their side. They therefore positively refused to extend the time, and the 17th of June was fixed for Lord Somers's trial. Westminster Hall was fitted up with the usual preparations for impeachment. The Lords marched in all pomp to their judgment-seat. The Commons, declaring they had been denied justice, refused to appear. There were no accusers, and Somers was declared acquitted.

But many signs had begun to show themselves in the country which induced William to believe that the popular opinion was turning, and he ventured to put an end to the very dangerous fight between the Houses by a prorogation (June 24). What is known as the Kentish Petition was the great sign of this changed feeling. This petition had been sent up by the Grand Jury of Kent. It hinted that public business had been neglected, and the pursuit of personal vengeance substituted, and humbly deprecated the least mistrust of the King, and implored the House to give effect to its loyal addresses by turning them into Bills of supply. So arbitrary was the House of Commons at this time in the assertion of its privilege, that it was only by consenting to remain outside the House, and be personally answerable for their document, that the five gentlemen who brought up this petition were able to get it presented at all (May 8). It raised a storm of anger, was voted scandalous, infamous and seditious, and the five gentlemen were dismissed to prison. But their cause was taken up by the whole Liberal party, and the desires expressed in the petition were brought before the public in much more forcible language in a memorial written by Defoe, and called from its signature "The Legion Memorial." This expression of opinion could not but have been gratifying to the King.

The Kentish
Petition.

The Legion
Memorial.

Hope was indeed again opening before him. Not only could he feel certain of some support, however weak, at home, but the persistent retention on the part of Louis, in spite of all their clamours, of the Dutch barrier fortresses and the 15,000 troops he had captured had begun to rouse the war spirit of that people. Left more free to act now that Parliament was prorogued, William at once despatched 10,000 troops into Holland, under command of Marlborough, and before long went thither himself, to lay the foundation of a Grand Alliance between England, Holland, and the Emperor. This treaty was completed in September. But the terms of it proved surely how low William's hopes still were. It only declared that it was desirable that satisfaction should be given to the Emperor on account of the succession of Spain, and pledges given for the security of England and her allies. It allowed two months for peaceful negotiations. After that time the contracting powers pledged themselves to attempt the recovery by force of arms of Milan for Austria, and of the barrier fortresses for Holland.

At this moment James II. of England lay dying. With all Europe submitting with ill-dissembled dislike to the late acquisition of Spain by the Bourbons, and ready to take any opportunity for disturbing the newly-appointed King, to acknowledge, in contravention of the Treaty of Ryswick, the young Prince of Wales as King of England, was a step full of danger for the French King. It could not have been hidden from Louis, as it certainly was not hidden from his ministers, that the real strength of his present position was the depressed condition of William, thwarted by his factious Parliament; and Louis must have known that nothing was more likely to change that weakness into strength than a violation of the Peace of Ryswick,—the destruction of the one great advantage which England had gained by nine years' expenditure of blood and treasure. But the influence of Madame de Maintenon, who had been won over to the interest of the Stuarts, and a certain theatrical magnanimity which seldom deserted Louis, proved stronger than prudence. At the deathbed of James he promised to uphold the claims of his son, and three days afterwards the young Prince was formally acknowledged by the whole Court as King of England.

No better news could have reached William. Again, as in the time of his first landing in England, his enemy had done more for him than any skill or diplomacy of his own could effect. The whole nation burst into a flame. Patriotic and loyal addresses came pouring in upon him. Public bodies in all parts of the country passed resolutions full of affection for him. The

The Grand
Alliance.

Death of
James II.

Louis acknow-
ledging the
Pretender.
Sept. 16.

Rouses English
patriotism.

conduct of the late majority was denounced as factious wrangling, and the cause of the great insult which had been laid on the country ; and the connection between the Tory party and Louis seemed to be rendered plain when the French ambassador was found seated at supper in a well-known Jacobite tavern surrounded by the most ardent members of the Tory party. The King seized the moment of excitement, and, though conscious of the delays it would entail, at once dissolved Parliament. A struggle such as has seldom been seen excited England from end to end, and everywhere it became evident that the reckless conduct of Louis had secured the restoration of the Whigs. London returned four Whig members, Wharton again won back his supremacy in Buckingham, even the virulent Howe was defeated and lost his seat in Gloucestershire. The flame of indignation still blazed high when William met his new Parliament on the last day of the year, and, in words of unusual fire, bade them drop their factious disputes, and know no other distinction than that of those who were for the Protestant religion and the present Establishment, and of those who meant a Popish prince and a French government. The ministry was largely changed. Godolphin left the Treasury to make room for Lord Carlisle ; Manchester was made Secretary instead of Hedges, and other Whig Lords were admitted to the Privy Council. It is true that the unanimity was by no means perfect. The Tories were still strong in the House. There was still some fear of the ultimate return of the Stuarts. But the Government was strong enough to pass a Bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, and a still more important Bill abjuring the house of Stuart, and pledging those who took the oath to uphold in turn each successor named in the Act of Settlement. The acceptance of this oath was made requisite for every employment either in Church or State.

It was thus in the full flush of a new victory, with hopes high, and with a well-grounded belief that his life's work of opposition to the encroachments of the French would not after all be wasted, that William, broken down by disease and suffering, died. He had long been so ill that his life had been despaired of, but he was still able to ride. On the 20th of February, his horse, stepping upon a molehill, fell with him, and his collar-bone was broken. This accident rendered his recovery hopeless. He lived just long enough to express his strong desire for a Union with Scotland, and to appoint the Commission which gave the royal assent to the Abjuration Act. On the 8th of March, surrounded by his faithful friends, he breathed his last.

New Parliament
and ministry.

Death of
William.

A N N E.

1702-1714.

Born 1665 = George of Denmark.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	Austria.	Spain.	Russia.
Louis XIV., 1643.	Leopold I., 1658. Joseph I., 1705. Charles VI., 1711.	Philip V., 1700.	Peter the Great, 1689.

Prussia.	Sweden.	Denmark and Norway.
Frederick I., 1701.	Charles XII., 1697.	Frederick IV., 1699.

POPE.—Clement XI., 1700.

Lord Chancellors.	Archbishop.
Sir Nathan Wright, 1700. William Cowper, 1705. Sir Simon Harcourt, 1710.	Thomas Tenison, 1694.

First Lords of the Treasury.	Chancellors of the Exchequer.	Secretaries of State.
1702. Godolphin. 1710. Poulett. 1711. Harley. 1714. Shrewsbury.	1702. Henry Boyle. 1708. John Smith. 1710. Robert Harley.	1702 { Nottingham. Hedges. 1704 { Harley. Hedges. 1706 { Harley. Sunderland. 1708 { Boyle. Sunderland. 1710 { Boyle. Dartmouth. 1710 { St. John. Dartmouth. 1713 { St. John. Bromley.

IN passing to a new reign we pass to no new epoch. No new principles are at work, no new influences visible. The same constitutional growth which had been gradually developing itself since the Revolution makes its way steadily onwards. The sole difference is the difference in the person of the sovereign. In the yet unfixed state of the Constitution this might have introduced important changes, and did in fact, by the absence of

Power of
Marlborough.

the strong personal character of William, tend to easier and more complete development of parliamentary action. But the importance of the Queen was much neutralized by the complete mastery exercised over her mind by the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. The effect of Marlborough's supremacy was to reproduce almost exactly the circumstances of the former reign. Though an immoral politician, a self-seeking and avaricious man, Marlborough was too great not to appreciate the grandeur of William's European schemes. Thus, as far as European policy was concerned, he passed almost completely into that King's place, pledged both by his natural intellect and by his personal interests to pursue very much the same course as William had taken. It is scarcely going beyond the truth to call the earlier part of Anne's reign the reign of the Duke of Marlborough; and he encountered exactly the same difficulties, and was reduced to exactly the same straits, as his predecessor had been in his attempts to carry out a national policy without regard to party.

The dissolution of Parliament had followed as a natural consequence upon the death of the sovereign who had summoned it, and in whom it was regarded as depending. The new position which the Parliament had occupied since the Revolution had naturally modified that view. By a law passed at the beginning of the eighth year of William's reign, Parliament was allowed to sit for six months after the King's death. It was therefore with the same Whig Parliament, which had come into existence just after Louis had acknowledged the Prince of Wales, that Anne's reign began. The conduct of the Parliament during the few months of its existence was entirely free from faction. It completed and applied the Abjuration Bill, on which it had been busy at the end of the last reign, established an examination of public accounts, and granted with great unanimity the same revenue as William had enjoyed; and further, took a first step towards a measure which William had recommended, and which the failure of the Darien scheme had rendered almost inevitable, by passing a Bill for appointing Commissioners to arrange, if possible, for a complete union with Scotland.

But it soon became evident that both the tendencies of the Queen and Marlborough's views on home politics would lead to the restoration of Tory influence. On the Duke himself and on his wife honours and offices were freely lavished, and the new ministry was drawn almost entirely from the Tory party. Thus Godolphin, Marlborough's son-in-law, was made Lord Treasurer;

*Work of the first
Parliament.*

Tory ministry.

Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges, Secretaries of State; Lord Normanby, shortly afterwards Duke of Buckingham, Privy Seal; Pembroke, Lord President; Jersey was given a place in the Council; while offices were found for Seymour and Levison Gower in the Privy Council, from which Somers, Halifax, and Orford were excluded. Yet even already Marlborough's intention in some degree to disregard party was shown in the retention of some Whigs in office, among others the Duke of Devonshire, who kept his place as Lord Steward. More important, with regard to the future history of the reign, was the division which even thus early began to show itself among the Tories themselves. Rochester, who had come over from his post in Ireland, not only desired a much more complete exclusion of the Whigs from office, but also opposed, in pursuance of the accepted policy of the High Tories, the declaration of war. Thus already, before the dissolution which took place on the 25th of May, two facts, which together form the key to the political history of the reign, were visible,—Marlborough's determination to rely upon a mixed Government, and the disinclination of one section of the Tories to support him in his war policy.

In pursuing the future history of the reign there are three subjects which require special attention, the European war, the Union with Scotland, and the parliamentary and ministerial history; and although the war and the history of the ministry constantly affect one another, it will probably tend to clearness if, for the first few years at all events, these three subjects are treated separately.

The opposition of the Tories to the war had been entirely useless. The completion of the negotiations set on foot by William had been intrusted to Marlborough. Immediately, at the beginning of the reign, he had gone to the Hague, and war was declared in London, at Vienna, and at the Hague on the 4th of May. Meanwhile so many Princes had joined the Confederation, originally consisting of England, Holland, and Austria, that war was declared by the Diet of the Empire. The Elector of Brandenburg had been induced to join by the promise of the royal title; the Elector of Hanover and the Elector Palatine had also given in their adhesion. On the other hand, though the brother Electors of the Bavarian House, the Elector of Bavaria and the Elector of Cologne, had at first agreed to remain neutral, Louis felt pretty sure of the course they would ultimately take, and of the friendship of Victor Amadeus of Savoy, whose daughter had married the new King of Spain, and the position of whose dominions rendered his friend-

*Beginning
of the war.
May 4, 1702.*

ship of great value, giving as it did an access into Italy to the French.

The Queen's love for her husband had induced her to wish that he should be made Commander-in-chief both of the English and Dutch forces, though utterly unfit for the post, and Marlborough seems to have honestly attempted to procure this appointment. But the Dutch would not hear of it, and ultimately Marlborough took the field in July as Commander-in-chief, with Overkirk as his Lieutenant commanding the Dutch troops.

Marlborough
appointed
Commander.

Two points distinguish this war from the preceding one. Hitherto in all great confederations against the French the Spanish Netherlands had been in the hands of the confederates, but as Spain was now in close alliance with France, it became necessary to conquer this part of the Netherlands. And, secondly, the death of William had been followed by the complete depression of the house of Nassau in Holland, and the supremacy of the republican party, which by no means shared in the late King's hatred to France, and which, from jealousy of all personal authority, caused the general to be accompanied by field deputies, with a right of mixing in all councils of war. This was one of the greatest of Marlborough's difficulties, as the deputies seldom failed to hamper him, and to throw obstacles in the way of any adventurous plans. Before Marlborough took the field the campaign had opened. The French had command of the Spanish Low Countries, of the Duchy of Luxemburg, and, through the friendship of its Elector, of the territories of the Elector Clement of Cologne, who was both Archbishop of Cologne and Bishop of Liège. Both the Rhine and Meuse were thus in their hands and the fortresses held by their garrisons. The whole southern frontier of Holland, which left the sea near Ostend, crossed the mouth of the Scheldt, and cutting off a portion of Brabant, joined the Meuse somewhat to the north of Venloo, was thus open to them, while by way of the Rhine they had an opportunity of attacking the Dutch provinces from the east. While Holland was thus assailable on two sides, the advancing angle of the French dominions exposed them in a similar manner. The valley of the Moselle, which leads directly into the heart of Lorraine, could be attacked either from the north or by a German army coming from the south by way of Landau. Anxious to secure their frontier towards the Rhine, the Dutch had early in the year besieged and taken the fortress of Kaiserwerth, and bent chiefly upon their own

Position of
Holland.

security, would have preferred to retain Marlborough and the army in the neighbourhood of that river. But the Duke saw that the passage of the Meuse where it makes the northern frontier of the Dutch Brabant, and an advance southwards towards the Spanish Netherlands, would necessitate a concentration of the French troops, and transfer the seat of war to that province. In spite of the opposition of the Dutch, he therefore crossed the river at Grave, and proceeded directly south into Spanish Brabant. As he had expected, his appearance there obliged Boufflers to withdraw from Guelders to oppose him; and although the opposition of the field deputies prevented a general engagement, Marlborough was enabled to secure the eastern frontier of Holland, to take the fortresses of the Meuse,—Venloo, Ruremond, Stevensweert, and Liège,—to overrun Guelders, Cleves, the Electorate of Cologne, with the exception of Bonn, the whole of the Bishopric of Liège and the Duchy of Limburg, thus cutting off the French from the Lower Rhine.

Meanwhile an attack had been made upon France from the Upper Rhine. The Margrave Louis of Baden, having crossed the river with the German forces, found himself opposed by Catinat, who did not show his usual ability, and suffered the Margrave to besiege and take Landau and to overrun Alsace. The success of the German army was marred by the defection of Bavaria, which, throwing aside its neutrality, declared in favour of France. Villars was detached from Catinat's army to join the Elector of Bavaria; and as an access was thus opened to the French into the heart of Germany, Louis of Baden had to withdraw from his conquests, and, turning to meet the new danger, suffered a heavy defeat at Friedlingen.

While such was the course of the war in Germany and Flanders, in Italy, Prince Eugene of Savoy, the general of the allies, had, even in the winter, been carrying on operations against Marshal Villeroy. That Marshal had been taken prisoner at Cremona, and had been succeeded by Vendome. A great but indecisive battle had been fought in August at Luzara, after which the armies were left facing each other, the French still occupying the Milanese. The maritime war had been as indecisive as that upon the Continent; an English expedition under the Duke of Ormond had been sent against Cadiz; it had failed in its original object, but on the way home had succeeded in destroying a Spanish treasure fleet in the Bay of Vigo. In the West Indies, an event occurred almost unprecedented in English history. The English fleet had been defeated in a great battle, not by the

The war
in Italy.

The war at sea.

superiority of the enemy, but by the treason of its own commanders. Admiral Benbow, who had engaged a superior force of the enemy, after a fight of several days, was deserted by some of his captains. Wounded and dying, he was forced to withdraw. He lived long enough to have his captains condemned to death by court martial.

The campaign of this year was thus wholly indecisive. The English and Dutch had secured the possession of the Rhine and the Meuse; but the German army was threatened in front from Alsace, while its rear and southern flank were exposed to the victorious army of Villars and the Elector of Bavaria: in Italy the French still held the Milanese against the attacks of Prince Eugene. But before the next campaign opened the position of France had changed considerably for the worse. The diplomacy of Louis had hitherto secured the predominance of French influence in both Spain and Italy by the adhesion of Savoy and Portugal to his cause. Victor Amadeus of Savoy had been won by the marriage of his daughter with the King of Spain; but, situated in the midst of great powers, his conduct was almost of necessity shifting, and his policy directed rather to his own advantage and to the interests of Italy than to the more general interests of Europe; the offer on the part of Austria to give up to him the districts of Montferrat and Novara induced him to desert Louis and to declare in favour of the Grand Alliance. The French army in the Milanese was thus separated from France, and its energy paralyzed. By similar means the fidelity of Portugal was also undermined. A promise of a certain portion of the Spanish possessions both in Spain and in America, and a treaty known as the Methuen Treaty, securing to Portugal great advantage in her trade with England, induced her to join the Grand Alliance. The importance of this adhesion was great, as it afforded an opening for the allied armies to act directly against Spain, the possession of which country was the real object of the war. Nor were these defections the only causes of danger which beset France. Disturbances had broken out in Louis' own dominions. The Protestants of the Cevennes, driven to despair by the cruel conduct of the Intendant, Marshal de Baille, and of the Catholic clergy, had broken into open rebellion, and the irregular efforts of the Camissards, as they were called, had become formidable under the skilful guidance of Cavalier, a baker's lad, who showed extraordinary aptitude for partisan warfare.

These misfortunes on the part of France were somewhat balanced

by the defection, already mentioned, of the Elector of Bavaria; and Louis determined to take advantage of the road to Vienna thus opened to him, and to throw his chief efforts in that direction. Thither therefore Villars marched through the Black Forest, having previously captured the fortress of Kehl opposite Strasbourg. The movement, however, was only partially successful; while Villars wished to march upon Vienna, already threatened by an insurrection in Hungary, the Elector insisted upon moving into the Tyrol. The peasantry of that mountainous district, deeply attached to Austria, thwarted all his efforts to advance, and when Louis of Baden, leaving the lines of Stolhofen, appeared in Bavaria, the Elector was compelled to withdraw and rejoin Villars. Too weak to defeat the Margrave, the combined generals were obliged to content themselves with checking the German troops coming against them from Franconia under Count Stirum at Hochstädt. Villars, who traced the ruin of the campaign to the rejection of his advice, clamoured to be recalled, and his place was but badly filled by Marsin.

Meanwhile, Marshal Tallard had been repairing last year's disasters in Alsace. Brisach had been taken, the Prince of Hesse, with troops from Stolhofen, had been defeated at Spire while attempting to relieve Landau, and that city had been retaken by the French (Nov. 17). In Flanders Marlborough had formed a great plan to conquer Antwerp and Ostend, but had been thwarted by the slowness of the Dutch, and by the defeat of their army under Opdam at Echeren. The Duke had to content himself with the capture of Bonn upon the Rhine, and with further progress upon the Meuse, where he captured Huy and Limburg.

The following year, 1704, saw a change in the ministry at home. Finding himself thwarted by the extreme High Tories, Marlborough had obtained their dismissal, and the admission of Harley and St. John to the ministry. In the meantime Louis was making vast efforts, and had set on foot no less than eight armies. There was to be war at once in Flanders, in Bavaria, in Alsace, in Savoy, in Lombardy, in Spain, and against the Cevennes. To Villars was intrusted the reduction of the Cevennes, which had been vainly attempted the preceding year by the Marshal Montreuil. The Duke of Berwick was to subdue Portugal, Vendome to act against Savoy, Villeroi to stand on the defensive in Flanders, and the great effort of the year was again to be in Bavaria, where the events of the preceding year promised fresh success. There a considerable French army under Marsin had collected, and thither now was proceeding

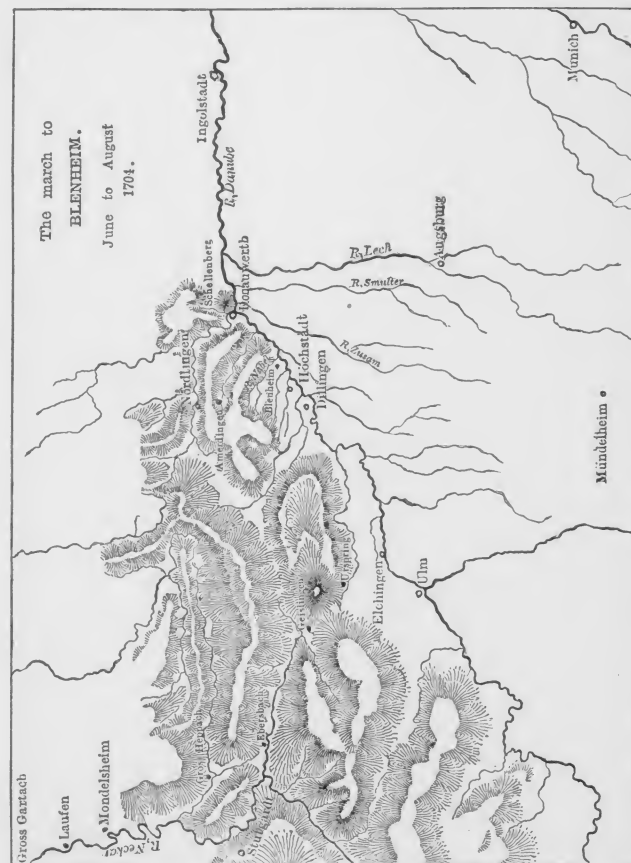
a fresh army under Tallard, which would raise the forces in the country much beyond anything the Emperor could bring to meet them. Early in May Marshal Tallard led 15,000 troops through the Black Forest, and formed his junction with the Elector. He then hastened back to Alsace, where 30,000 men had been left to oppose the Margrave of Baden.

The position of the Emperor seemed indeed almost hopeless. While the French and Bavarians were advancing directly towards his capital on the west, the Hungarians, under Prince Ragotski, with constantly increasing forces, were approaching Vienna from the east, so that in June it became necessary to throw up works for the defence of the capital. Marlborough watched the coming crisis with much anxiety, and formed a plan of great boldness for the Emperor's relief. It was no less than to march the whole of the troops under his command, and to transfer the seat of war to Bavaria, interposing between Vienna and the advancing Bavarians. Previous experience had taught him that there was no hope of persuading the Dutch to countenance such a plan. To the States he therefore suggested only a campaign on the Moselle, and co-operation with Louis of Baden in the south; to Godolphin alone he told his secret. At length a threat that he would move upon the Moselle with the English alone, backed up by the influence of Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, who was his constant friend, induced the Dutch to give their consent to the part of the plan he had disclosed to them. Other obstacles were

The march to
Blenheim.

met with from the other allies, but they were all at length overcome, and early in May Marlborough set out, ostensibly for the Moselle. To keep up this notion he went first to Coblenz, and the French proceeded to collect their armies to meet him. He then went on to Mayence, and it was believed that he intended to act in Alsace. He was there obliged to disclose his real object. He left the Rhine, marched up the Neckar, and advanced through the Duchy of Wurtemberg. On his road to Mondelsheim, he had a meeting with Eugene, who was commanding the Imperial army on the Rhine. To him he told his plans; and the intercourse of the two great chiefs ripened into unbroken friendship. They were there also joined by Louis of Baden, a punctilious German general of some ability, but belonging to an older school of tactics. Marlborough and Eugene suggested that the Margrave should retire to his lines at Stollhofen, and hold them against Tallard, while Eugene should bring such of the German army as was moveable to co-operate with

the English. The Margrave, however, insisted on the place of honour. Eugene went back to the Rhine, the Margrave joined

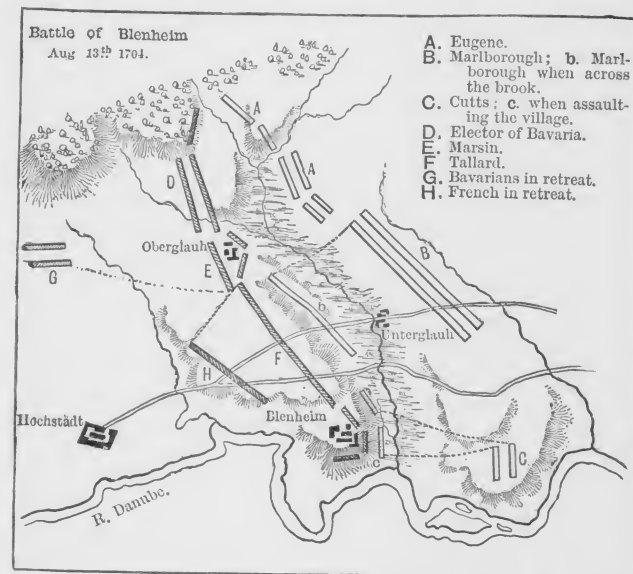


Marlborough; and the difficulty of the chief command was compromised, the generals were to command on alternate days. After making

these arrangements, the armies proceeded on their march through the rough hill country of Wurtemberg. Having crossed the Neckar at Laufen, they followed the course of its tributaries, by Gross Heppach, Ebersbach, and the difficult pass of Geislingen, and finally emerged upon the plains, reaching the Danube at Elchingen, a little to the east of Ulm. The Elector, expecting an attack upon that city, garrisoned it and withdrew, still on the north bank of the river, to Dillingen, further to the east. But Marlborough had no intention of attacking Ulm, he continued his march eastward, determining to pass round and beyond the Elector's army and to secure Donauwerth, which would supply him with a bridge to cross the river, and might be turned into a fortified place for his magazines. With some difficulty he persuaded Louis of Baden to march in this direction. His intention being at length evident, the Elector of Bavaria sent 12,000 men to occupy the strong hill of the Schellenberg, commanding Donauwerth. When the day broke, the English army were at Amerdingen, still fourteen miles from Donauwerth. It was however the day of Marlborough's command. At three in the morning he started on his march, and afraid of allowing the opportunity to slip, though his men were weary from their long journey, Marlborough determined to assault the Schellenberg that same afternoon. The battle was a fierce one, but the allies were entirely successful. The Bavarians fled in disorder. Some thousands crossed the bridge, but the weight of the fugitives broke it down, and a vast number were drowned in the river. The Elector of Bavaria now withdrew to Augsburg, to await the arrival of reinforcements from France. Marlborough and his army crossed the Lech, and proceeded to follow him. Bavaria was at his mercy. He offered the Elector terms of capitulation. They were however refused, and Marlborough was guilty of the one act which is a blot on his military career, he gave the country up to military execution.

The two French generals Villeroy and Tallard, outwitted by Marlborough's march, had meanwhile taken counsel together, and once more Tallard, leaving Villeroy in Alsace, led a reinforcement of 25,000 men to join the Bavarians. He was watched and followed by Prince Eugene, who reached the Danube at Dillingen almost at the moment that Tallard had formed his junction with the Bavarians at Augsburg. As Eugene's reinforcements were necessary, Marlborough fell back to meet him, and soon Eugene, leaving his troops behind him, appeared in person in the camp. Between them they persuaded the Margrave of Baden that the capture of the fortress of Ingolstadt

was necessary, and that, as it had hitherto never been taken, it would be much to his honour to reduce it. Thus rid of their pretentious colleague, Eugene and Marlborough arranged their junction, which was finally made, without disturbance from the French, on the 11th of August, a little to the east of Hochstädt, on the north of the Danube. The combined armies of the French and Bavarians had also betaken themselves to the same side of the river, and were now advancing from the west to meet the allied army, should they wish to



fight. It was believed, however, that such was not Marlborough's intention. Tallard thought he was withdrawing towards Nordlingen, and, as he said after the battle, had intended to fall upon him and fight him on his way thither. When it became evident that a battle was to be fought, the French general, advancing from Hochstädt, took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of the village of Blenheim. The hills which lie along the north of the Danube there fall back a little, enclosing a small plain. Across this runs a brook called the Nebel, at the foot

Battle of
Blenheim.
Aug. 13.

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of a spur of rising land which runs from the foot of the receding hills to the Danube, where its termination is crowned by the village of Blenheim. The course of the Nebel is full of morasses difficult to pass, but a gradual slope of firm ground leads from it to the top of the rising ground. Along this ridge the French and Bavarians took up their position. The Elector of Bavaria, with Marshal Marsin, occupied the left, where, in the midst of woods, the rising ground joins the hills; Marshal Tallard with the French occupied Blenheim and the right. Considering Blenheim as the key of the position, Marshal Tallard fortified it with palisades, and placed in it a considerable portion of his infantry, thus depriving himself of their assistance upon the battlefield, and weakening the centre of his army. To the French was opposed Marlborough in person, while Eugene, in command of the right wing, and with a considerably smaller number of troops, led the attack against the Elector. The difficulties he met with prevented Eugene from being early in position, but news were at length brought that he was ready to begin the battle, and Marlborough at once proceeded to the attack. The battle began on the part of the English with an assault upon the intrenched village. It was too strong to be taken, and the assailants were driven back with some loss. But the vigour of the opposition his troops had met with showed Marlborough his enemy's mistake. He determined to direct his chief assault upon the centre of the line. The infantry which were attacking Blenheim were ordered to seek shelter behind some rising ground, and to keep up such a feigned attack upon the place as should give employment to the troops stationed there. Meanwhile, with considerable difficulty, the English army was brought across the marshes, and established in position upon the firm ground beyond. In the French line cavalry and infantry were interlaced; this arrangement was copied by the assailants. The first effort of the English to ascend the slope was defeated, but after a fierce interchange of fire, a second attempt broke the French cavalry, and destroying the infantry, pierced the centre of the French line. The battle was in fact won, no help could be sent to Tallard by the Elector, a decisive charge of cavalry drove the enemy's horse off the field, and the army fled in two bodies, one towards the river, the other towards Hochstädt. Both were hotly pursued, and of those who fled towards the river thousands perished in the stream. Blenheim still held out, but, cut off from all succour, surrounded by the whole English army, and threatened by the approaching artillery, the gallant garrison was compelled to capitulate,

late, and 11,000 men laid down their arms. The right wing being completely destroyed, the Elector of Bavaria had found it necessary to withdraw his troops from the battle, although they had hitherto held their position against the fierce attacks of Eugene. In the confusion he managed to retire without much loss. The victory, however, was a very complete one; 60,000 strong in the morning of the 13th, on the 14th the French and Bavarian generals found themselves at the head of no more than 20,000 men. All their tents and baggage, and most of their artillery and colours, had fallen into the hands of the allies. The list of killed and wounded on the side of the allies was about 12,000. Marshal Tallard himself was among the prisoners. Again, even after this defeat, the Elector of Bavaria declined all terms, and his wife, as Regent, had to submit to such conditions as the German Emperor chose to impose. So great was the blow, that the French retreated with extreme rapidity; they gave up the strong fortress of Ulm, and withdrew beyond the Rhine, whither they were pursued by the allies, who, following separate routes, again assembled at Philipsburg; nor even there did Villeroy withstand them, but still falling back, allowed them to recapture Landau, during which operation Marlborough completed his work by rapidly marching into the valley of the Moselle and conquering Trèves and Trarbach.

Events of some importance had been taking place in three of the other seats of war. In Spain, Berwick had completely worsted the Portuguese, who had been so badly succoured by the English under the Duke of Schomberg that he had been recalled, and Ruigny, Earl of Galway, a French refugee, put in his place; while, to balance this, a fleet under Sir George Rooke, having on board the Prince of Darmstadt, and some troops, while returning from an unsuccessful attack on Barcelona, made an easy conquest of Gibraltar, and took possession of it in the name of the English, to whom it has ever since belonged. In the Cevennes, a merciful policy had brought the rebellion to an end, and Cavalier having been offered the commission of colonel in the French army, which he at first accepted and then declined, had been allowed to leave the country. He entered the English army, rose to the rank of general, and was subsequently Governor of Jersey.

Meanwhile affairs in Italy had been assuming a shape which rendered it probable that the great interest of the war would be transferred thither in the following year. Vendome had been rapidly reducing the territory of the Duke of Savoy. One after the other his fortresses had been captured, and no hope seemed left him but in

Progress of the war in Spain, the Cevennes, and Italy.

immediate succour, either from the Emperor, who was not likely to give it, or from Marlborough himself.

As was natural after his great successes, Marlborough expected that the next year would be one of much importance. Seeing the impossibility of himself assisting Savoy, he had contrived to persuade the King of Prussia to allow 8000 of his troops to proceed to Italy, and to serve under Eugene, who had been despatched thither. His own intention was to follow up his late victory by an invasion of France. He had intended that this invasion should be by the valley of the Moselle, upon which a joint attack was to have been made, by himself up the river, and by Louis of Baden coming from Landau. The plan had been so far foreseen, that the ablest of the French generals, Marshal Villars, was stationed on the Moselle, while Flanders was intrusted to Villeroy, and Marsin continued in Alsace. The weak co-operation of the German Prince rendered the plan abortive, nor did the death of the Emperor Leopold, nor the succession of Joseph the young King of the Romans, increase for any length of time the vigour of the Imperial armies. But while Marlborough was still waiting for the Margrave's assistance, Villeroy had suddenly assumed the offensive, had retaken some of the fortresses of the Meuse, and invested Liège. As usual, on the slightest sign of danger, the Dutch were clamorous for Marlborough's return. His disappointment on the Moselle inclined him to listen to them, and his appearance in Flanders at once re-established affairs. Though disappointed in his main object, he still intended to fight a great battle; but, as usual, jealousy of the allied commanders, and the constant slowness and opposition of the Dutch general, prevented him from bringing on an engagement. He however succeeded in breaking the great line of French fortifications extending from Antwerp to Namur upon the Meuse, and in advancing to the attack of Brussels across the plain of Waterloo, where, but for the opposition he met with among his own colleagues, a great battle might have been fought: he writes, that he felt sure that, had he fought such a battle, it would have been a greater victory than that of Blenheim. However, his difficulties were more than he could overcome. The year passed away without great events, and the French began to think that he had owed his victories to chance. Upon the Rhine, Louis of Baden, though he had been so backward in his support of Marlborough, showed the ability which he really possessed by winning a great battle at the end of the year at Hagenau, unfortunately too late to assist Marlborough in his plans. In Italy,

Marlborough's
plans for
1705.

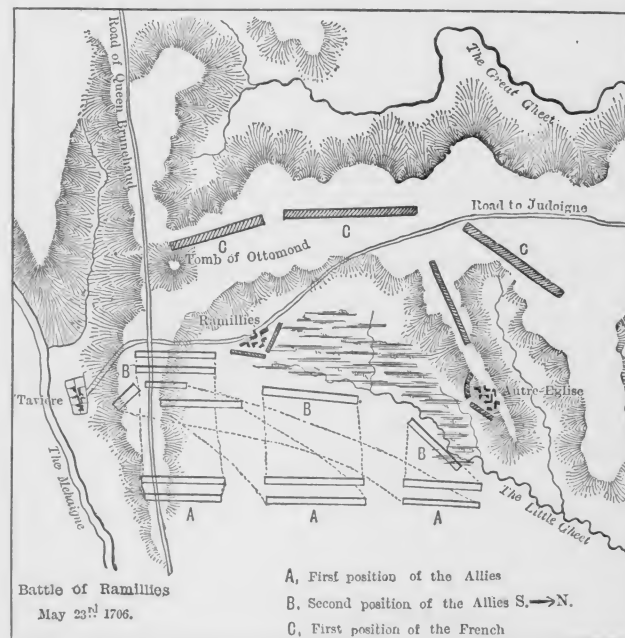
though Eugene won the battle of Cassano, the position of the Duke of Savoy became continually more precarious, and the crisis had not passed.

It was in fact not with either of the great regular armies that the allies this year won any great successes, but with the small and mixed forces in Spain, which had been placed under the eccentric but vigorous command of Lord Peterborough. Leaving Galway to prosecute the war in the west, this general, who held with Sir Cloudesley Shovel a joint command of the fleet also, drew the Prince of Darmstadt from Gibraltar, and sailed round the east of Spain. After some successes on the eastern coast, he was eager to march direct upon Madrid. But the Archduke Charles, now calling himself Charles III., who was with him, listened in preference to the suggestions of Darmstadt, who had once been Governor of Catalonia, and trusted much to his influence in that province. The plan of an attack upon Madrid was therefore overridden, and the army proceeded to besiege Barcelona. Serious quarrels occurred between the leaders, for which Peterborough's want of caution was no doubt much to blame, and the siege was on the point of being given up. Already the heavy cannon were withdrawn from the trenches and carried on board ship, when suddenly Peterborough appeared in the tent of the Prince of Darmstadt, with whom he was not on speaking terms, and telling him that he intended to attack the enemy that night, challenged him to follow him. Laying aside his animosity, the Prince at once accompanied him. Peterborough's intention was to capture the citadel of Montjuich, a fort at some little distance from the town itself, and this he trusted to do by a sudden attack when the enemy were off their guard. The attempt was perfectly successful. The English troops followed the defenders pell mell into the walls of the fortress. Scarcely was the stronghold taken than the Spaniards began to advance from the town to retake it. Peterborough rode forward to reconnoitre; a panic seized his troops in his absence, and they were already relinquishing the fort, when he galloped back and rallied them, and fortunately found that their absence had been unperceived. The possession of this citadel was followed before long by the fall of the city, which capitulated on the 9th of October (1705). The greater portion of the troops in Barcelona, and much of the open country, at once declared for King Charles. The kingdom of Valencia followed this example, and in the capital of that province Peterborough subsequently took up his abode. Nor did his successes end there. In the following year, the French, under Marshal Tessé and

Peterborough's
success in Spain.

King Philip himself, attempted to regain Barcelona. The Count of Toulouse, a natural son of the French King, blockaded it from the sea. Peterborough, moving from Valencia with but 3000 regular troops, did his best to employ Tessé's army, which was 20,000 strong. But the siege went forward uninterruptedly. Already the trenches were within 150 yards of the wall, and an immediate assault was to be expected, when the English fleet under Sir John Leake, second in command, approached. Though his numbers were nearly equal to those of the Count of Toulouse, Leake, a prudent commander, wished to wait for expected reinforcements under Byng. But Peterborough, feeling that delay would be ruinous, determined upon a strange step to compel immediate action. He got on board an open boat and proceeded in quest of the English fleet. After searching for a whole day and night in vain, he at length reached the squadron. Having produced a new commission which had been given him, which gave him full command over Leake whenever he was himself on board, he at once hoisted his flag and gave orders for the attack. But meanwhile, hearing of the arrival of the English, the Count of Toulouse had withdrawn his fleet, the town could be easily approached from the sea, and Tessé thought it better to raise the siege. After this brilliant exploit, Peterborough again wished to march upon Madrid from Valencia, but King Charles, on the advice of his German council, whom Peterborough speaks of by the contemptuous name of "the Vienna crew," determined upon advancing straight through Aragon, and called upon Peterborough to move his troops from Valencia to join him on the march. Meanwhile the army of the west, under Galway and Das Minas, had, after considerable delay, moved upon Madrid also, and had occupied it. They found, however, the feeling there strongly in favour of King Philip. As Aragon and Catalonia had favoured Charles, so, in the spirit of hereditary opposition, the Castilians devoted themselves to the interest of Philip. So strong was the opposition they met with, that the allies had to leave the capital and fall back eastward towards the approaching army of Charles, with whom they formed a junction. But in the combined army there were far too many commanders for vigorous action. Peterborough, the only man of genius among them, found himself constantly thwarted: he put no restraint upon his tongue. Bitter quarrels were the consequence, and he found it necessary to leave the army and betake himself to Italy, which had been his original destination, in order to negotiate with the Genoese for a supply of money.

The same year which saw these sudden and unexpected successes in Spain was marked by still more complete success against the French in other parts of Europe. Marlborough was determined to wipe out the bad impression which the inactivity of the last campaign had caused. His own ardent wish was to march with the army as he had in the Blenheim campaign, and to throw himself into Italy, where the critical position of affairs still continued. Finding



it impossible to gratify this wish, he determined that he would at least do something vigorous in Flanders which might serve as a diversion to his friend Eugene in Italy. Bringing his army therefore across the lines which he had broken the year before in the neighbourhood of the sources of the little river Gheet, he came in sight of Villeroy, with whose army the Elector of Bavaria, having lost all troops of his own, was now serving. The place where the armies met was Ramillies.

Thither Villeroi had drawn his troops, with the intention of covering Namur, which Marlborough's advance seemed to threaten. The French general had received instructions to risk a battle to save that town, and therefore afforded Marlborough the opportunity he so much desired. The French army was very strongly posted upon a range of heights forming a semi-circle round the sources of the little Gheet river. Their right almost touched the Mehaigne river, and was covered by the villages of Tavière and Ramillies. Across it ran an old road known as the road of Queen Brunehaud, closely adjoining which, in the highest part of the position, was a barrow known as the Tomb of Ottomond: from this point the position swept round till it terminated at the village of Autre-Eglise, being covered from that point by the Gheet and the marshes in which it rises. The steepness of the heights at Autre-Eglise, and the river and marsh in its front, rendered the position almost impregnable, but at the same time made it difficult for the troops stationed there to act upon the offensive. Marlborough at once saw that he had the advantage of occupying the inside of a circle, so that to any given point the movement of his troops was shorter than that of his enemy's could be. He saw also that the Tomb of Ottomond was the key of the position. If this was once in his possession, the whole line of the enemy could be enfiladed. He ordered therefore a vigorous but false assault on Autre-Eglise. His feint succeeded; both the French generals rode to that part of the field, believing it to be the point of danger. Then Marlborough ordered the real attack to be made in the neighbourhood of Tavière, Ramillies, and the road of Brunehaud. He was enabled to draw troops from his right to strengthen his left in their attack, and after some warm fighting, especially about the village of Ramillies, the position was forced, the English troops formed at right angles to their original position, and pressed onward along the high ground occupied by the enemy. Villeroi and the Elector found it impossible to save the day. Fresh difficulty was caused by the breaking down of the French baggage as it was withdrawing northwards towards Judoigne. Thus interrupted, the retreat became a rout; the enemy were pursued far beyond Judoigne to within two leagues of Louvain. They did not even rest there; a hurried consultation was held by torchlight in the market-place, and the flight immediately continued towards Brussels. The river Dyle, which Marlborough had failed to pass the preceding year, was thus left open.

The consequences of this victory were unexpectedly great. Brussels

Battle of
Ramillies.
May 23, 1706.

opened its gates to the advancing conquerors; King Charles was proclaimed King in the capital of the Spanish Netherlands; even the line of the Scheldt was deserted, and Ghent, Bruges, and Oudenarde, fell into the hands of the allies; the great naval strongholds, Antwerp and Ostend, which had before now sustained memorable sieges, surrendered, the one on account of some quarrel within its walls, the other because of its inability to withstand the advancing allies. The list of conquests is concluded by the strongholds of Menin and Ath. In fact the effect of the battle was to drive the French entirely out of the Netherlands; Mons and Namur being the only towns of importance still remaining in their hands.

The battle even influenced affairs in Italy. The complete disorganization of the French army in Flanders made a change of commanders imperatively necessary. Vendome, regarded in some ways as the ablest French general, was summoned from Italy, where he had been acting successfully against Eugene. He had driven the Imperial army to retreat behind the Adige; the Milanese had thus been cleared, and Piedmont conquered with the exception of Turin. Into that last fortress the unfortunate Duke had withdrawn. For the purpose of taking it, a well-appointed army, under the Duke de la Feuillade, son-in-law of Chamillart the war minister, but without other claims to the command, crossed the Alps and invested the town. It was of the last importance that it should be relieved, and Eugene determined upon a march, bold even to rashness, for the purpose. Crossing the Po not far from its mouth, he followed the river upwards upon its south bank. The obstacles he encountered were many; but Vendome at this critical moment was recalled to Flanders, and Marsin and the Duke of Orleans, who took the command, allowed Eugene to cross river after river without opposition, contenting themselves with following his movements upon the opposite bank of the river. At length Eugene approached Turin, formed a junction with the Duke of Savoy, whom the laxity of the siege had allowed to leave the city with 10,000 men, and passing beyond Turin, turned his back upon France, and marched against the investing army. The siege had been carried on without skill, the lines were of immense length, and severed into various sections by the numerous rivers which join the Po in the neighbourhood of Turin. Orleans was eager to lead the troops out of the trenches and risk a pitched battle, which, as the French had a considerable advantage in numbers, might easily have resulted in Eugene's defeat. He was overruled by Marsin, who unexpectedly produced a commission as commander.

Saves Eugene
in Italy.

in-chief, and the army awaited the assault in their trenches. Even in this position they were badly commanded. Three generals, issuing sometimes contradictory orders, prevented the proper concentration of troops, and when Eugene marched against that section of the works which lay between the Doria and the Stura, not more than a third of the French army is said to have been ready to oppose him. The route of the French was complete, 200 guns, and much stores and money, fell a prey to the victors (Sept. 7). The effect of the victory was greater than the victory itself. It was found impossible to lead the broken troops into the Milanese; they fell back in confusion behind the Alps, thus leaving the force on the Adige to be surrounded by enemies. Piedmont returned to its allegiance, and in fact the whole of Italy was irretrievably lost to France, and compelled to join the Grand Alliance.

The disasters of France had been continuous. Blenheim had secured Germany, and in this year of 1706, Ramillies had been followed by the conquest of the whole of the Netherlands, Turin by the conquest of the whole of Italy, the relief of Barcelona by the occupation of Madrid by the allied forces, although they had subsequently been compelled to fall back towards Valencia. So great were the French disasters that Louis began to think of treating, and suggested as terms on which peace might be made a new Partition Treaty, by which he would consent to acknowledge Queen Anne in England, to give the Dutch the barrier they demanded, to grant great commercial advantages to the maritime powers, and to surrender Spain and the Indies to the Archduke Charles, if only he could preserve for his grandson Philip a kingdom in Italy consisting of Milan, Naples, and Sicily. These terms were very attractive to the Dutch, who thought they had already secured all they required, but were by no means satisfactory to the Emperor, who saw that the barrier given to the Dutch must of necessity be taken from the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands, and therefore from his brother:¹ nor to Marlborough, who, though he confessed he did not believe that the King of France would ever make peace without securing some kingdom for his grandson, was desirous for his own sake to continue the war, and thought the French demand for the Milanese after the great victories which had been won unreasonable. With some difficulty he persuaded Heinsius to reject the terms, and the war proceeded on its course. It might have been better to have

The disasters of the French in 1706

make Louis desire peace.

Marlborough rejects his terms.

¹ Afterwards Emperor Charles VI., now called Charles III. of Spain in opposition to Philip V.

accepted Louis' terms. Never again were the affairs of the allies in so prosperous a condition, although the continuation of the war undoubtedly told in their favour by the gradual exhaustion it produced in France.

It seemed indeed in the course of the next year as if the tide of victory had wholly turned. Peterborough had re-
turned to Spain, and viewing the altered state of
affairs, was now as eager to act on the defensive as he had been before to urge an advance upon Madrid. His advice was again disregarded. The introduction of Sunderland into the ministry at home was unfavourable to him, and he was recalled, leaving the command of Spain in the somewhat incompetent hands of Das Minas and Galway. These generals, determining to act on the offensive, marched out of Valencia towards Madrid, but were met near Almanza by the lately reinforced army of Berwick, and suffered a complete
defeat. The consequence was the loss of Valencia and
Saragossa, so that Charles was only able to maintain himself in the province of Catalonia. The battle of Almanza was fought on the 25th of April. On the 22nd of the following month, Marshal
Villars completely surprised the Margrave of Bayreuth, who had succeeded the late Margrave Louis of Baden in command of the Imperial troops on the Rhine. The lines of Stolhofen, which had been so long held against the French, were taken and destroyed. Nor was the advance of the allied army of Italy into the south of France more successful. Eugene and the Duke of Savoy reached Toulon and besieged it. But sickness had much decreased the number of the allies; a considerable detachment had been sent to complete the conquest of Naples, and the appearance of Marshal
Tessé with a large army, and the threat of an assault upon
their rear, induced them to raise the siege and retire beyond the Alps. Nor was there anything done in Flanders to redeem the ill-success which had met the allied arms elsewhere. Marlborough in vain attempted to bring the French to a pitched battle. The Dutch had lost confidence after receiving the news of Almanza and Stolhofen, and renewed their old dilatory policy; the rains also somewhat impeded the campaign, which was closed without any important event.

One valuable diplomatic service, however, Marlborough had performed. Charles XII. of Sweden was in the midst of his victorious career. Having defeated the Russians at Narva, he had succeeded in driving Augustus-Elector

The tide of victory turns.

Almanza. April 25, 1707.

Stolhofen. May 22.

Toulon. Aug. 20.

Marlborough diverts Charles XII.

of Saxony, from the throne of Poland, and entering Saxony itself, was now in the neighbourhood of Leipsic. Sweden was the old ally of France, and Louis did not let Charles forget it. For a moment there seemed a chance that Charles would follow in the footsteps of Gustavus Adolphus, throw himself and his victorious army into Germany, and ruin the cause of the allies. To deter him from this step Marlborough visited him at his camp, and successfully directed his ambition towards his old enemies the Russians, against whom he shortly marched to meet his ruin at the battle of Pultowa.

The beginning of the ensuing year was marked by a new incident in the war. The hopes of Louis were raised by the reports of the general discontent prevalent in Scotland; a large portion of that nation had seen with dislike the late completion of the Union, and assurances were brought to France of the readiness of the Jacobite party to rise in arms. An invasion was determined on and actually set on foot. The fleet was all ready to sail, when Prince James Edward, afterwards called the Old Pretender, but now known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, who was to accompany it, was taken ill of the measles. The expedition was postponed for some weeks, and these weeks were enough to destroy its chance of success. Byng with a powerful fleet appeared in the Channel, troops were brought over from the Continent and others collected in England, and though the little squadron succeeded in eluding the fleet and reached the Firth of Forth, there was no sign of a general rising of the Jacobites, and it had to return from its fruitless expedition, glad to escape with safety.

This threatened invasion had of course retained Marlborough in England. It was not till somewhat late that he could join the army. With a slight change of generals the war continued its old course. Villars was employed to reduce Piedmont, Berwick and the Elector of Bavaria were on the Rhine, Spain had been intrusted to the Duke of Orleans, while in Flanders, which was this year selected as the great battlefield, Vendome was to oppose Marlborough, having with him as nominal commander-in-chief the Duke of Burgundy, the heir to the French throne. Marlborough had again formed a great scheme for the campaign. His intention was that the Elector of Hanover, who after the defeat of Stollhofen had taken command of the Imperial troops, should remain on the Rhine, and that Eugene, with whom he again longed to act in co-operation, should form a new army and assist him on the Moselle. The two generals met in April at

Threatened
invasion of
Scotland.
1708.

Campaign of
1708.

Marlborough's
plan.

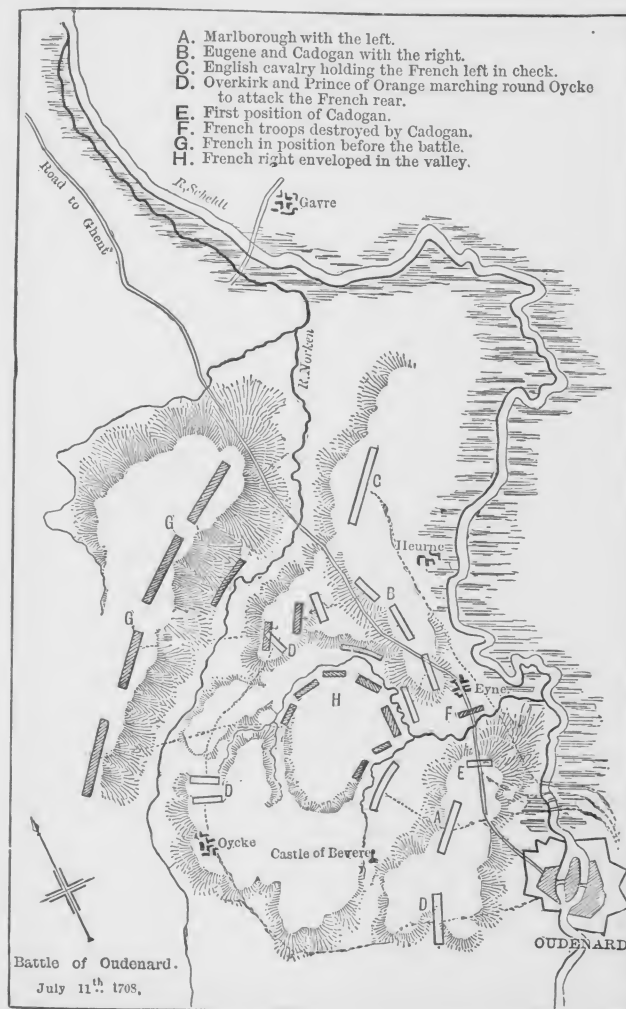
the Hague, and there agreed that they would make an ostensible plan for the invasion of Lorraine, but that they should in fact join their two armies, and act rapidly and decisively to complete the conquest of the Netherlands. Eugene met with infinite difficulties in forming his new army, and Marlborough was still single-handed when Vendome began an offensive movement.

The French army had been concentrated at Mons, on the southwest of the Netherlands. It thence advanced northward towards Brussels. Fearing for the capital, Marlborough took up a position to cover it, but suddenly the French marched off eastward, and threatened Louvain. This was, however, but a feint. The real intention of the French was to act upon the western frontier, upon the river Scheldt. The Dutch had made themselves highly unpopular in the Netherlands since they had had possession of that province; the disaffected inhabitants of the great towns on the Scheldt had opened correspondence with Vendome, and were prepared to surrender their cities to him. Having therefore drawn Marlborough towards Louvain, he suddenly marched westward to Alost, across the front of the English army, sending forward on his march detachments, to which Ghent and Bruges surrendered without a struggle. As the town of Oudenarde, somewhat higher up the river, would complete the security of these new acquisitions, it was determined to besiege it. Marlborough had followed close upon the heels of the French, circling round Brussels so as to defend the capital. He had not ceased to urge Eugene to join him with his troops, which, according to agreement, should have been with him many weeks before. The delay was no fault of the Prince's; he was already hurrying to join Marlborough, when, hearing that it was his intention to fight a battle in defence of Oudenarde, and unable to bring up his troops, he hastened forward alone and joined the English army. Between Marlborough's army and Oudenarde ran the river Dender, which the French determined to hold to cover the siege. Alost, which lies a little to the north of Oudenarde, they already possessed; at about an equal distance to the south, also on the river Dender, was the entrenched camp of Lessines. Could they occupy this they would be in a good position to cover the siege. Marlborough foresaw their intention, and determined to forestall them. Although the river between Lessines and Alost makes a considerable curve, and Marlborough, on the convex side of it, had almost twice the distance to traverse that the French had, he pushed on with such rapidity that he secured Lessines and the pas-

sage of the river before the French columns appeared in sight. It was now evident to the French generals that Marlborough intended to fight. They drew in their detachments, and marched rapidly to cross the Scheldt at Gavre, to the north of Oudenarde. Marlborough marched direct upon that city, so that the converging lines of march would speedily meet. It was known that there was much disputing and ill-feeling between Vendome and the Duke of Burgundy, and that the latter Prince intended, if possible, to avoid an engagement. With all speed Marlborough sent forward General Cadogan to secure the passage of the river, and prepare bridges for his army. After he had performed this duty, Cadogan rode forward to reconnoitre, and saw the French troops crossing at Gavre, and, in ignorance of the immediate vicinity of the English, quietly sending out foragers. With such troops as he had he drove in the outlying posts of the enemy, who now, apprised of the approach of Marlborough, found a battle inevitable.

A little to the north of Oudenarde the river Norken joins the Scheldt, after a course almost parallel to that river. Between the Norken and the Scheldt an irregular semicircle of hills sweeps with the convex side of one of its arms at Oudenarde, while the other, surmounted by the village Oycke, overhangs the Norken; it contains in its hollow two little brooks which fall into the Scheldt just north of Oudenarde. On the other side of these brooks, closing the opening of the semicircle, is an irregular mass of rising ground sloping away northward towards the junction of the Scheldt and Norken. Vendome gave orders to occupy this irregular mass and the valleys of the brooks, the arm of the semicircle between Oudenarde and the course of the brooks being occupied by Cadogan. But the Duke of Burgundy counter-ordered his commands, and arranged his troops upon what was doubtless a stronger position, the range of hills beyond the Norken. But though stronger for defence, it was much less favourable for an offensive battle. These contradictory commands cost the French their first loss. Seven battalions of their troops having pushed forward towards Oudenarde as far as Eyne, were fallen upon and destroyed by Cadogan, who thus crossed the brook and ascended the irregular high land beyond it. Had Vendome's order been carried out the position of Cadogan would have been very precarious. He was almost unsupported, although Marlborough was coming to his assistance with some cavalry, which he led forward for several miles at a gallop. As it was, however, the English army came up by

Battle of
Oudenarde.
July 11, 1708.



degrees, and took position with their left on the semicircle of hills, and their right supporting Cadogan beyond the brook. Thwarted in his first schemes, Vendome now wished to remain beyond the Norken, knowing that the enemy were wearied with a long march (it was already four in the afternoon), and that he would have an opportunity of withdrawing quietly in the night towards France. The Duke of Burgundy again thwarted him. He commanded the right wing, and insisted upon sending his troops forward across the Norken into the valleys where the brooks ran. The country was there broken up with enclosures, and a fierce hand-to-hand battle was fought with the English right, which Marlborough had intrusted to Eugene. The exhibition of all the English cavalry upon the high lands beyond the brooks held the French left entirely in check; and while Eugene and the English were disputing the hedges and enclosures in the valley, Marlborough, passing to the left, observed that the extremity of the semicircle, which overhung the Norken and was occupied by the village of Oycke, was unguarded by the French. He caused Overkirk with the Dutch reserve to march round the hills to occupy this point, and thus completely envelop the French right. The effect was the total annihilation of that part of the French army, and it was owing to an accident alone that any part of it escaped. The two extremes of the enveloping English line came so close together, that in the darkness they fired upon each other. The mistake was happily soon discovered, but fearing a repetition of the accident, the general gave orders rather to let the French escape than to run the risk of renewing such a disaster. Some 9000 men thus broke through at a gap in the semicircle of hills near the Castle of Bevere, and made their escape to France. The rest of the beaten army retired toward Ghent.

Both armies were speedily reinforced. Eugene's troops arrived from the Moselle, and joined the English; Berwick, with part of the army of the Rhine, which had been observing them, reinforced the French, but the relative numbers of the troops were not much changed. Marlborough and Eugene had now to settle upon a further plan of action. Before them lay the great city of Lille, one of the earliest conquests of Louis XIV., newly fortified with all the skill of Vauban.

Siege of Lille.
Dec. 9, 1708. That the allies should cross the frontier and enter France was speedily determined. But while Marlborough suggested the bold plan of leaving troops to mask Lille, while the main army marched direct to Paris, Eugene, though by no means a timid general, urged the more regular course of besieging and

capturing the great fortress which lay in their way before proceeding further. The arguments in favour of this plan were too plausible to be disregarded. It was decided that while Eugene in person undertook the siege, Marlborough should command the covering army. Even to bring the siege material to the spot was a matter of no small difficulty; the artillery alone required 16,000 horses, and the progress of the siege was watched by a French army of 100,000. When these preliminary difficulties were triumphantly overcome, there still remained the great fortress itself, occupied by 15,000 men, under the able command of Boufflers. At one time the Dutch deputies were so alarmed at the slowness of the progress made that they urged the renunciation of the project. One of the greatest difficulties experienced by the allied commanders was the provisioning of the army; the land communication with Brussels was entirely cut off, all provisions had to be brought from Ostend, whither they had been conveyed by sea. The French determined to interrupt this line of communication also, and to destroy one of the convoys which had been intrusted to General Webb, with a most insufficient detachment of troops. It has been suggested that Marlborough was here playing one of his old tricks, that, in his jealousy of Webb, he wished for his destruction, and had intentionally exposed him to this danger. If such was the case he was thoroughly disappointed. When the French troops fell upon the convoy at Wynendale, Webb made a most gallant defence and beat them off. The very slight notice taken by Marlborough in his despatches of this gallant action gives some colour to the rumour. The victory of Wynendale was at all events the turning-point of the siege; from this time rapid progress was made. On the 22nd of October Boufflers found it necessary to capitulate for the town, while retaining the citadel, and on the 9th of December he marched out of his last stronghold with all the honours of war. The re-conquest of Ghent and Bruges followed upon the fall of Lille.

In other directions the war had been languid. In Spain only had anything been done. There Stanhope had taken the Capture of
Port Mahon. command in conjunction with Staremborg, the Imperial general, and had succeeded without much difficulty in capturing Port Mahon in Minorca, a place then regarded as more valuable than Gibraltar, and of the highest importance as affording a safe winter harbour for the English fleet in the Mediterranean.

For some years the exhaustion of France had been great. The finance ministers had been reduced to the most ruinous expedients

to maintain the war, and the whole people were suffering terribly. To crown their misery, the winter of 1708 was of extraordinary severity and duration. The corn crops were frozen in the ground, the very apple trees perished with cold. Famine threatened to destroy what the war had spared.

Louis became very anxious to treat; and as for some years it had been supposed that the Dutch were inclined to accept a separate pacification, it was to them that Louis addressed himself. The war party was however for the present in the ascendant, and Heinsius, who, as Grand Pensionary of Holland, exercised a predominant influence in the Council of the Dutch, let it be clearly understood that the Republic would treat only in conjunction with the allies, and that the allied demands would be very high. Louis however despatched an ambassador to see what terms could be made, but he met with a cold reception. The Government in England, especially the Whig members of it, were indignant at the threatened invasion of Scotland in the previous year, and induced the Parliament to vote that the Queen's title and the Protestant succession, the dismissal of the Pretender from

France, and the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk, should be necessary elements in any treaty: while the Dutch claimed a line of ten fortresses on the Flemish frontier (including some still in the possession of France), and the restoration of Strasburg and Luxemburg. Nor, in exchange for these high demands, was any specific promise of peace given. Such was the position of the French Government, that even these terms were taken into consideration, and Torcy the French minister offered, though he could get no proper passport, to go himself privately and see what could be done to ameliorate them. He found the allies determined to demand at least the resignation of the whole Spanish succession, together with the restoration of Newfoundland to England. This demand put Louis in a difficult position. It was no longer, he declared, in his power to surrender Spain, for his grandson King Philip had a will of his own, and, although he might have been induced to resign Spain for an Italian kingdom, did not choose to become altogether crownless. Louis now reaped the fruits of his former bad faith as a negotiator. The allies, believing that this excuse was fictitious, and alleged merely to gain time, drew up their demands in accordance with the preliminaries, and would promise in exchange for the great concessions demanded from Louis only two months' truce. If in that time Philip could not be induced to resign Spain, the French King was to pledge him-

Exhaustion
of France.
1709.

Louis offers
to treat.

High demands
of the allies.

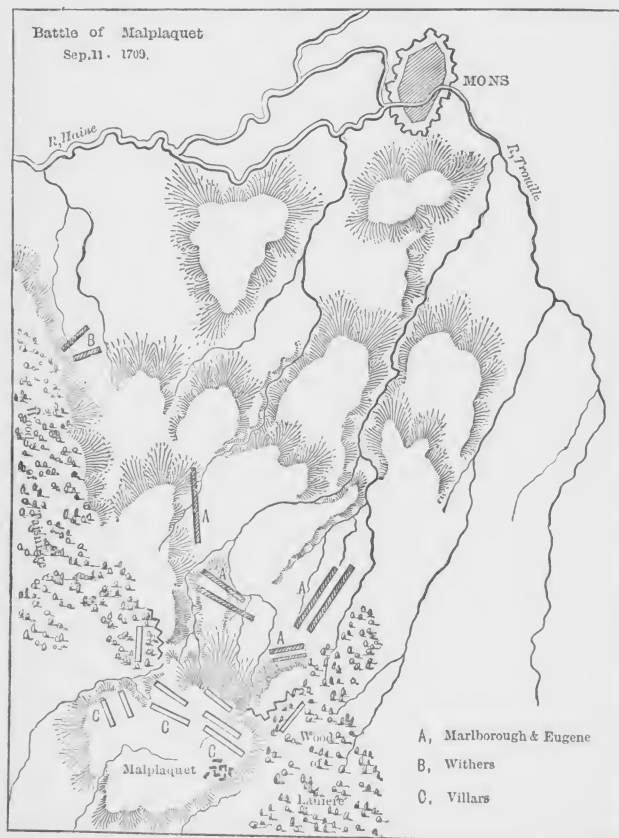
self to join with the allies to expel him by force of arms. When Torcy returned with these terrible terms, a Council was held at Versailles, and amidst tears of indignation at the ignominious propositions, it was determined that, in spite of the necessity of the moment, it was impossible to accept them. Louis declared, if he had to fight, he would rather fight against his enemies than against his own children. And now at length, humbled by reverses, he threw himself on the patriotism of his people; a stirring proclamation was circulated through the provinces; the King set the example of patriotism by turning his plate and costly works of art into money; the whole nation was touched by his humility, and the war began again with renewed vigour. The allies had indeed pressed their demands beyond what was either generous or politic.

Villars, the only great French marshal as yet undefeated, was intrusted with the duty of checking the victorious advance of Eugene and Marlborough. His name, and the newly roused patriotism of the country, raised the spirits of the army, though they were in want of many of the necessaries of life. Villars, determined to act upon the defensive, saw Tournay fall without moving. Thence the conquerors advanced to Mons, the capital of Hainault. It seemed necessary, if possible, to prevent the siege of this town. The rapidity of the movements of the allies prevented Villars from attaining that object, but the investment was scarcely formed when he crossed the Scheldt at Valenciennes, and appeared with his army in the immediate neighbourhood. The corner of the country between the Haine river on the north, and the Trouille on the east, in which Mons stands, is crossed by a barrier of high ground, rendered more difficult by large woods and forests. To approach Mons from the south and west this ridge has to be crossed, and the only convenient passage is by the *Trouée*, or open gap, between the woods of Lanière towards the east, and Taisnière towards the west. Between these woods the high land falls by several ravines into the plain of Mons. On the crown of the ridge is the heath and village of Malplaquet. Marlborough and Eugene, supposing that the object of Villars would be to pass through this gap and attempt to raise the siege of Mons, brought their army to the foot of the ascending ravines. But Villars, under whom Boufflers, though his senior in rank, was serving as a volunteer, feeling certain that at all events a battle would be fought, determined to adopt a defensive position, and during the night and day after his arrival at Malplaquet strongly

Rejected
by Louis.

Battle of
Malplaquet.

fortified the flanking woods and the crown of the hill. Marlborough was anxious to attack before the fortifications were complete, but



Eugene thought it necessary to await the arrival of troops coming from the siege of Tournay. A day was thus lost, and time allowed to render the fortifications much stronger. The battle, which began

upon the 11th of September, was the most bloody and hardly contested of the war. In their first assaults the allies were repeatedly driven back, but the pressure upon the wood of Taisnière was so strong, especially when it was outflanked and threatened from the extreme right of the allies under Withers, that Villars had to weaken his centre to hold his ground. Marlborough perceived the weakness and took advantage of it. The entrenchments in the centre of the line were broken through and captured, and thus the position forced. Villars had been severely wounded, and the command had devolved upon Boufflers, who brought off the French army in perfect order, and the fruit of the hard-earned victory was nothing but the field of battle. The English encamped the following night upon the French position, having lost in their disastrous victory 20,000 men. Mons fell, but the campaign had then to be closed.

Thus far it has been possible to follow without interruption the general course of the war, but from this time forward the state of politics in England exercised so decided an influence upon it, upon the negotiations which were to bring it to a close, and upon the position and conduct of Marlborough, that it becomes necessary to turn back and trace the history of parties since the Queen's accession. Speaking quite generally, that history consists in the gradual substitution of a Whig for a Tory Government. Rochester and the extreme high Tories were disinclined to a great offensive war, and consequently directly opposed to Marlborough. The Duke, not wishing to break with any great section of English politicians, attempted, as William had done, to govern by means of the moderate men of both parties. But there was a second question which, even after the dismissal of the Tories who disliked the war, prevented the completion of his plan. The Tories were desirous that stringent measures should be taken to support the exclusive authority of the English Church, and in this point were strongly supported by the feelings of the Queen. The Whigs, on whom Marlborough was induced for the purposes of the war more and more to rely, were on the other hand inclined towards more liberal measures. It was upon this point that the second secession of the Tories took place, leaving Marlborough entirely in the hands of the Whigs, and in a certain degree in opposition to the Queen. It was the Whig determination when triumphant to suppress the expression of High Church feeling that produced the complete overthrow of Marlborough's ministry. At the same time, as in the former reign, disputes between the Houses continued,

Summary of
political parties
from 1702.

especially when a Tory majority in the Lower House came into collision with the constant Whig majority in the House of Lords.

Already, before the Parliament called by the late King had been dissolved, Rochester and the extreme high Tories had shown their disinclination to the war, and had besides given proof of a more exclusive party spirit than suited the views of Marlborough, to whom, as to William, the affairs of Europe and the conduct of the war were all in all, and who had no taste for party conflict. As was to be expected from the character of the ministry, a strong Tory majority was returned in October to the first Parliament of the Queen's reign. But Rochester's views were not shared by the whole of his party ;

Tory Parli-
ament.
Oct. 1702.

indeed, the strength of party feeling tended for the time to give Marlborough the support of the Tories. In their eagerness to throw blame upon the late King, they could not refrain from contrasting him with the Duke. Marlborough had by this time begun his successful career by capturing the towns of the Meuse, and the Commons proceeded to congratulate the Queen, saying, "The wonderful progress of your Majesty's armies under the conduct of Marlborough have singularly retrieved the ancient honour of the English nation." The word *retrieved*, intended to imply censure on the late King, was, in spite of the opposition of the Whigs, carried by a large majority. For the present then, if merely out of opposition to William, the Tories as a whole seemed pledged to support Marlborough, liberal grants were made, and shortly after the close of the session, the Government, resting upon the general feeling in its favour, felt itself strong enough to get rid of Rochester. Displeased at receiving no more important office than that of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he left his government there, and remained in England. He thus afforded an opportunity to his enemies to order him to return to his duties. On his refusing to do so, the command was repeated in a more peremptory manner, and in his anger he sent in his resignation, which was accepted.

Before this, however, the question of Church government had been raised in the House, and the storm it excited had caused a somewhat hasty prorogation. It had been the habit of dissenting members of corporations so far to do violence to their conscience as to receive the Sacrament according to the law of the Church of England upon their appointment to municipal offices. Having thus duly qualified themselves, they had continued to hold office, but had gone back to their old forms of worship. This

Occasional
Conformity Bill
thrown out.

habit, known as occasional conformity, was viewed with great jealousy by the Tories. In the first session of the Parliament a bill was brought in to render occasional conformity illegal, and to inflict heavy fines upon those who held office on such terms. The chief supporter of the measure was Henry St. John, afterwards so well known as Lord Bolingbroke. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but its amendment by the House of Lords produced such violent altercations, that the Queen found it necessary to put an end to the session. It was during this session that the Commissioners for the Union with Scotland first held their sittings. The progress of the negotiations which produced the Union in 1706 will be given subsequently.

The Parliament reassembled in November 1703, a month rendered remarkable by the greatest storm ever known in England ; it is calculated that no less than 8000 lives were lost in it, while 800 houses and 400 windmills were reduced to ruins. The devastation caused among the forests in the country may be estimated by the fact that Defoe, travelling through Kent, counted 17,000 uprooted timber trees, and then desisted from reckoning them from weariness.

The session was again the scene of a great contest between the Houses. The war was still well supported, and the grants were upon a very liberal scale, rendered necessary by the additional troops required for Portugal and Spain, since Portugal had joined the Great Alliance, first under a treaty with Austria, and subsequently under the well-known Methuen Treaty with England. This treaty, regarded as a triumph of diplomacy, was completed by Mr. Methuen, the English minister at Lisbon, at the close of 1703. It was in exact accordance with the commercial views of the time, and contained but two articles. By the first English woollen manufactures were admitted into Portugal, by the second it was arranged that the duty on Portuguese wines should always be less by one-third than that on the wines of France. It was supposed that this would not only secure the friendship of Portugal, but would also bring much gold and silver, of which the Peninsula was the great emporium, into England, an object regarded as of the first importance under the mercantile system. It was when the Bill against occasional conformity, which had been dropped in the preceding session, was reintroduced that the contest began. The ministers who had been eager the preceding year that the Bill should be carried, had, since the resignation of Rochester and the opposition offered by his friends,

The Methuen
Treaty.

Occasional
Conformity Bill
again thrown
out.

grown less eager in their Tory views. In spite of their very lukewarm support, the Bill again passed the House of Commons by a large majority. But again it met with great opposition from the Lords, and was finally thrown out by a majority of eleven. As no amendments had been proposed, there was no room for angry conferences

Disputes on the
Aylesbury
election.

between the Houses. But an opportunity for quarrel was found in questions arising from the Aylesbury election. The returning officers for that borough had been notoriously guilty of tampering with the returns in favour of their own friends. At the last election the vote of Matthew Ashby had been rejected. He brought an action against the returning officer, and a verdict was found in his favour. The case was removed into the higher court, and three of the four judges of the Queen's Bench decided that all decisions with regard to votes rested entirely with the House of Commons. Upon this Ashby brought his case by a writ of error before the House of Lords, where the decision of the Queen's Bench was set aside, and the case finally settled in favour of Ashby. On this the Commons engaged in the quarrel, and declared that Ashby, by appealing to the law, was guilty of a breach of privilege. The Lords replied, declaring that the right of voting, like any other right, might be maintained by an action at the common law. There for the present the quarrel was left. It seems tolerably clear that on this point the Lords were in the right, but the newly won position of the House of Commons inspired its members with most overweening views of their own importance. In February of this year (1704) the Queen celebrated her birthday by surrendering her claim to the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, which were hereafter to be employed for the benefit of the Church, and which have since been administered under the well-known name of Queen Anne's Bounty.

It was with the knowledge and co-operation of Marlborough—though he had himself taken the opportunity afforded by the prorogation to go abroad to fight the great battle of Blenheim—that his friends in the ministry succeeded in relieving themselves of the rest of the extreme Tories. For the removal of Rochester in the previous year had by no means cleared the Government of the party opposed to the active prosecution of the war. His views were accepted and supported by Nottingham and Jersey in the Upper House, by Hedges and Seymour in the House of Commons. Nottingham, true to his principles, had thrown every obstacle in his power in the way

Dismissal of
Nottingham,
Jersey and
Seymour.
May 1704.

of a plan which had come before the Council for utilizing for the general purposes of the war the insurrection of the Cevennes. Thwarted in his opposition, after the close of the session, he haughtily demanded of the Queen the immediate dismissal of all the Whigs in the Government, threatening in case of refusal to retire. The Queen, who loved the Tories, would probably have wished to retain him, but she was irritated at the tone of his demand. Her irritation was fostered by Godolphin and the Duchess of Marlborough, and she brought herself to dismiss both Nottingham and his followers, Jersey and Seymour. The ministry had to be reconstructed. But Marlborough and Godolphin were by no means disposed to put themselves into the hands of the Whigs; they therefore called to office another section of the Tories not adverse to the war. Harley, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was made Secretary of State, Mansell replaced Seymour, the Earl of Kent, a moderate Whig, succeeded Jersey, while the Secretary of War, an unimportant person, made room for St. John.

Replaced by
moderate
Tories.

These changes did not improve the position of the ministers, as the Tory Party had still a strong majority in the House of Commons. Marlborough's own popularity with the House was shaken, and in the autumn session of 1704, the prevailing feeling showed itself in the form given to the vote of thanks with which the Commons met the victory at Blenheim; this was so expressed as to place on a level with the great general who had saved the Empire the Tory Admiral Rooke, who had fought an indecisive battle in the Mediterranean, for which many men thought he deserved rather blame than praise, for though almost as strong as the enemy, he had withdrawn from the battle without effecting anything. The Tory temper of the House was again shown by the increased passion with which the Occasional Conformity Bill was introduced and supported. A considerable number of the most vehement Tories were eager to adopt their old method, and to tack it to a Bill for the Land Tax. The Government, and that section of the Tories who followed the newly-appointed ministers, were sufficiently strong to defeat this movement, and the Bill met its usual fate in the House of Lords. As in the preceding session, unable to quarrel with the House of Lords for exercising their undoubted right, the Commons found means of attacking them by renewing the question of the Aylesbury election. Resting upon the decision of the House of Lords, other inhabitants of Aylesbury had sued the returning officers. The House of Commons had committed them to Newgate. The Queen's Bench

Parliament.
Oct. 29, 1704.

had refused to interfere; the prisoners demanded a writ of error. The Commons addressed the Queen against the writ, and put the prisoners into the custody of their own serjeant-at-arms. The heat of the dispute rendered a prorogation necessary (March 14).

But the conduct of the Tory majority had tended still further to incline the ministry towards the Whigs. Rooke was superseded as commander-in-chief of the fleet, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, a Whig, put in his place, and as the three years of the Parliament were now run out, the Government influence was exercised at the elections against all those who had voted for tacking the Occasional Conformity Bill. Even stronger signs were visible of the intention of the Government to form a junction with the Whigs; the ministers began an intrigue with the Junto, promising before long to give the Great Seal to William Cowper (a promise which was shortly after fulfilled), and admitted the Duke of Newcastle to the ministry as Privy Seal in the place of the Tory Duke of Buckingham. Nor was it the Government only which was changing its views. The nation at large, thoroughly interested in the war and disgusted at the conduct of the Tories, returned at the new elections a large majority of Whigs. The growing influence of the Whigs was supplemented by a family tie which connected Marlborough with that party; as Godolphin, whose son had married one of his daughters, formed a link with the Tories, so Sunderland, who had married another, connected him with the Whigs. It seemed as though a bargain advantageous to both sides might be struck between the Duke and the Whig party. The accession of Sunderland to the ministry would on the one side strengthen Marlborough's personal position, and render it more possible for him to carry on his plan of government without parties; while, on the other, it would secure to the Whigs a means of at once influencing the character of the administration. It was determined therefore that Sunderland should enter the ministry, and as there was then no vacant office, he was employed at once as extraordinary ambassador to Vienna, and in the course of the following year (1706) was raised to the office of Secretary of State. His appointment, and the gradual inclination of the Government to the Whigs, was followed, at the beginning of the year 1707, by the creation of several Whig Peers, and by a final breach with the High Tories, when the names of Buckingham, Nottingham, and Rochester were struck from the list of the Privy Council. Marlborough seemed now to have gained his object. The adminis-

Gradual introduction of Whig ministers.

Marlborough's composite ministry. 1707.

tration was a thoroughly composite one. On the one side were a number of Whigs led by Lord Sunderland, on the other a section of more moderate Tories headed by Harley and St. John.

But Marlborough underrated the difficulty of managing a coalition. In his necessary absence abroad this difficult operation was in the hands of Godolphin, always a timid minister, without any real political convictions, and ill qualified for a great party struggle. And such a party struggle was now inevitable. All the ministers were indeed at present willing to uphold the war. On other points their views were diametrically opposed, and both sections were anxious for a more complete admission to power of their own friends. It was the personal influence of the Churchills alone which could support so strange a conjunction. That influence depended upon the favour of the Crown, which by its indirect power of influencing Parliament was practically rather strengthened than weakened by the Revolution. If that favour could be withdrawn the ill-assorted ministry must inevitably fall. This truth was clear to Harley, a man of intriguing character and the leader of the Tory section of the Cabinet. He perceived that it might be possible to rise upon the fall of the Churchills, and saw how their power might be undermined. The Queen was a devoted High Churchwoman; Marlborough and his friends, especially since his growing predilection for the Whigs, were avowedly careless, if they were not Low Church; Harley, on the other hand, had a great reputation for religion and orthodoxy. Again and again patronage had been bestowed on what the Queen considered Latitudinarian principles. Displeased and hurt, she was yet too timid to stand alone, Harley supplied her with the support she wanted. His cousin, Mrs. Abigail Hill, who was a cousin and protégée also of the Duchess of Marlborough, ingratiated herself with the Queen; she was appointed bedchamber woman, and married with the Queen's influence, without the knowledge of the Duchess of Marlborough, to Mr. Masham, a member of Prince George's household. Her quiet, even temper formed a happy contrast to the termagant violence of the Duchess, and Harley succeeded in making her his instrument. He roused in the Queen a dread of the subversion of the Church, and she found courage to make several Bishops without consulting her ministers.

Harley, seeing its weakness.

intrigues against Marlborough.

The Whig Junto was even more angry than the ministers themselves at this conduct. They suspected Harley's design, and determined to drive him from the ministry. Both parties felt that the crisis had

arrived. One or other of them must become predominant. They both determined to make their power felt, and by a strange manœuvre the extremes of both sides joined to attack the ministry. The chief points of attack were the naval administration,—which, as it implicated her husband, was always a tender point with the Queen,—and the determination of Marlborough to pursue the course William had marked out, and to carry on the war chiefly in Flanders.

Failure of
the composite
ministry.

It was in this session of Parliament, which began on October 23, 1707, that the joint assault upon the Government was made. The maladministration of the navy was the chief topic, but the Tories also introduced a motion in the House of Lords, recommending a change of the seat of war from Flanders to Spain, where the battle of Almanza had lately proved disastrous to the allied armies. Marlborough pointed out in vain that this would produce an immediate peace with the Dutch, who would feel their country open to invasion from France; and although the Whigs, pledged as they were to support the policy of William, could not join in such a motion, Somers drew up a declaration, embodying both the disapprobation felt for the management of the fleet, and as much of the Tory feeling in favour of a change in the seat of war as was possible for his party to accept. The declaration stated that "it is the opinion of this Committee that no peace can be honourable or safe to her Majesty or her allies, if Spain and the West Indies be suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon." But the manœuvre of the Whigs in joining in the assault against Government had been successful; it was not necessary to press the hostile resolution. Godolphin had been thoroughly frightened, and recognized the necessity of breaking up the unnatural friendship and of allying himself with one or other of the great parties. With the war still continuing he could not but choose the Whigs. At once entering into negotiations with the chief of that party, he induced Somers, as President of the Committee charged with the duty of throwing the late resolutions into the form of an address, to change the resolutions, by a slight alteration in the words, from an attack upon Government into a pledge for the continuation of the war till the French had been entirely broken. The suggested resolutions mentioned the West Indies, reflecting on the comparative weakness of our naval efforts, and Spain, implying a change of the scene of war. The introduction of the words "or any other part of the Spanish monarchy," entirely destroyed these hostile allusions. The Whigs had shown their power, it was no longer possible to refuse

Harley and his
colleagues
resign.
Feb. 11, 1708.

them their reward. It became necessary to break with Harley and the moderate Tories. The discovery that a man of the name of Gregg, a clerk in Harley's office, was in treasonable correspondence with France, threw some suspicions on his master's fidelity, and Marlborough and Godolphin agreed on Harley's dismissal. The Queen was more difficult to move. It required a threat of resignation on the part of the ministers to induce her to give up one who, as she believed, thought entirely with her on Church matters, but she was not yet free from the influence of the Churchills, and she yielded. With him retired St. John, Harcourt, and Mansell, whose places were taken by Boyle, a zealous Whig, as Secretary of State, John Smith as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Robert Walpole as Secretary of War. Marlborough and Godolphin had apparently triumphed by means of the Whigs, but their victory had lost them the Queen's favour and compelled them to submit to the dictation of the Whig party, who at once set to work to secure office for themselves; nor were they scrupulous in the means they used, the threat that they would turn their assault on the naval administration directly and by name upon her husband, then on his deathbed, induced the Queen to remove Pembroke and give the Presidency of the Council to Somers. Sunderland, though himself a minister, intrigued with the Scotch Jacobites to throw out the ministerial candidates at the election of Peers held in accordance with the Union. To all this the General and Treasurer had to submit. The administration was completed upon a Whig basis, when Orford was forced upon the Queen as head of the Admiralty.

Marlborough was fully alive to the insecurity of his position. It is often attributed, though perhaps without sufficient reason, to the desire to keep up his personal ascendancy, that he refused the terms offered by Louis; and in the following year the disastrous victory of Malplaquet has also been considered a political battle. A truer view of the case seems to be that, afraid of taking any decided steps, he chose to occupy merely the position of an agent of Government, and obey even against his own convictions the dictation of the Whig party. At the same time, he made two desperate efforts to obtain a position independent of home politics—he applied to the Archduke Charles for the office of Governor of the Low Countries, which would have produced about £60,000 a year, and he also demanded from Queen Anne the position of Captain General for life. In both cases his efforts failed. As far as England was concerned, he probably owed his disappointment chiefly to the conduct of his wife. Finding herself supplanted

Insecurity of
Marlborough's
position.

by Mrs. Masham, she lost all command of her temper, and perpetually outraged the feelings of the Queen by her violent complaints.

The triumph of the Whigs, which had seemed so complete, was of very short duration. Their fall was caused by a fault which had been too prevalent among them since the Revolution—whenever they had the upper hand, they became dictatorial and overbearing. Already they had made themselves distasteful to the Queen by the eagerness with which they had forced themselves into power, and an unnecessary exhibition of that power rendered them distasteful to the people. A certain Dr. Henry Sacheverell, a strong upholder of the doctrine of non-resistance, had

Fall of the
Whigs.
1710.

Dr. Sacheverell.

preached two sermons, one at the Assizes of Derby, one before the mayor and aldermen at St. Paul's. The mayor, who sympathized with his views, suggested that he should print the sermons, and though the common council, when consulted, declined to authorize this step, the preacher acted on the mayor's suggestion and published both. They became a sort of political manifesto, which was largely circulated through the country. The Whigs were naturally angry at this semi-official production of doctrines subversive of all the principles of the Revolution. They determined to take notice of the sermons, and, foolishly disregarding the advice of Somers, they proceeded by the extraordinary method of impeachment instead of the common process of law. This naturally raised the foolish utterances of a clergyman to the dignity of a party question; and when they further insisted upon a ceremonious hearing in Westminster Hall, the trial became the fashionable topic of the day. The excitement throughout England was very great. All other public business came to a standstill, and when the Lords, though they found Sacheverell guilty, took a very moderate view of his guilt, and punished him only with three years' suspension, the verdict was regarded as a virtual acquittal, and celebrated as a party triumph. The exhibition of feeling called forth by this trial proved both to the Queen and to her secret advisers how great a hold the Tory party had upon the country. Encouraged by Harley, who loved an underhand intrigue, and by his creature Mrs. Masham, she proceeded to act upon her new-found knowledge, and it became evident how formidable the power of the Crown still was. Without consulting Godolphin, she made the Duke of Shrewsbury Lord Chamberlain. Godolphin, instead of resigning at this marked act of distrust, put up with the affront. Still further emboldened by this weakness, the Queen dismissed Lord

Dismissal of
Sunderland and
Godolphin.
Aug. 8.

Sunderland, whom she had always disliked, and followed up the blow by the dismissal of Godolphin himself. The office of Lord Treasurer was for the time kept in abeyance, but Harley was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was virtually Prime Minister. For a little while Harley attempted negotiations with the Whigs, who still retained office, but finding them impracticable, he determined to rest upon the Tories only, induced the Queen to dissolve Parliament, and formed an entirely Tory ministry, the most important members of which were Harcourt, who became Lord Chancellor, Rochester, Lord President, and St. John, who succeeded Boyle as Secretary of State.

Harley's Tory
ministry.
Nov.

It was with this ministry that Louis attempted to renew the interrupted negotiations of 1709. The battle of Malplaquet and the fall of Mons had forced him to this course, and to consent that a congress should be held at Gertruydenberg. At first Holland refused to treat except upon the preliminaries of the preceding year, and they still demanded the assistance of Louis in ejecting his grandson the King of Spain. Finally, both English and Dutch seemed to have waived this point, but the opposition of Austria and Savoy rendered any general negotiation impossible, and the war was resumed.

Conference at
Gertruydenberg
1710.

In Flanders it produced nothing beyond the capture of Douay, but in Spain it was of more importance. There Stanhope succeeded with some difficulty in inducing his colleague Staremberg and the Archduke Charles to advance towards Madrid. They defeated the Spaniards, from whom French assistance was withdrawn during the negotiations, at Almenara and Saragossa. They pushed on into Castile, and again occupied Madrid. Thus, inasmuch as the war had been fairly successful, it was in favour of the Whigs, although the successes having been chiefly in Spain (the pursuance of the war in which country was a part of the Tory programme), they were less important politically than they would have been had they taken place in Flanders. But whatever advantage the Whigs might have obtained from the war was neutralized when, before the end of the year, events occurred in Spain which entirely altered the complexion of affairs in that country. Stanhope's hopes for a successful issue of his enterprise were based on the active co-operation of the army of Portugal. Philip, with his Spanish army, having retired northwards, there was nothing to prevent the junction of the two armies. But, in spite of the entreaties of the English general, the Portuguese would not move, and as the hope of any successful issue to the nego-

The war
in Spain.

tiations dwindled, Louis again allowed assistance to be sent to Spain, and a considerable army, which the national spirit of the Castilians had formed round Philip, was placed under the able command of Vendome. He at once saw the necessity for preventing the proposed union; and his advance to the Bridge of Almaraz rendered it henceforward impossible. Stanhope was for wintering in Castile, and the army withdrawing from the capital amidst the joyful shouts of the inhabitants, took up a position in accordance with Stanhope's wishes. But the Archduke Charles, who was as uxorious as his rival, could not bear separation from his wife, and hurried home with upwards of 2000 cavalry, the arm in which the allied troops were already overmatched. When it became evident that no hope was to be expected from Portugal, the general saw that to winter in Castile was impossible, and withdrew towards Aragon. But Vendome, smarting under the disgrace he had suffered at Oudenarde, outdid himself. With extreme rapidity, he pressed upon his enemy, who was retreating in two parallel armies, one under Staremburg, the other under Stanhope. With vastly superior forces he came upon the latter general, as he was resting his troops at Brihuega, without the least notion of the close approach of Vendome. Stanhope made a most gallant defence, expecting to be relieved by Staremburg, but hours passed by, and for some unexplained reason, Staremburg did not appear; thus having continued his defence till ammunition failed, Stanhope was compelled to capitulate. The surrender was already completed before Staremburg appeared. His slowness had ruined his cause, but he did what he could to re-establish it; and at Villa Viciosa a great battle was fought, in which both parties claimed the victory. But no fresh victory could have given Vendome more perfect success. Staremburg was obliged to fall back, and reached Barcelona with 7000 men only, the relics of the army which had been so triumphant in the earlier part of the year.

The elections, made while the ferment of the trial of Sacheverell was still unsubdued, produced a strong Tory majority. And it was thus, Harley's policy strong at home and assisted by disaster abroad, that for peace Harley and his Government were able to set on foot their change of policy, and in spite of the failure of the preliminaries at Gertruydenberg, to enter into negotiations for a final peace. It seems probable that from the first Harley's policy was directed to the restoration of the Stuarts, as well as to a return to the main feature of their foreign policy, friendship with France. It is of course possible that his intercourse with the Jacobites was merely

intended to secure his parliamentary position, but certainly his conduct was quite in accordance with the belief that he was in earnest. The tortuous and underhand manner in which the peace was first set on foot points in this direction, still more so do the letters of the Abbé Gaultier, written in the year 1710, which declare that and restoration of the Stuarts. the new ministry had a great consideration for the Pretender, and that some members of it were working for him only. The restoration of the Stuarts would be rendered easier by three things. In the first place it was scarcely possible without the assistance of France. This seems to explain, better than the mere wish to follow the traditional Tory policy of peace, the immediate steps taken to put an end to the war, and the very favourable terms granted to Louis after his disasters. Secondly, it could not be undertaken without the support of the High Church party, which was very strong. This explains the constant support given by the Government to that party. And thirdly, the success of such a scheme would have been best secured by the assistance of Marlborough, who was known to have already frequently intrigued with the Court of St. Germans. On the other hand the Duke would be the most formidable opponent. Steps were therefore taken to secure his assistance, and when that was found impossible, his complete ruin became the object to be sought.

On his return from his somewhat unfruitful campaign, Marlborough seemed inclined, with his usual selfishness, to submit to anything for the continuation of his personal Marlborough only anxious to keep his place. position. We are told by St. John that he expressed his sorrow for his former wrong step in joining the Whigs. He even attempted to soften the angry vehemence of his wife, but her fate was in fact determined by the personal feelings of the Queen. No entreaties of the Duke, who even threw himself on his knees before her, could induce the Queen to go back from her wish to deprive the Duchess of all her offices. She was compelled to surrender her gold key, and left her apartments at St. James's, having first gratified her spite by carrying off the brass locks and marble chimney-pieces. The Duke himself, though he had suffered many indignities, was permitted to continue the conduct of the war, being assured that he should be well supported.

Having thus for the time secured themselves from his opposition, the Government proceeded to open secret negotiations Secret peace negotiations. with the Court of Versailles. The agent employed was a priest named Gaultier, who had been Tallard's chaplain, and was a

warm friend of the Pretender's cause. This sudden idea of peace was most unexpected and welcome to the French. "Asking us whether we wished for peace," says Torcy, "was like asking a sick man whether he wishes to recover." Gaultier returned with the message that Louis could not, so soon after the failure of the late treaty, suggest peace to the Dutch, but he would gladly listen to the mediation of England; a shrewd answer, which at once tended towards separating England from her allies. The knowledge that a peace with France was likely, and that all further help from England was hopeless, induced a French refugee of the name of Guiscard, who had been prominent in arranging attacks upon France and assistance to the rebels in the Cevennes, to turn traitor. His correspondence was discovered, and in despair, upon being examined in the Council, he determined to revenge himself upon the authors of his misfortune, and stabbed Harley with a penknife. Harley's popularity was raised still higher by this attack on him; he was made Earl of Oxford, and shortly after, on the supposed success of his financial scheme for incorporating the public creditors into a company to trade in the South Seas, was made Lord Treasurer. The High Church temper of the time was further illustrated by the passage of a Bill for erecting fifty new churches in London, and of the Occasional Conformity Act, now proposed in the House of Lords which had always previously obstructed it.

The negotiations opened by Gaultier were also continued, Prior was sent to Paris, and a more specific scheme was set on foot than had been produced by the verbal negotiations of the spring, although, unmoved or ignorant of the action of the Government, Marlborough was attempting to continue his great career. He had planned a combined movement with Eugene against Villars, who had constructed lines near Arras and Cambrai so strong that he boastfully said he had brought Marlborough to the "non plus ultra." The vigour of the campaign was checked by the withdrawal of Eugene, who was required to superintend and guard the Electoral Diet at Frankfort, which had been summoned to elect the successor to the Emperor Joseph, who had died on the 17th of April. It was Marlborough's intention to reduce Bouchain and Le Quesnoy, to winter in France, and in the spring press forward towards Paris. His schemes were only partially successful, owing principally to the slowness of the Imperialists. By some skilful manoeuvres he succeeded in passing the formidable lines, and

Marlborough's plans for the campaign of 1711.

besieged and took Bouchain, but was unable to carry his great project further.

On his arrival in Paris, Prior found that Louis had authority to treat for Spain as well as for himself, and proceeded to explain the conditions demanded. England no longer insisted upon the surrender of the Spanish crown, but would be satisfied with the pledge that the two crowns should never be united; Gibraltar, Minorca, and Newfoundland must be secured to England; Dunkirk demolished, and four towns granted for trade in South America. Great commercial advantages must be granted both to the English and Dutch, and fortified towns given as barriers for the Dutch in the Low Countries, and for Austria on the Rhine. All this was as yet kept profoundly secret. The negotiation was subsequently transferred to London, and there, in September, eight preliminary articles were drawn up. Louis was to acknowledge Anne and the Protestant succession; a new treaty of commerce was to be made; Dunkirk was to be demolished, some fair equivalent being given; Gibraltar, Minorca, and Newfoundland, with the exception of some fishing rights, were to be secured to the English. In addition to this, the Assiento, or grant of the slave trade with America, was withdrawn by Spain from France and given to England. A second set of preliminaries was prepared for Holland, omitting the chief advantages gained by England, but introducing stipulations to secure a barrier and to prevent the junction of the crowns of France and Spain. The Dutch, though much dissatisfied with the desertion of the English, were compelled to give in their adhesion, and Utrecht was appointed as the place where the conference was to be held. Austria was even more outspoken in its anger, and the Imperial minister in London, who was rash enough to express the indignation of his Court in a published appeal to the people, was compelled to leave the country.

Affairs had reached this point when Marlborough returned from his campaign. Entering into communication with his old friends the Whigs, he found that they had formed a coalition with a section of the Tories under Nottingham, who was much displeased at having been excluded from all the late ministerial arrangements. Marlborough's object was no doubt to join the strongest side. The present position of the Whig party seemed to him so promising that he gave it his adhesion. Nor was he mistaken as things then stood. On the opening of Parliament, Nottingham moved, as an amendment to

Proposed terms of peace.

Attack on Marlborough on his return.

Parliament. Dec. 7.

the Address, the old Tory resolution that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe if Spain or the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the Bourbons, and after a hot discussion succeeded in beating the Government by a majority of eight. In the House of Commons, on the other hand, the Government commanded a large majority. Harley and St. John had now to consider what steps to take against this hostile coalition in the Lords. They determined, in the first place, to strike a heavy blow at Marlborough, and the report of a Commission which had been issued to examine into the public accounts afforded them an opportunity of doing so. Basing its assertion on the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina, who had contracted to supply the army in Flanders with bread, the Commission reported that the Duke had received on those contracts large sums of money, amounting on the whole to £63,000, while his secretary, Cardonnel, had also received large douceurs. It also declared that Marlborough had received $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all subsidies to foreign troops, amounting on the whole to £177,000. Acting on this report, the ministry stripped Marlborough of all his offices. Marlborough was so notoriously avaricious, and his character was so mean, that these charges seemed to the public probable; but, in fact, his reply was tolerably complete. The bread money had habitually been received by every commander-in-chief in Flanders, and had been expended chiefly in obtaining information as to the enemies' plans. The percentage on the subsidies was a free gift from the princes to whom they were paid, and Marlborough had not accepted them without the royal warrant. In the state of feeling at the time these excuses were not much regarded. Having got rid of their most powerful enemy, the ministry made use of the royal prerogative to neutralize the influence of the Lords. Twelve new Peers were created, which gave them a permanent majority.

Having by these strong measures secured their position in Parliament, Harley and St. John proceeded with their negotiations. There

Command of the
army given to
Ormond.
1712.

was some difficulty with regard to the prosecution of the war while the Congress was sitting. The command had been given to the Duke of Ormond, a man of strong Jacobite principles; he was privately instructed not to undertake any offensive operations against the French, and he consequently informed Villars that he need not be afraid of attacks from the English, although the pressure which Eugene put upon him was so strong that he could not refuse to join in the siege of Quesnoy. His strange

lukewarm prosecution of the war, which seemed rather like friendship than hostility, did not pass unnoticed in England. But all complaints were answered by the assertion that the Queen would shortly lay before Parliament the conditions of a peace. In fact, she was only waiting till Philip of Spain should have made up his mind whether to accept an equivalent for the Spanish crown, and retain his rights on France, or remain where he was and renounce those claims. When the answer arrived, preferring the latter alternative, the Queen went down to the House and explained the proposed treaty. Though violently opposed, addresses of confidence were carried.

The Queen
announces the
treaty.
June 6.

An armistice was at once declared, and the English troops ordered to separate from Eugene. It was not without a considerable feeling of disgrace that 12,000 English troops withdrew from their old comrades in arms; the English stipendiaries refused to obey the command, and remained with the Prince. A visit of St. John, now Lord Bolingbroke, to Paris, put the finishing stroke to the negotiation, and peace was virtually declared. The campaign, completed by Eugene alone, was unsuccessful. His defeat at Denain, and further successes won over the allies by Villars, inclined the new Emperor to look more favourably upon the peace. The treaties were ultimately signed at Utrecht on the 31st of March 1713. The Emperor's peace, by which the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria were reinstated, was postponed for a year, and was finally completed at Rastadt in the following March. It is certain that the terms gained were infinitely less advantageous than the lengthened and victorious war might have justified, or than those which could have been obtained at the negotiations of Gertruydenberg. The desertion of the Catalans, who had risen in insurrection chiefly at the instigation of the English, was undoubtedly an act of selfishness; and Government would even have sacrificed the advantages of the Methuen Treaty, and granted commercial terms far more in favour of France, had not the moneyed interest proved too strong for it. At the same time, though the Peace of Utrecht was not a glorious one, there is much to be said in its favour; the changed position of Europe, by the accession of Charles to the Imperial crown, had in truth put the questions at issue upon a totally new footing; it would have been quite as disadvantageous to the general European balance that Spain and Austria should have been joined in the hands of the Imperial house as that Spain and France should have been in the hands of the Bourbon Princes.

Peace of
Utrecht.
1713.

After the close of the great war, the question of succession, rendered more pressing by the failing health of the Queen, came prominently forward. In the midst of the negotiations the Pretender had written a letter to Queen Anne, and Bolingbroke had been throughout in correspondence with him.

Harley's
conduct.

It is difficult to determine how far Harley was really mixed up in the plot of changing the succession. That he had frequently expressed himself as friendly to the Pretender is certain; but his indolence in business, his constant difficulty in making up his mind, and his love of intrigue, prevented him from taking any strong or definite line in the scheme for the Stuart restoration. With Bolingbroke the case was different. He was unaffected by any Church views, for he did not believe in Christianity; he knew that the part he had already played had rendered him obnoxious to the Elector of Hanover, he had therefore little hope of office after the Queen's death. On the other hand, he was certain of being a trusted minister of the new Stuart king. To help him in the Cabinet he had Brumley, Ormond, and probably Harcourt. But for the success of his plan extreme care was necessary; for the general feeling of the country, though Tory and High Church, was nevertheless Protestant and Hanoverian. An over-hasty declaration of Jacobitism would probably destroy his ministry.

A new Parliament assembled in February. It was again Tory in its views; and it shows the real object of Bolingbroke's tactics, that the Pretender during the elections wrote to his friends to use their best efforts in favour of the Government. The new appointments also, which were made on the occurrence of vacancies by deaths, show the same Jacobite tendencies. Wyndam became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Athol and Mar two of the chief officials in Scotland. Nor was the Jacobite scheme confined to the appointment of ministers, more immediate practical measures for securing the change of Government were taken. The

Ormond
reorganizes
the army.

Cinque Ports were placed in the hands of Ormond, and the entrance of a foreign force into England thus rendered easy; the army was remodelled, and the greater part of those troops which William had organized disbanded; while a plan was set on foot for obliging officers in the army known to be friendly to Marlborough to sell their commissions, which only failed because Harley, either through indolence, or because he really shrunk from supporting the Jacobites, neglected to have the funds

ready for the purchase. The Whigs, on their side, also organized themselves for the coming crisis. General Stanhope was regarded as their leader. They seem to have been ready for all emergencies, intending even to employ force, if necessary, to secure the throne for the Hanoverian Elector. In spite of the caution of Bolingbroke, the scope of his plans began to be discovered, and it became necessary still further to blind the nation. Pretending to treat as libels all suggestions that he was aiming at the restoration of the Stuarts, he introduced a resolution that the Protestant succession was in no danger, but his credit was too far shaken to allow of a complete victory. The motion was indeed passed, but the small majority proved how large a section of the Tories was attached to the Hanoverian house, and were willing on that point to make common cause with the Whigs. That party were encouraged to take a further step. Thinking it of the last importance that the Electoral Prince should be in England to take possession of the inheritance of his house on Anne's death, they induced the Hanoverian minister to demand his writ of summons to the House of Lords as an English Peer in virtue of his title of Duke of Cambridge. The Government was thrown into great perplexity; to refuse it seemed to confess their Jacobite tendencies, to grant it was certain to enrage the Queen, who, like other childless sovereigns, was morbidly touchy about the succession, and it would moreover deal a heavy blow at their own plans. The writ was given, but accompanied by a letter from the Queen to the Electress Sophia, couched in such angry language that it is said to have caused the death of that princess, now far advanced in years.

But a schism within its own body was gradually undermining the ministry. Harley, undecided upon all points, and strongly bound by old ties to the Low Church and dissenting interest, could not throw himself heartily into the vigorous policy of Bolingbroke; he was moreover, jealous of the ever-increasing importance of his energetic colleague. The Schism Act, a measure conceived in the most exclusive High Church spirit, brought their rivalry to a crisis. It enacted that no person should keep a public or private school, or act as tutor, unless a member of the Church of England, and licensed by his Bishop, thus in fact throwing the whole education of the country into the hands of the Church. Harley, bred a dissenter, and always relying much on the support of the Nonconformist bodies, could not give it his hearty support. With his usual indecision, he played fast and loose with the Bill. But he had lost the ear of the Queen, Bolingbroke and Mrs. Masham had supplanted him, and the

favourite so played upon the Queen's High Church propensities, that, after a hot altercation in the Council before the eyes of the Queen, she was induced to dismiss the Lord Treasurer.

In the dismissal of his dilatory rival Bolingbroke saw the removal of the last obstacle to the completion of his schemes, and he was preparing to form a ministry wholly in the Jacobite interest, when the Queen's sudden illness upset all his plans. Had the matter come to the decision of arms, Marlborough, who had just returned from abroad, might, after the treatment he had received at the hand of the Tories, have been trusted to do his best for the Whigs. But, fortunately, the question was destined to meet with a peaceful solution. The Duke of Shrewsbury, in his time the leader of the Whigs of the Revolution, and subsequently guilty of treacherous correspondence with the Stuarts, continued his vacillating policy. The part he had taken in 1708, in persuading the Queen to rid herself of the Whigs, had given him the confidence of the Tory party. But he had never ceased to regret the one false step of his life, and was firmly attached to the Hanoverian succession. His position in the ministry enabled him for the time to become really master of the situation, and to thwart all the schemes of Bolingbroke. With this end in view he arranged a plan with the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset. As the Council was sitting to consider what steps to

The Queen's death.

take in consequence of the Queen's illness, the two Dukes suddenly made their appearance, claimed their right as Privy Councillors, were by Shrewsbury's advice admitted, and at once proposed that the Queen, who had for the moment recovered consciousness, should be requested, in view of the coming crisis, to make the Duke of Shrewsbury Lord Treasurer. A deputation, of which the Duke was himself a member, went to her bedside, and persuaded her to give him the White Staff. Vigorous measures were at once taken. Troops were collected, the Elector summoned over, and everything was ready to withstand armed invasion, and to hasten the peaceful acceptance of the legal heir, when the Queen died on the 1st of August.

For several sessions the Parliament had been acting under the new title of the Parliament of Great Britain, the Union with Scotland having been completed in 1707. Quite at the beginning of the reign, in 1702, leave having been given both by the Scotch and English Parliaments, Commissioners had met to make arrangements for the Union, which had always been a favourite

project of William's. Neither party were, however, much in earnest, and the members of the Commission were lax in their attendance. There was no difficulty in agreeing upon the main points, but upon trade and finance the claims advanced by the Scotch, who seemed to wish on the one hand for equality of duties, and on the other for exemption from liabilities, were regarded as untenable, and in February 1703 the Commissioners ceased to meet.

On the 6th of May in that year the Scotch Parliament met, under the Presidency of the Duke of Queensberry as Lord Commissioner. Its temper was anything but conciliatory. *Scotch Parliament. 1703.* The ill feeling excited by the Darien Scheme had by no means subsided. The late futile efforts of the joint Commission had still further roused the angry feelings of the people, and there was an idea afloat, by no means without foundation, that the High Church Tories, who were just coming into power, would seize the opportunity for an assault upon the National Church. All these causes influenced the temper of the Parliament, and instead of taking measures tending towards the Union, it seemed bent upon doing all that was possible to render the kingdoms quite separate. The Queen's letter, in which she recommended toleration, was contemptuously neglected, and a strong declaration passed, confirming the Presbyterian Church, "as the only Church of Christ in the Kingdom." Politically, the conduct of the Parliament was even less conciliatory. Resolutions were passed declaring that, after the death of the Queen, no King of England should make peace or war without consent of the Scotch Parliament; though the nation was in the midst of a great war with France, restrictions on the trade in French wine were removed; Fletcher of Saltoun introduced what were known as the Limitations, by which the authority of the Crown was seriously compromised; its power of appointing to the great offices of Government was transferred to the Parliament; and finally, a Bill of Security with regard to the succession was introduced, authorizing Parliament to name a successor from among the Protestant descendants of the royal line, but asserting that whoever that successor might be he was not to be the same as the successor to the Crown of England, unless proper security was given for the freedom of religion and trade. The nomination of the Princess Sophia, hazarded by the Earl of Marchmont, was received with derision and anger. All these Bills, except the last, received the royal assent. But the refusal to pass the Bill of Security was so unpopular, that it was found necessary to adjourn the House without securing any subsidy.

In the following year the Parliament again met. It was hoped that a new Commissioner would manage it more successfully, and the Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed to succeed Queensberry. The policy of conciliation was carried to an extreme, and Godolphin, always a timid minister, allowed Tweeddale to give the royal assent even to the Act of Security.

Scotch
Parliament.
July 1704.

The hostile feeling exhibited by the Scotch Parliament only went still further to prove what the Darien Scheme had made evident, that the Union was imperatively necessary. Whigs and Tories therefore combined, when the English Parliament met, in attacking Godolphin for his weakness; and in December, Somers brought forward, and succeeded in passing through both Houses, a law which seemed to threaten war between the countries. After Christmas 1705, all Scotchmen were to be regarded as aliens, the importation into England of the chief Scotch products—cattle, coal, and linen—was prohibited; and as a still stronger threat, it was ordered that the Border towns should be fortified and put into a state of security, and the militia in the northern counties called out. This severe threat was not without its effect. But the anger of the Scotch at the time only grew more vehement. In April of the following year, 1705, Thomas Green, a captain of a ship belonging to the new East India Company, had been seized by the agents of the Darien Company, charged with piracy in the East, and with the murder of a Darien captain. It was afterwards proved that the captain was alive; nevertheless, in spite of orders from the English Council, the Scotch ministers were overawed by the popular feeling, and the unfortunate man, with some others of his crew, was hanged. But England was now determined that the Union should be effected. Tweeddale was removed from his commissionership, and Argyle, assisted by Queensberry, put in his place. This gave Tweeddale an

Scotch
Parliament.
June 1706.

opportunity of forming a third party in the Parliament, which attempted to hold the balance between those who were for the Union and those who opposed it, and was known by the name of the Squadrone Volante. On the whole, however, this party acted with the Government. The Queen had instructed the Parliament to consider the question of the settlement of the succession, and the appointment of Commissioners to treat. With regard to the first point it proved obstinate, it insisted on first discussing the condition of trade, and could not be induced to name any successor. With some slight alterations, it passed again

the Limitations suggested by Fletcher of Saltoun, and added further, that a Scotch ambassador should be present at all treaties involving the two nations. But upon the second point, by the aid of the Squadrone Volante, the Government was successful. The threatened Alien Bill indeed began to have its effect; and it was ordered that the Commissioners should not begin to act till that Bill was repealed. As it seemed to have done its work, this suggestion was attended to, and in November the English Parliament repealed the Act.

Thus then, the chief obstacles being removed, in April 1706, the Commissioners, thirty-one on each side, met. The English Commissioners at once suggested as the prime object of negotiation, that there should be one Kingdom, one Parliament, and one Successor. The Scotch seemed first to desire a Federative Union, but yielded, on condition that their religion should be free, and that their trade should enjoy a general equality of advantage. It was the details, especially of taxation and trade, which gave the greatest trouble. The Scotch insisted on discussing them in detail. It was finally agreed that they should be exempt from terminable taxes, and receive an equivalent for any present loss they might sustain by taking their share in the public debt of England, which was larger than their own. The revenue of England was about £5,700,000, that of Scotland about £160,000. The debts of England amounted to £17,700,000, those of Scotland, taken roughly, to £160,000; that is, England owed three and a half, Scotland only one year's revenue. The equivalent fixed was £398,000, which was employed to pay off the whole Scotch debt, to dissolve the Darien Company and indemnify its shareholders, and for other Scotch purposes. The other questions were easily settled. The title of the United Kingdom was to be Great Britain, the national flags were to be incorporated in one. The Scotch taxes amounted to little more than a fortieth of the English. Had this been observed as a basis of representation, they would have had but thirteen members of Parliament. But this being held too few, they were granted forty-five members, which was about a twelfth of the whole House of Commons. The same proportion was taken for the basis of the arrangement of the Upper House, and thus of the whole Scottish Peerage sixteen were to be elected to sit in the united House of Lords.

The Commis-
sioners meet.
1706.

When the Treaty had been settled by the Commissioners, it was brought before the Scotch Parliament, where it met with violent opposition. In one way or another it was objectionable to many classes. The Jacobites saw in it the final destruction of all their hopes of a

change of dynasty. The extreme Presbyterians did not believe in a Union which would leave their Church untrammelled. The views of the Revolution had gone further in Scotland than in England, and a considerable body of active spirits had adopted republican views; to them the establishment of a monarchy backed by the strength of England was distasteful, as rendering any fulfilment of their hopes impossible. And the Edinburgh tradesmen recognized to the full the loss they would sustain by the removal of Parliament to London. The discussion on the various points went on throughout the whole of the year. The final effort of the Opposition was to be a great protest, to be produced at the debate upon the share Scotland was to have in the national legislature. This protest was to be presented by Hamilton, as premier Peer, and to be followed by a secession of the minority. But Hamilton's heart failed him at the appointed moment, the protest was not presented, and on the 16th of January 1707 the measure was finally carried by 110 votes to 69.

Having been successfully passed through the Scotch House, the Bill had now to be ratified by the English Parliament. So many changes had been made that it was possible there might be much difficulty in securing the easy passage of the Bill. But as the Whigs and the Government were determined that at all hazards it should become law, they accepted without question all the Scotch amendments. When the articles of the Treaty had thus been carried through the House, there yet remained the Act of Ratification to complete it. It was still possible for the opponents of the Bill to reopen discussion upon each article in detail. The skill of Sir Simon Harcourt, the Attorney-General, thwarted this disastrous intention, by so wording the Bill that the articles themselves were not called in question, but their ratification alone demanded. He induced all parties, who were on the whole agreed that in some shape or other the Bill had better pass, to accept it. With little opposition therefore it was carried through both Houses, and became law, and the succeeding Parliament took the name of the Parliament of Great Britain. Party feeling was at the time very high, and accusations of bribery were lavishly flung abroad, but a closer examination appears to prove that these charges were unfounded.

Scotch
Parliament.
Oct. 1706.

GEORGE I.

1714–1727.

Born 1660 = Sophia of Brunswick.			
George II.		Sophia = Frederick William.	
CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.			
France.	Germany.	Spain.	Prussia.
Louis XIV., 1643. Louis XV., 1715.	Charles VI., 1711.	Philip V., 1700.	Frederick William, 1713.
Russia.	Denmark.	Sweden.	
Peter the Great, 1689. Catherine I., 1724.	Frederick IV., 1699.	Charles XII., 1697. Frederick I., 1720.	
POPES.—Clement XI., 1700. Innocent XIII., 1721. Benedict XIII., 1724.			
Archbishops.		Chancellors.	
T. Tenison, 1694. W. Wake, 1715.		William Cowper, 1714. Lord Macclesfield, 1718. Lord King, 1725.	
First Lords of the Treasury.	Chancellors of the Exchequer.	Secretaries of State.	
1714. Halifax.	1714. R. Walpole.	1714 { Stanhope.	
1715. Carlisle.	1717. Stanhope.	1714 { Townshend.	
1715. R. Walpole.	1718. Aislable.	1716 { Stanhope.	
1717. Stanhope.	1721. R. Walpole.	1716 { Methuen.	
1718. Sunderland.		1717 { Sunderland.	
1721. R. Walpole.		1717 { Addison.	
		1718 { Stanhope.	
		1718 { Craggs.	
		1721 { Townshend.	
		1721 { Carteret.	
		1724 { Townshend.	
		1724 { Newcastle.	

ENGLAND had been slow to accept the principle of succession by parliamentary instead of hereditary right; since 1688 the struggle had been continuous, it had reached a crisis in the closing years of Queen Anne. The triumph of the Whigs, secured to them by the constant successes

Probability of a
restoration of
the Stuarts.

of the War of Succession, had rendered them over-confident, and an act of foolish severity had been followed by their complete overthrow. The natural inclinations of the Queen, and the weakness of her character, which rendered her constantly liable to be subjugated by the influence of those around her; the talents and intriguing ambition of St. John, and the energy and compactness of the Jacobite body resting upon the general Conservative feeling of the nation, had rendered the return of the Stuarts to the throne a very probable event. A few weeks only were wanting for the completion of the plot, and James Edward would probably have been received as heir to the throne, and the work of the Revolution have been undone. The unexpected illness of the Queen, the rapidity and energy with which the Hanoverian Lords of the Council had carried out what was virtually a *coup d'état*, had destroyed these hopes. When the Lord Treasurer's staff was placed in the hands of the Duke of Shrewsbury, all hope of carrying out this counter-revolution with the aid of the executive was at an end. Although he had more than once faltered in his allegiance to the Whig party, it was now well understood that he was endowed with something not far short of a dictatorship, for the express purpose of carrying out the enactments of the Act of Succession. Everything was done as arranged by that Act. There was no difficulty with regard to the regency; sealed packets containing the names of those who were to act as the Council of Regency, chosen by the Protestant successor, were in his hands. On their being opened, the names of eighteen Lords, almost exclusively of the Whig party, were found, who, together with the seven great officers named in the Statute, were to act, under the title of Lords Justices, as an interim Government until the arrival of the new King. It is to be observed that the name of the Duke of Marlborough was not among them.

Parliament was to continue for six months before dissolution, and everything for the present passed off quietly; the Civil List was voted as in the preceding reign; and on the 18th of September the King and his eldest son arrived in England. He was not a man to excite enthusiasm. An unostentatious man, used to a Court where his will was law, but where the manners were singularly primitive and plain, he was little suited to the peculiar position of an English Parliamentary sovereign, from whom, along with the possession of but little real power, much dignity and some magnificence were required. Unable therefore to

Peaceful
accession
of the King.

Council of
Regency.

comprehend the working of that constitution over which he had come to preside, and without ability sufficient to carry on a policy of his own, he naturally threw himself into the arms of that party to which he owed his Crown. The great offices, several of which had been for the last month united in the hands of Shrewsbury, were therefore distributed among the Whigs. Townshend was ^{New Whig} put at the head of the Government, and with him were ^{ministry.} Halifax, General Stanhope, Lord Cowper, Nottingham, and Lord Townshend's brother-in-law, Sir Robert Walpole; while Sunderland was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Duke of Marlborough (though the King had already shown his well-founded mistrust of him) reassumed the offices of Commander-in-chief and Master of the Ordnance. His power, however, was gone.

The establishment of the Hanoverian house had thus very much the appearance of a triumph of a faction. There were ^{Triumph of} no attempts at conciliation, such as had been made after ^{the Whigs.} the Revolution, no efforts to give a general and national character to the Government. The King came forward as the head of the triumphant Whig party. This attitude naturally at the time excited much ill-feeling, yet on the whole it was wise. George was not the man to carry out a scheme of comprehensive government which had already twice failed in the abler hands of William and of Marlborough. The questions at issue were too vital to admit of compromise, and the Whig party were wise in their view of the crisis. A crushing victory was necessary to teach both their conscientious and factious opponents a lesson,—the one must yield to the force of circumstances, the other must discover that their only road to office lay in concession to principles which they were too weak to shake. Conscientious upholders of the Stuarts must be taught that their choice lay between submission and the resignation of their claim to be regarded as Englishmen; those who used the Stuarts as a road to power must be led to see that they must henceforward limit their opposition to points of minor importance, that the main principles of government were fixed for ever.

But the conduct of the King and of the Whigs, though wise, was such as to drive the Jacobites to extremities, and to ^{Riots in the} render an appeal to arms sooner or later almost certain. ^{country.} The irritation of the high Tories at once showed itself. In January, as the six months had elapsed, the House was dissolved, and on the meeting of the new House in March, it was found, as was at that time usually the case, that the party in power commanded a large

majority. This however had not been secured without serious riots. In Manchester and the midland counties the riots assumed the form of an attack upon the dissenters, and were so serious as to necessitate the passing of a Riot Act. By this Act, which is still in force, it is enacted, that "If any twelve persons are unlawfully assembled to the disturbance of the peace, and any justice of the peace, sheriff, &c., shall think proper to command them by proclamation to disperse, if they contemn his orders, and continue together for one hour afterwards, such contempt shall be felony, without benefit of clergy."

Having secured their majority, it became evident that the Whigs intended to use their regained ascendancy to the utmost. The Address, both in the House of Lords and in the Commons, was obviously pointed against the framers of the Peace of Utrecht, and before three weeks were over a secret committee was appointed to consider that peace. Bolingbroke had already fled and taken service with the Pretender. Ormond, who till this time had remained in England, putting himself ostentatiously forward as the leader of the Jacobite opposition, followed his example. Oxford alone awaited his trial. The two fugitives were proceeded against by bill of attainder. The impeachment of Oxford was after a while dropped; in fact, it was difficult to substantiate the charge of treason against him. It was not till long afterwards that any real proof existed of treasonable correspondence with the Pretender; and it was scarcely possible to twist the faults and weaknesses of the Peace, the desertion of the Catalans, even the surrender, unasked, of Tournay, one of our conquests, into crimes under the law of treason; nor was the doctrine of the responsibility of ministers as yet sufficiently established to allow the majority at once to answer Oxford's solemn declaration, that he had acted distinctly upon the royal authority. It is true that the plea had been overruled in the case of Danby; but even in the last reign the Whigs had themselves sought shelter, after the battle of Almanza, behind the royal authority, and it was not till more than twenty years of regular party government had intervened that the doctrine was thoroughly understood and adopted.

Meanwhile the aggressive policy of the Whigs was hurrying on an outbreak of the conspiracy which the timely death of the late Queen had checked. It was widespread. Ormond, until his flight, had been busily engaged in organizing it in England, while Bolingbroke had taken it in hand in France:

Impeachment
of the late
ministers.
March.

Jacobite
conspiracy.

for then, as always, it seems to have been accepted, that any insurrection would be useless without material help from France. In many parts of the country, particularly in the west, the feeling against the Hanoverian succession was strong, and measures had been taken to secure Bristol and Exeter, and other great western towns. In Scotland the difficulty was rather to restrain than to urge forward the Jacobite feeling. Many causes combined to create a widespread discontent in that country. In the north the feeling of loyalty to an hereditary chief was part of the national character, inwoven with the whole system of clanship. The national pride was flattered by the thought of a Stuart, a Scotchman, sitting upon the throne of England. Moreover, there was one chief of predominant power whose interests had been always Whig, and jealousy of the ascendancy of the clan Campbell, and of its head, the Duke of Argyle, or Mac Callum More, on this, as on several other occasions, tended to throw all rival clans into the arms of any party of which he was the declared enemy. In the Lowlands other influences were at work. The Presbyterians were not likely to forget the unsparing cruelty of the later Stuarts, and now that they had the upper hand, the tolerated Episcopalians met with no great courtesy at their hands; a constant source of quarrel was thus opened, and the Episcopalians and Catholics might be well expected to seek refuge from the intolerance of their victorious rivals, and a restoration even of their former superiority, in the establishment of the exiled dynasty. But more than that, everything English was unpopular. Two great imaginary injuries were rankling in the national mind. The nation had never forgiven King William's treatment of the Darien Scheme, and was still smarting under the supposed yoke which the Union had laid upon them. Whoever was King of England was their natural enemy, so that, except in those places where settled industry had already felt the advantage of the union with England, there was great readiness to join in any enterprise which would be injurious to her. There were therefore ready to join the cause of the Stuarts in the north all the great clans except the Campbells, and in the south the Episcopalians, and those nationalists who regarded as righteous any act of antagonism to England.

But the movement, both in Scotland and in England, was held to depend on the conduct of France, and it was probable that, under Bolingbroke's able management, assistance would come from that country. The King was indeed

Disaffection
in Scotland.

Failure of the
Jacobite hopes
of French
assistance.

CON MON.

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far different from the Louis of other days. Enslaved by the religious influence of Madame de Maintenon, and surrounded by bitter party disputes with regard to the legitimization of his bastards, his energy was gone, while war and taxes and persecution had much depressed the power of France. Still, irritated by the Whig assault upon his friends in England, the champion as he believed himself of legitimacy, and angry at the opposition raised by the English ministry to his new fortifications at Mardyke, he had used his influence with Spain to procure sums of money for the conspirators, had himself supplied arms, and had allowed a small squadron to be equipped at Havre at the expense of France. The flight of Ormond, the first blow to the conspiracy, was followed, on the 1st of September, by the death of Louis. The Government passed into the hands of the Regent Orleans, whose policy was of a purely personal character, his chief aim being the exclusion of the Spanish house from the succession should the young King die. To secure his plans at home external peace was necessary. Personal friendship, both for Stair the English ambassador, and for Stanhope the English secretary, rendered him still more disinclined to break with England. Hope from France was gone. Bolingbroke saw at once the course affairs were taking, and despatched a messenger to tell the leaders of the conspiracy that, as Scotland could not rise without England, and England could not rise without France, and France had no intention of moving, all thoughts of insurrection had better be dropped.

His prudent message came too late. The Pretender, weary of waiting, had taken matters into his own hands, and a leader had already been despatched to raise the northern counties of Scotland. This leader was the Earl of Mar. At Anne's death Mar was Secretary for Scotland, a man of no very great ability, but who, for his skill in trimming his sails to the wind, had earned the nickname of "Bobbing John." He once more tried to play his old game, but found himself mistrusted, and had to give place to the Duke of Montrose. He now hurried to London, sought favour at Court, took a wife from among the leaders of the Whig party, and having thus thrown people off the scent, hurried back to Scotland to organize the insurrection. His chief influence was in Aberdeenshire, north of the Grampian hills; and there, early in September, he contrived a meeting of the chief clans of the neighbourhood. He was joined by Tullibardine, the heir of the Duke of Athol, who brought with him the Murrays, and by the great clan of the Gordons, with Lord Panmure, from the north of Perth-

Mar organizes
the insurrection
in Scotland.

shire, towards which county he at once began to march. The Pretender could not refuse to support Mar's open movement on his behalf. In October he hurried across France, evading an attempt of Orleans to arrest him, and an attempt on the part of the English ambassador to assassinate him. He reached St. Malo in safety. Thence an expedition under Ormond was to have been thrown upon the English coast. Twice Ormond was thwarted by the weather; his third attempt was too late, the English fleet lay before the port. Had he succeeded in landing, no better fortune would have awaited him; the English Government had already heard of the gathering of the Highland clans, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, the more active Jacobites arrested; such troops as were then in England, some 8000 in number, were hurried to the west (for the Scotch outbreak was looked upon only as a feint); some 6000 troops, due from Holland as a guarantee for the Protestant succession, were demanded; fresh regiments were rapidly formed; and the command in Scotland was given to Argyle, the natural opponent of the Jacobite clans. The vigorous measures of the Government had in fact already broken the neck of the conspiracy.

Vigorous
measures of
the English
Government.

But there was still real danger in the North, for Mar had an overwhelming superiority of forces, and before the end of October he had the complete command of Scotland as far as the Forth. Argyle, desirous of confining the rebellion as much as possible to the north and east, attempted to hold the line of that river. Mar, to whom immediate success was everything, and who overrated the strength of his party in England, was desirous of crossing the Border as soon as possible, in order to rally the disaffected round him. He had now about 12,000 men with him, but these were poorly armed, and even this poor equipment was due to no care of Mar's, but to a gallant dash by the Master of Sinclair upon an English ship lying in the Forth. With these troops he would probably have been unable to have passed Argyle at Stirling, even if he had not been prevented from moving by the expected arrival of the Pretender. It was therefore determined that a detachment under Brigadier Mackintosh should be thrown across the Firth, and marched direct for England, while the main body should threaten and retain Argyle upon the upper river. The movement was well executed, and 1500 men passed over at a broad part of the estuary near North Berwick. They thence, after an ineffectual march upon Edinburgh, proceeded unopposed directly south to Kelso, as Argyle was kept from following them by Mar's

Mar's success in
the Highlands.

One detach-
ment marches
into England.

movements. They were here joined by some horse under Lord Kenmure, and by a few English horsemen under Mr. Forster, with whom was Lord Derwentwater. One cause at least of the insurrection is clearly pointed out by a proclamation which was here issued, in which the chief stress was laid upon the foreign domination imposed upon the nation by the late Union. Some difficulty was found in persuading the Highlanders to cross the Border, and the march was directed therefore in a more westerly direction, following along the back of the Cheviots, and crossing into England near Longtown in the direction of Carlisle. Even in spite of this concession to their feelings, several hundreds of the Highlanders deserted, and the rest had to be tempted forward by a promise of pay. From Carlisle they marched up the valley of the Eden to Penrith, crossed the hills to Lancaster, where they were well received by the many Catholic families in the neighbourhood, and, foolishly leaving this strong place behind them, pushed on for Preston on the Ribble. Since entering England, the command-in-chief had devolved on Mr. Forster, and the insurgents knew that they were being followed by General Carpenter with between 2,000 and 3,000 men. Forster—a very inefficient commander—directed his attention only to the pursuing army, and discipline was much relaxed. On the 11th of November, General Wills was marching upon Preston northward from Wigan. To reach Preston he had to cross the Ribble by a bridge, and then pass upward along a lane which is described by Cromwell, in 1648, as “very deep and ill,” and which it had cost him four hours to clear. Wills met no opposition till he reached the town, where a gallant defence was made behind barricades. The neglect of all proper precautions is somewhat explained by the fact that

and is defeated
at Preston.
Nov. 13.

Mr. Forster was unable to attend a council of war held that morning, having been compelled to take to his bed on account of “some damage” which he had received “at a convivial entertainment.” On the 13th, however, Carpenter joined Wills, the town was completely surrounded, and the insurgents saw the necessity of a surrender. Much dispute has arisen about the terms of that surrender. It seems probable that Wills used ambiguous language, understood by the insurgents to contain a promise of clemency—by himself, as insisting upon an unconditional surrender. Colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Forster’s negotiator, declared upon the scaffold that the words used were: “You cannot better entitle yourselves to that clemency than by surrendering yourselves prisoners at discretion.” 1500 rebels gave themselves up, among them eight noblemen. As

however a considerable number of English Catholics had joined the Scotch since entering Lancashire, a good many of the rebels must have made good their escape.

On the same 13th of November on which Generals Carpenter and Wills had joined their forces the insurgent operations in the North had also come to a disastrous conclusion. Mar had moved slowly south and west along the great valley of Strathmore, which leads direct from Perth to Stirling. He was approaching Dunblane when he heard that Argyle with 4000 regular troops was already occupying it. On a neighbouring eminence called Sheriffmuir, a spur of the Ochil hills, the armies encountered. The royalist left wing was unable to withstand the rush of the clansmen, and immediately withdrew towards Stirling. The insurgents had held that their own left wing was secured by some marshy ground, but Argyle perceived that a light night-frost had rendered the morass passable. He fell with his cavalry upon the left flank of the Highlanders, and drove them from the field. The battle was thus equally balanced, the peculiar curve of the ground rendered any general view of the action impossible, and Mar, on his return from the pursuit of the right wing, finding his own left destroyed, determined to retreat, leaving to Argyle the full advantages of the victory.

Mar is defeated
at Sheriffmuir.

The battle of Preston had proved the impossibility of relying upon any formidable insurrection in England. As the royalist troops were collected and armies strengthened, the chances of success became less every day. Mar remained quiet at Perth, and Argyle and the English saw that delay was wholly in their favour. But in January a new colour was given to the affair by the arrival of the Pretender at Peterhead. He at once assumed the style of royalty, issuing proclamations and appointing a day for his coronation. The English ministry could not believe that so bold a step would have been taken without promised support from France. Immediate action became therefore necessary, and through villages burnt by the Pretender’s order, and deep snow which Mar believed impassable, Argyle moved northwards, gradually threatening Perth. From the first James had shown but little military spirit, and now, although the clansmen offered to fight for him to the last, on the 30th of January (1716) the army was withdrawn from Perth across the frozen Tay, and marched along the coast to Montrose, whence James and Mar withdrew secretly to France, deserting their followers, who, still retiring northward, were wholly broken up as an army when Argyle reached Aberdeen on the 8th of February. Like

The Pretender
appears, but
flies before
Argyle.

every man that ever bore the name of Stuart, with fair abilities, James was selfish and self-seeking to the last degree. Faithless to his friends, a slave to his sensual passions, he was respectable only in a certain gift of personal bravery, in a sort of grandeur of obstinacy, and in the tenacity with which he clung to his religious creed and his hereditary rights.

As is always the case on the defeat of a domestic treason, strong pressure was brought to bear upon the ministers to induce them to act leniently towards the prisoners. The seven noble prisoners—Derwentwater, Kenmure, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Widdrington, Carnwath and Nairn—were impeached by the House of Commons, all but Lord Wintoun pleaded guilty, and sentence was pronounced. Then every means was brought to bear upon the King—private petitions from the wives of the accused noblemen, supported by the influence of all the ladies of the Court; petitions of ladies to Parliament, and lastly, an address from the majority of the Lords, urging him to reprieve if possible. These efforts were so far successful that all were reprieved with the exception of Derwentwater, Kenmure, and Nithsdale. The two first were executed, the escape of the last was contrived by the skill of his wife, who conveyed a woman's dress to her husband, in which he passed safely out of his prison, personating a lady friend who had accompanied the Countess on her visit, and who remained in his place. Three other important prisoners, Mackintosh, Forster, and Lord Wintoun also made good their escape, which seems to indicate either a strong sympathy on the part of the gaolers, or perhaps a wish on the part of the Government to avoid the necessity of more executions. Of the lesser prisoners, many of the common men were executed or transported; officers who had been in the King's service were summarily shot; but a very large proportion of those captured in Scotland being brought for judgment to Carlisle, in contravention, it was asserted, of the terms of the Union, were punished lightly or released, for fear of exciting fresh national quarrels.

It must not be supposed, however, that the excitement on the part of the Jacobites, or the fear on the part of the Hanoverians, was by any means allayed, and as by the existing Statute of 6 William and Mary, Parliament would be dissolved at the close of the year, and a new election held in the spring of 1717, there seemed great probability of a renewal of the contest, or at least of very serious riots during the election time. With this in view, the ministers proposed that the existing Parlia-

Punishment of
the rebels.

The Septennial
Act.
April 26, 1716.

ment should be continued for a term of seven instead of three years. This, which was meant for a temporary measure, has never been repealed, and is still the law under which Parliaments are held. It has been often objected to this action of Parliament, that it was acting arbitrarily in thus increasing its own duration. "It was a direct usurpation," it has been said, "of the rights of the people, analogous to the act of the Long Parliament in declaring itself indestructible." It has been regarded rather as a party measure than as a forward step in liberal government. We must seek its vindication in the peculiar conditions of the time. It was useless to look to the constituencies for the support of the popular liberty. The return of members in the smaller boroughs was in the hands of corrupt or corruptible freemen; in the counties, of great landowners; in the larger towns, of small place-holders under Government. A general election in fact only gave fresh occasion for the exercise of the influence of the Crown and of the House of Lords—freedom and independence in the presence of these two permanent powers could be secured only by the greater permanence of the third element of the Legislature, the House of Commons. It was thus that, though no doubt in some degree a party measure for securing a more lengthened tenure of office to the Whigs, the Septennial Act received, upon good constitutional grounds, the support and approbation of the best statesmen of the time. It was upon these grounds that Lord Somers declared that the measure would be the greatest possible support to the liberty of the country, and Speaker Onslow, with a clear view of the tendency of the Act, believed that it would emancipate the House of Commons from its former dependence on the Crown and the House of Lords. It was however probably the more far-sighted only who saw the advantages to which the Septennial Act would lead. It was meant for a temporary Act, and the reasons for its necessity, as set forth in the preamble, are the expenses of frequent elections, the constant renewal of party animosities, and the probability, "at this juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew" the rebellion within and invasion without, of an election being likely to prove destructive to the peace and security of the Government. At the same time it is plain that men's eyes were being opened to the threatened loss of independence of the Lower House, for a private Bill was introduced, and subsequently carried through in a modified form by Government, to forbid the holders of pensions withdrawable at will from sitting in the House.

No sooner was the great question which had held the Whig party

together settled by the suppression of the insurrection, than certain elements of disunion which already existed in the Cabinet began to make themselves felt, and a train of circumstances began, which ended in the disruption of the ministry. The tumult of pardon and execution had scarcely subsided, when the King, to the great dislike of his ministers, giving way to those natural inclinations which were for many years to be the chief weakness of our Hanoverian Princes, insisted upon the repeal of the clause of the Act of Settlement which restrained the King from leaving England, and hurried to his hereditary dominions. Stanhope accompanied him as representative of the English ministry, Townshend being left at home. This separation of the ministry of itself afforded room for intrigue, and the state of affairs both at home and abroad supplied a more than usually appropriate occasion for it; for the hereditary family quarrel had already broken out between George and his eldest son. It was impossible, however, to ignore his claims to the regency during his father's absence, nor would Townshend permit them to be overlooked. The King was with difficulty persuaded to put the Government in his hands, with the inferior title of Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant, and under considerable restrictions. The minister in England was thus at once put, in some sort, in opposition to the King, and in a position which gave great opening for the intrigues of his enemies who surrounded the King; for a clique, consisting of the King's Hanoverian courtiers, Bernsdorf, Bothmar, George's private Secretary Robethon, and Madame de Schulenberg, Duchess of Kendal, the royal mistress, were full of animosity to the minister. Like the Scotch followers of James I., they regarded England as a sort of promised land, and took umbrage at the attempts of the English ministry to check their rapacity. The mistrust thus engendered was rapidly increased by subsequent events, chiefly connected with the affairs of the Continent.

As the King entered Hanover with Stanhope, the minister was met by the Abbé Dubois, an agent of the Regent Orleans, and negotiations began for the establishment of friendly relations with France, which mark an entire change in the politics of Europe. To complete the security of the new succession, it was regarded as necessary that the Pretender should be removed beyond the Alps, and that all hope of assistance to his cause from France should cease. Open hostilities to gain this end seemed out of the question. Austria was much irritated by the Barrier Treaty, by

First signs of
the breaking up
of the Cabinet.

George and
Stanhope go
to Hanover.

which the Dutch were secured a line of fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands, garrisoned by the Dutch, but paid by Austria. The Emperor, too, was naturally jealous of the increasing power of the Princes of the Empire, three of whom had acquired kingdoms; the Elector of Saxony was King of Poland, the Elector of Brandenburg King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover King of England. The temper of Austria thus forbade all hope of re-establishing the Grand Alliance. The withdrawal of support from the Pretender had to be sought by peaceful means; and the Regent, intent on his personal aims, was willing to surrender the cause of the Stuarts, and to destroy the works at Mardyke as the price of peace with England. On these terms negotiations for a treaty, in which Holland was to share, were begun.

The German objects of the King rendered its speedy conclusion an object of the first importance. After his defeat at Pultowa, Charles XII. had withdrawn to Bender, where he had vainly attempted to rouse the Turks to assist him against the Russians. In his absence, Russia, Poland, and Denmark, the countries which in turn he had conquered, combined against his deserted country; and the King of Prussia, for his own ends no doubt, but with some appearance of keeping the balance between the parties, succeeded in neutralizing Pomerania, and in obtaining the sequestration into his own hands of the strong town of Stettin. This arrangement by no means pleased Charles, who hastened home from Bender, hoping by an alliance with England to keep his enemies at bay. The accession of the house of Hanover destroyed this hope. The Elector of Hanover had obtained from Denmark Bremen and Verden, part of the spoils of Charles, and was pledged by his own interests to oppose him. He insisted upon an English fleet being sent to the Baltic, though the question was obviously one of German interest only. Not content with opposing Sweden, George eagerly desired that the fleet should be used against Russia, for that country had invaded Mecklenburg, and intended apparently to appropriate it. Again it was evident that the question was chiefly of German interest. Townshend placed the English view of the affair before the King—it did not matter much who possessed Mecklenburg, but to attack Russia, the chief opponent of Sweden, was to leave Charles XII. free for dangerous designs in favour of the Stuarts, in which he was now almost openly engaged. Fortunately diplomacy induced the Czar to withdraw, and the question was thus solved.

But while eager for war with Sweden and Russia, George was

Danger of
Hanover from
Charles XII.

Negotiations
with France.

naturally anxious for the conclusion of the peace with France, and thought himself purposely thwarted by his minister, when the peculiarities of the Dutch constitution threw delays in the way of its completion, and Townshend refused to break faith and conclude the treaty without the accession of the Dutch. The King's dislike for

Dismissal of
Townshend.

Townshend, excited by his opposition to his German plans, was sedulously fomented both by his Hanoverian courtiers and by the Earl of Sunderland, who, thoroughly discontented with his subordinate position in the ministry as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had joined the King at Hanover, and had entered busily into the intrigues going on there. A letter from Townshend, in which, in order to allow the longer absence of the King, he recommended that additional powers should be given to the Prince in England, brought matters to a crisis. Townshend was dismissed from his office, and offered in exchange the vicerealty of Ireland. For the sake of the party, and upon some sort of apology from the King, Townshend accepted his new office, and the quarrel was temporarily healed.

During this brief reconciliation, the negotiations which had been carried on at the Hague and Hanover were completed, and a Triple

The Triple
Alliance.
Jan. 1717.

Alliance was signed in January 1717, by which the clauses in the Treaty of Utrecht having reference to the Protestant succession in England, to the French succession, and to the renunciation of the Spanish King to his claims or the French throne, were guaranteed.

But Walpole and the other friends of Townshend took an early opportunity of showing their discontent at the treatment of their leader, and it became necessary to dismiss them.

Changes in
the ministry.
April.

The direction of the Government thus fell into the hands of Stanhope, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sunderland and Addison became Secretaries of State, and James Craggs Secretary at War. The occasion of the final schism was a demand for a supply to oppose the intrigues of the King of Sweden. The lukewarmness of Walpole's support was so marked that his friends and those of Townshend voted against Government, and the supplies were carried by a majority of four only. The fraction of the Whigs who thus left office at once passed into vigorous opposition; yet the crisis was one which should have overpowered party feeling.

The state of Europe was such as to threaten difficulty, even danger, to England. Two statesmen of unusual ability were at work in Europe; to both of them the fall of the new Government in England was an object, and when their

intrigues for a moment brought them together, there was a brief interval of real danger. These were Charles XII. of Sweden, and Alberoni, the Prime Minister of Spain.

Charles had found himself thwarted in his schemes for re-establishing his power by the opposition of the English King. The same opposition had checked the Czar in Charles XII. his ambitious schemes on Mecklenburg. In union with his minister, Görtz, an adventurer who had passed into his service from that of the Prince of Gotthorp, Charles determined on a new combination of the North to suit the altered politics of Europe. He allied himself with his old enemy the Czar, and despatched Görtz to Holland, to see what he could do in France and England. In each of those countries he found it possible to enter into communication with a large discontented minority. In France, the Duke of Maine, irritated at the loss of the position which the late King's will would have given him, had put himself at the head of the older and graver statesmen, who clung to the old policy of enmity with England. In England, the Jacobites were still looking out for foreign support. To both countries Görtz sent an agent,—while Spaar was, if possible, to produce a change of government in France, Gyllenberg was instructed in England to promise the Tories the assistance of 12,000 men under the personal command of the King of Sweden. In seeking assistance for his plans, Görtz had come across another intrigue tending in the same direction. He found in Alberoni a man whose views were for the time identical with his own, and Spanish money found its way largely both to the Pretender and to the Swedish agents. Fortunately the English Government obtained information of what was going on. Justly holding that his ambassadorial rights were forfeited by his treason, they apprehended Gyllenberg and seized his papers, and persuaded Holland to act in the same manner with regard to Görtz. The papers thus seized afforded full justification for what they had done. But though thwarted in this scheme, both Charles and the Czar continued to act in unison with Spain against the interests of England. It was to meet this plot that the supply was demanded which caused the final schism in the English ministry. The death of Charles in September 1718, at the siege of Friedrichshalle, whither he had gone in his haste to secure Norway, the possession of which was a part of his bargain with Russia, prevented the Northern branch of the intrigue from bearing fruits, and a revolution in Sweden, which changed it into little more than an oligarchical republic, removed it for more than sixty years from the scene of history

Danger to
England from
Charles XII.
and Alberoni.

Alberoni's plots were of more importance. He was one of those statesmen who owe their rise to the democratic character of the Roman Church. The son of a market gardener, of a singularly undignified exterior, he had found means to make himself indispensable to the Duke of Vendome during the war of the Spanish succession, and had subsequently established his position in Spain by bringing about the marriage of Philip with Elizabeth of Parma. His object was entirely patriotic; he desired to replace Spain in the list of great European nations. For this purpose he set to work with remarkable success to revive the industry and wealth of the country. But his views reached further than this; he aimed at the destruction of the Treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty Austria had gained almost all that Spain had lost. It was therefore against Austria that his designs were chiefly directed. Knowing of the irritation which existed between Austria and England with regard to the Barrier Treaty, and believing that France would be unwilling to do anything to the disadvantage of a Bourbon kingdom of its own creation, he supposed that Austria would be without allies. To secure friendship with England, he even granted her great commercial advantages. The defensive alliance between England and Austria, in 1716, was the first blow to his plan. The subsequent conclusion, in 1717, of the Triple Alliance opened his eyes to the probable policy of France. It was then that he threw himself into the intrigues of the Jacobites and the party of the Duke of Maine, and put himself into communication with Charles of Sweden. Alberoni's chief object was to destroy the Austrian power in Italy. Conscious that Spain had gained in strength by the loss of her widespread foreign dependencies, he had no intention of conquering that country. But he wished to restrict the Austrian power there, firstly, by the establishment of younger branches of the Spanish house in Sicily (at the instant belonging by the Treaty of Utrecht to Victor Amadeus of Savoy), and in the duchies of Parma and Tuscany, where the reigning houses were drawing towards extinction, and to which Elizabeth Farnese had claims; and, secondly, by the increase of the territory of Savoy, which he designed to compensate for the loss of Sicily by the cession of a portion of Lombardy. The possession of Sicily was therefore of the first importance to him. But Austria had already been negotiating with the powers of the Triple Alliance for the exchange of that island for Sardinia. Alberoni himself desired to wait till Spain had acquired more power at home, but the apprehension by the Austrians of a newly appointed Spanish inquisitor roused the anger of Philip V., and,

against his will, Alberoni was hurried into war. To prevent the exchange of Sicily he at once took possession of Sardinia, and would probably have proceeded to attack Sicily, when the Powers of the Triple Alliance intervened.

Their offer of mediation involved the renunciation on the part of Austria of all claims on the Spanish monarchy, which had never hitherto been dropped,—on the part of Spain of all claims on the Italian provinces. The exchange of Sicily for Sardinia was to be carried out, and Parma and Tuscany to be given to Don Carlos. Enraged at this offer, the work of men, as he said, "who cut and pared countries as they would Dutch cheeses," Alberoni at once set to work all the apparatus his intrigue had prepared. The anger of Savoy was aroused at the loss of Sicily; the Turks, already at war with Austria, were subsidized and urged to further exertions; Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, was brought forward to demand his hereditary dominions, to hamper Austria on the east; the Spanish envoy in France busily stirred up faction there; Charles XII. and the Czar were urged to immediate action; and an expedition against England, headed by Ormond or the Pretender himself, was set on foot. The whole of Europe seemed involved. The mediating Powers found themselves likely to be drawn into war. Stanhope was removed from his position as First Lord of the Treasury, and made Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which included foreign affairs, and on June 4, 1718, Admiral Byng set sail from England for the Mediterranean.

The crisis was so threatening that the Austrian Emperor, who had refused to accede to the mediation of the Powers, yielded. England procured for him the Treaty of Passowitz, which secured him from the Turks, bought off at the expense of the Venetians, from whom they had conquered the Morea; and a Quadruple Alliance between England, France, Austria, and Holland was formed on the basis of the old project of mediation, with this difference, that Parma and Tuscany were to be held by Don Carlos only as fiefs of the Empire. Without open declaration of war, France and England had virtually joined the Austrian alliance. Alberoni, however, persisted in his schemes, but fortune had turned against him. The Spanish fleet, not knowing whether it was peace or war, was fallen upon and destroyed by Byng off Cape Passaro; Savoy, yielding to the pressure of the Quadruple Alliance, accepted Sardinia in exchange for Sicily; the death of Charles XII. broke up the Northern Alliance; the conspiracy in France was discovered when

Opposition of
the Triple
Alliance.

Formation of
the Quadruple
Alliance,
August 1718.

approaching maturity, the Spanish ambassador and the Duke and Duchess of Maine apprehended; of the Pretender's expedition, scattered in the Bay of Biscay, two frigates only reached Loch Alsh in Scotland. A few hundreds of the Highlanders gathered to their standard, but the appearance of English troops put them to flight; the chiefs escaped to Spain, the Highlanders were allowed to fly

unmolested to their hills, the Spanish troops were taken prisoners of war. War having now been regularly declared, the French crossed the Pyrenees, and again and again defeated the Spanish troops; and at length Philip was compelled to dismiss his great minister, and on the 19th of January 1720 acceded to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance.

The affairs in the North of Europe were settled in a similar high-handed fashion. There too a nation, struggling to regain its old preponderance, had to be crushed. The death of Charles XII., and the revolution which followed it, put an end to any chance of Sweden's regaining its position in Europe. The new Government fell back upon the old policy of the country; Bremen and Verden were allowed to remain in the hands of George, and an alliance with England and France was entered into. As a necessary consequence the late allies of Sweden again became its enemies. But the friendship of France and England drove them to peace. Orders were even issued to the English Admiral of the Baltic to fall upon the fleet of the Czar without declaration of war, unless with Denmark, his ally, he consented to a cessation of hostilities. Too weak to resist, Denmark accepted a sum of money and retired from the contest; and the Czar,

now standing alone, withdrew, though still in arms, to await a better opportunity for action. The foreign policy of Stanhope had thus been successful, and though unjust and domineering, secured for Europe a peace of twelve years.

Meanwhile the minister had carried out with consistency the politics of his party at home. In acting thus he was met with considerable difficulties. On the one hand he had to manage and repress the meddlesome and rapacious German coterie which surrounded the King, on the other he was met by a strong opposition headed by that party of the Whigs which had left office with Townshend.

In all the chief measures of his administration he found an eager and at times a successful antagonist in Walpole. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the impeachment of Oxford came to an untimely end. The Lords were persuaded

Fall of
Alberoni.
Dec. 1719.

European peace.
1720.

Stanhope's
home policy.

Opposition of
Walpole.

to refuse to listen to any evidence in support of the charge of misdeemeanour before they had heard that on the graver charge of treason. They knew that it was impossible for the

Trial of Oxford.
June 1717.

Commons to support the more important charge. A quarrel between the Houses ended in the refusal of the Lower House to proceed to the impeachment. The Lords gravely assembled on the appointed day in Westminster Hall, sat there for a quarter of an hour, and then, as no accusers appeared, declared the impeachment at an end. Again, Walpole, regardless of party ties, vehemently upheld the charges of peculation brought against Lord Cadogan by the Jacobites in the House headed by Shippen. And again, with great inconsistency, he opposed the repeal of the Schism Act. The Act for restraining Occasional Conformity passed in the last

Repeal of the
Schism Act.
Jan. 1719.

reign, and the Schism Act of 1714, by which it had been followed, pressed very heavily on the Dissenters; and Stanhope, whose views appear in some respects to have been more liberal than those in vogue at the time, went so far in his wish to relieve them as even to dream of mitigating the severity of the Test and Corporation Acts. However, wisely yielding to the advice of Sunderland, he confined himself to an attempt to get the Schism Act repealed, and succeeded, after much opposition, in both Houses; but his narrow majorities show that a more extensive measure would have been useless. The Test Act continued in force, though rendered practically nugatory after the beginning of George II.'s reign by a Bill of Indemnity passed almost every year in favour of those who had evaded it.

On the two last named occasions Walpole's opposition had been useless. On the more important question of the limitation of the power of the Crown to create Peers by the Peerage Bill, he fortunately proved too strong for the minister. Like the Septennial Act, the Peerage Bill was introduced partly on theoretical, partly on party grounds. The Revolution had been an aristocratic rather than a popular movement. The power or rather the influence of the Crown had not been destroyed, but was in abeyance, the Hanoverian monarchs being as it were in a state of tutelage to the Whig party, whose strength was in the Upper House. Popular in language, but aristocratic in feeling, this party regarded political liberty as best secured by its own predominance, rendered permanent by such institutions as a Septennial Parliament and an exclusive hereditary nobility. It feared alike the power of the King and the power of the people, and already the adoption of the Treaty of Utrecht, carried by the popular will and

The Peerage
Bill rejected.
Dec. 1719.

by a large creation of Peers, had shown the possibility of a union between King and people which might sooner or later destroy its influence. To guard against such a danger was the primary object for which Stanhope introduced his Peerage Bill. But temporary party interests had as much weight with him as general theory. Stanhope and his friends, especially Sunderland, were in dread of the conduct which might be pursued by the Prince of Wales when he came to the throne. He was on bad terms with his father, and regarded Sunderland as the chief cause of the royal jealousy. It was generally believed that his accession would be followed by a creation of peers from among his own favourites. Thus both on public and party grounds the ministry thought it desirable to limit the royal prerogative. As was natural, the Tories, in their dislike to restrictions on the royal prerogative, and the party of Walpole, who opposed it because it was a Government measure, made common cause against the Bill. By its enactments the Crown was to be restrained from the creation of more than six beyond the existing number of 178 English peerages (the power of creating a new peerage whenever an old one became extinct being reserved), no new peerage was to be created with remainders except to the original recipient and his heirs male; while, to place the Peerage of Scotland on the same footing, the sixteen representative Peers of that country were to give way to twenty-five hereditary Peers nominated by the Crown. The Bill met with little opposition in the House of Lords, but was thrown out by a large majority in the Lower House, where Walpole pointed out "that one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of a decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family."

At the present time a defeat on so important a measure must have driven the ministry from office. But the theory of party government was as yet so little perfected, that not only did Stanhope retain his place, but his administration was so strong, that the Whig malcontents thought it better to renew their old connection with it, and both Walpole and Townshend re-entered the Government, the one as Paymaster of the Forces, the other as Lord President. It seemed as if nothing short of some great convulsion could shake so powerful a Government, and, though little apprehended, such a convulsion was near at hand.

It was still early in the history of finance. It was only of late years that the moneyed interest had become so important in the

country as to admit of the discharge of the public liabilities by means of large and regular loans. But when once the practice had been begun it had been largely adopted, and during the wars of the reign of Queen Anne the debt had risen from sixteen to fifty-two millions. Ignorant of the resources of the country and of the ease with which such a debt might be supported, the financiers of the day were in constant terror of its rapid increase. A member of the House, a certain Mr. Broderick, was expressing the general feeling when he said, "I agree with the ministers, that until the National Debt is discharged, or in a fair way of being so, we cannot properly call ourselves a nation." But besides the general dread of the amount of the debt, there was a very well-grounded dislike to the high terms on which much of it had been contracted. The money having been borrowed in time of war and difficulty, the terms offered to the lender had been proportionately favourable. A settled Government, the success of the Hanoverian succession, and the continued and rapid increase of wealth which had followed it, had rendered money much cheaper, and Government was paying seven or eight per cent. upon its loans, when private individuals could borrow on good security at four per cent. But the manner in which much of the money had been raised forbade any effort at changing the rate of interest. The loans had been largely contracted in the form of annuities, many of them for ninety-nine years; and of these a considerable portion were irredeemable, that is to say, Government was pledged to the payment of the interest as originally arranged, unless some change could be made with the consent of the creditors.

Financiers had therefore two objects in view,—to lessen the whole amount of debt, and to lower the interest payable on what remained. The establishment of the Bank of England had shown the value, in a mercantile point of view, of the Government credit. It became an understood principle that money lent to Government, and thus secured upon the credit of Government, was an excellent form of capital; and when advances were required, or when it became convenient to substitute a single great creditor for a number of little ones, this principle had been brought into use. Two such attempts had been made, the one by Harley in 1711, the other by Walpole in 1717. Harley, when Lord Treasurer, had found a floating debt (a debt, that is, payable on demand of the creditor) of ten millions, and had got rid of the danger of immediate demand by forming a company of the creditors of this floating debt. The ten millions were

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The South Sea Scheme.

founded, that is, the interest and not the capital was paid; the interest was secured upon the customs, and the fund of ten millions became the capital of the company of creditors, who were incorporated as the Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas, and to whom subsequently the mercantile advantages granted to England at Utrecht were given. These came to but little,—the Assiento, or supply of slaves, and the admission of a yearly ship of 500 tons burden to the American colonies. Even this advantage was lost in the difficulties which arose with Alberoni. The first ship did not sail till 1717, and as far as the South Sea trade went Harley's plan was a failure. But the credit gained by the Company in the transaction was good, other lines of trade were opened up, and the Company became great, flourishing and powerful.

In 1717 Walpole had been very desirous to diminish the National Debt. He established the first sinking fund, borrowing £600,000 at only four per cent., using this money to pay off liabilities bearing a higher interest, and applying the money thus saved to the extinction of the debt. He also, taking advantage of the value of Government credit, induced both the Bank and the South Sea Company to accept a lower rate of interest for the money they had already advanced, and to advance between them nearly £5,000,000 more, for the purpose of paying off as far as possible those holders of redeemable debts

The South Sea
Scheme.
1720.

who refused to accept the lowered rate of interest. The great South Sea Scheme of 1720 was in principle nothing but a repetition of this manœuvre. The South Sea Company, believing devoutly in the power of credit, was anxious to extend itself as far as possible. The Government was so eager for the reduction of the debt that the King had made special mention of it in the speech with which he opened Parliament in the close of 1719. Under these circumstances the proposition of Blunt, director of the South Sea Company, found a ready hearing with the ministers. Between them an arrangement was devised, perfectly justifiable and harmless as far as the principle of it went. The bulk of the Government debt consisted in redeemable and irredeemable annuities, on all of which large interest was paid, and on which that interest must continue to be paid unless the holder of the annuity voluntarily reduced it. There is said to have been about sixteen millions of each class of security. Government wished to bring the whole mass into one general fund, bearing a lower rate of interest, and the South Sea Company was so greedy of the Government credit, that it expressed itself anxious to add the whole of this enormous amount to its

capital. It is plain that any transaction of the sort, as far as regarded the irredeemable annuities, must have been entirely voluntary. All that the Government could do was to allow the Company to persuade the holders to exchange their annuities for shares in the Company. With regard to the holders of redeemable annuities, payment in full must be offered, but that payment might be given in shares of the Company. In other words, those who accepted the exchange became proprietors in the Joint-stock South Sea Company to the amount of their claim on the Government. With regard to the Government, the South Sea Company alone became creditor, instead of a multitude of old annuitants, and was contented to receive henceforward, instead of the seven or eight per cent. the annuitants had received, five per cent. till the year 1727, and after that four per cent. till the capital as well as the interest should be returned, for the fund was made a redeemable one. If the transaction were thoroughly successful the capital of the South Sea Company would be increased by about thirty-two millions, advanced to Government at five per cent., and Government would have to pay five per cent. interest instead of seven or eight, besides having the power of redeeming the capital.

So great were the advantages understood to be gained by this accession of capital in Government hands, that other companies wished to share in them. It was voted by a large majority that these advantages should be put up to public competition. The Bank of England and the South Sea Company set to work outbidding each other, the latter finally proposing terms which were virtually a payment to Government of seven millions and a half. This money was to be devoted to the public service, to pay off public debts redeemable before the year 1723, and after that as much as possible of the capital of the South Sea Company itself. It is plain that for the success of this scheme two things were requisite. In the first place, a readiness on the part of the public to accept the Company's shares in exchange for their Government annuities; without that Government would not be freed, nor would the Company get its increased capital. But this exchange would of course bring in no ready money. Secondly, therefore, a large number of new shareholders would be required to subscribe, paying for their shares in ready money, in order to meet the demands of those holders of redeemable annuities who refused all exchange, and to cover the heavy premium of £7,000,000. Now both of these objects were dependent on the popularity of the Company's shares; and it was in this that the mistake of the arrangement lay; Govern-

Competition
of other
companies.

ment had in fact made too good a bargain. By an extensive system of bribes large sums of fictitious capital were invented and distributed gratis among influential members of the Government, and still more largely among the hungry Hanoverian courtiers, whose influence it was regarded as all important to secure. All fear of the success of the scheme was almost immediately removed. So great was the belief in the vast Company, backed up by this huge accession of Government credit, so well had the directors done their business, that a very large majority of the annuitants pressed with extreme haste to accept the terms offered, though those terms were very low. The public were then invited to subscribe the new capital. Five separate subscriptions of upwards of a million were in succession opened, and all filled, with equal rapidity.

It was however in its secondary effects, rather than in its immediate consequences, that the scheme exerted the most extraordinary influence. There was a great deal of money in the country, and there was no satisfactory way of using it. Much had been hoarded, for there were not then as now numerous industrial investments in the market in which small sums could be employed. The apparent success of the South Sea Company, and the promises which it held out for rapid fortune-making, excited the spirit of speculation to the highest degree, and companies sprang into existence with unexampled rapidity. Some were real and serious—waterworks, paving companies, and companies for the improvement of all branches of manufacture. Some were mere transparent impostures—as a company for the importation of Spanish donkeys, for the fixing of quicksilver, or for wheels of perpetual motion. It did not matter much what they were, for the rage for stock-jobbing was such that any hardy promoter of a company might hope to float it at all events till he had himself realized a handsome fortune. Change Alley became a scene of the wildest excitement—people in all lines of life hurrying to buy and sell as during the railway mania of our own time. But among all the companies the South Sea Company maintained its pre-eminence, and its shares rose, till in August the £100 share was worth £1000. The Company continued to promise largely, even fifty per cent. profits. The absurdity and danger of such reckless proceedings began to become obvious. The nominal value of all the shares in all the companies then existing was held to be £500,000,000, or twice the value of all the land in England. But many of these companies, being unchartered, were illegal, and had no right to issue shares,

The rage for
stock-jobbing.

and the legitimate companies, especially the South Sea, looked with jealousy at their illegal competitors. Apparently unconscious how much their own success depended upon the universal delusion, they proceeded to prosecute some companies which had acted illegally. The effect was instantaneous. The nation began to return to its senses; the bubble burst, and the stocks of all unchartered companies fell with extreme rapidity. In the universal ruin they carried with them the South Sea Company. The panic was as rapid as the eagerness to purchase had been. Before the end of September South Sea stock was at 175. The difference between that sum and the £1000 which they had touched will give some measure of the loss involved. The ruin among all classes was unspeakable.

Bursting of
the bubble.

So great was the desolation that it was found necessary for Parliament to intervene. Not that the great Company itself was in any way bankrupt, its shares were still at a large premium, they never fell below 175; not that any law of political economy had been broken; Government had never pledged itself to support the credit of the Company, or to force either its shares or its engagements on the public; but simply because private speculation had caused so vast an amount of misery, and because the nation was exasperated at it, interference became absolutely necessary. Examination into all the details of the plan no doubt proved a considerable amount of venality on the part of the ministry, of bribery and fraud on the part of the directors. But even thus it was freely acknowledged that under no old law had any crime been committed, and it required a retrospective Act of Parliament and the creation of a temporary crime to bring the directors within the reach of punishment. As Gibbon said, the steps taken were in fact an act of popular vengeance and contrary to justice. The private property of the directors was confiscated and added to the unallotted stock to form a fund for the relief of the sufferers; debts due to the Company for stock purchased at exorbitant prices but not paid for were remitted on payment of ten per cent.; the remaining capital was divided among the new proprietors. As a set off, the Company was relieved of £7,000,000 due by it to the Government.

Punishment of
the directors.

These measures are due exclusively to Walpole, the one man specially fitted from his financial abilities to deal with the present crisis, and in whose favour it was remembered that he had been out of office when the plan was set on foot. The official inquiries into the circumstances of the South Sea

Supremacy
of Walpole.
1721.

Scheme left him indeed in a position of undisputed supremacy in the House. Several members of the Government were implicated in the frauds of the Company; Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was found guilty and expelled the House. The younger Craggs died of smallpox before the inquiry was completed, and his father committed suicide. Charles Stanhope was acquitted by a majority of three only, and although Sunderland was declared innocent by a large majority, public opinion was so strong against him that he had to leave the ministry. In the following year he died. During the angry debates which arose on these matters Lord Stanhope had been attacked with virulence by the Duke of Wharton, and the anger which he had felt had been such as to cause a rush of blood to the head, of which he died shortly before his relative Charles Stanhope was acquitted. There remained no possible rival to Walpole, who with his brother-in-law Townshend returned to power as First Lord of the Treasury. Thus, when the new Parliament assembled, he found himself absolute master of the field, at the head of an unbroken Whig party, supported by an overwhelming majority, and for twenty years maintained his position, to the immense advantage of England and to the lasting security of the reigning house.

Not that the Jacobites were as yet extinct, but they were silenced in Parliament, and had to rely upon conspiracy or foreign assistance. Their hopes in fact were at this moment in some respects higher than ever, for the disturbance and discontent caused by the collapse of the South Sea Scheme, together with the birth of an heir to the House of Stuart in the person of Prince Charles Edward, seemed to afford them an opportunity for greater activity. The Stuart papers prove the existence of a well-organized intrigue, under the management of a Committee of five, Lord Orrery, the Earl of Arran Lord Ormond's brother, Lord North, Lord Gower, and Atterbury Bishop of Rochester. The letters display in a very curious manner the false hopes with which the party were constantly buoyed up. Atterbury indeed showed signs of considerable

Bishop
Atterbury's
plot.

wisdom, the reintroduction of Walpole and Townshend to the ministry seemed to him a great blow to the cause. "The reconciliation," he writes, "is not yet hearty and sincere, but I apprehend it will by degrees become so. The Tories have no good foundation on which to stand. Disaffection and uneasiness will continue everywhere, and probably increase. The bulk of the nation will be ever in the true interest and on the side of justice. The present settlement will perhaps be detested

every day more and more, and yet no effectual step will or can be taken to shake it." The great South Sea Scheme also seemed to him a difficulty. "That body of men, who have increased their capital by £40,000,000, begin to look formidable. They cannot but be the governors of the kingdom." He therefore urged instant action before the Whig settlement had time to ripen or the financial plans to be brought to successful conclusion. Even a few years later the Earl of Orrery wrote, "It is not an extravagant computation that four out of five of the whole nation wish well to you." Nevertheless all these Jacobite writers were obliged to confess, even after the failure of the scheme, that the united Whigs were too powerful, and the general prudence of all classes too great, to allow of any successful movement without assistance from abroad. It is plain also that there were numerous sections and much want of discipline in the Jacobite camp. Atterbury's influence was disapproved of by many; Gower had a band of followers of his own; and James was so alive to this source of weakness that he earnestly pressed for the election of a responsible head, naming the Earl of Oxford as the fittest person for the purpose. These divisions, and the want of self-reliance in the face of the powerful Government, constantly prevented the Jacobites from obtaining success; their agents were perpetually soliciting foreign countries for help, and the chain of foreign diplomacy which Stanhope had wrought was so close, that such ill-advised requests could scarcely fail to reach the ears of the English ministry. Thus a determination to take advantage of the confusion caused by the South Sea Scheme, by the death of Stanhope, which was supposed to have broken the link with France, and by the new election for Parliament, was brought to Walpole's knowledge. The Regent had been asked to supply 5000 men, but Dubois was not likely to overthrow the diplomatic edifice he had so carefully built up. He at once informed the English minister at Paris. And at the opening of the new Parliament George was able to give a short summary of the conspiracy, involving an expedition headed by James and Ormond from Spain and Italy, the seizure of the Tower, the Bank and the Exchequer, and the declaration in London of King James; and at the same time he could state that some of the chiefs, especially the Bishop of Rochester, were already under arrest.

The superiority of the Whig party was now shown in the Bills that were passed relative to this conspiracy. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a whole year, the longest time on record;

sums were granted for an increase of the army; a tax of £100,000, to be collected from all Nonjurors, was enacted; and as the evidence was scarcely sufficient to go before a Court of Law, Bills of Pains and Penalties were introduced against some of the subordinate agents, and against Atterbury himself, who was forced to leave the kingdom. At Calais he met Bolingbroke, who had just received his pardon and was returning to England. He had been dismissed by the Pretender after the failure of 1715, and had vowed never again to serve so ungrateful a master. None the less did he continue for the rest of his life to hamper by his intrigues the Whig party. The chief cause of his irritation was

Quarrel between
Carteret and
Walpole.

that his overtures were rejected by Walpole, who already began to show that thirst for power and jealousy of men of great talents which was one of his marked characteristics, and which was the ultimate cause of his fall. Carteret, who with Townshend was now Secretary of State, was his first victim—a man of the most brilliant parts and of unrivalled knowledge of foreign affairs. He had succeeded to much of the influence as well as to the views of Stanhope. Abroad he was inclined to plunge England into the complications of Hanoverian policy. It was in fact natural that with his great knowledge of foreign affairs he should be led to consider them more important than other English statesmen, who then as now were inclined towards a policy of isolation. At home, too, his views were less exclusively those of a Whig partisan than those of his fellow ministers. He feared probably less than the occasion demanded the strength of the Jacobites. He looked upon the sole possession of power by the Whigs on the Hanoverian succession as a necessary but only temporary evil. He was desirous of a far larger admission of the Tory element, and would willingly have admitted Bolingbroke and those Tories who would have accompanied him among the ranks of the ministry, or at all events among the ranks of the ministerial supporters. But to Walpole such views were exceedingly distasteful. He well knew Bolingbroke's ability and feared him as a personal rival. He felt also that if Bolingbroke were instrumental in destroying the Tory opposition, the King could not but feel under considerable obligations to him, and that his own exclusive influence would be shaken. Bolingbroke's overtures were therefore most coldly received, and he withdrew again to Paris, where an intrigue was going on, in which he took a prominent part, and which ended in the fall of his friend Carteret. The intrigue itself was of a very despicable character, and

was connected with the marriage of a daughter of Madame de Platen, sister of the King's mistress, the Countess of Darlington. To counteract Carteret, who was employing the English ambassador in the Countess's interest, Townshend sent Horace Walpole as his agent to Paris. The existence of two rival ambassadors, one only properly accredited, brought matters to a crisis. The King, in spite of a strong personal friendship for Carteret, was obliged to yield to the influence of Walpole, and his rival had to withdraw to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

But although the office given to Carteret was regarded as a retirement, in the present instance it promised to be no sinecure. Ireland was in a state of wild excitement, lashed to fury by the exceedingly able but untrue writings of Swift, who in his Drapier's Letters had by exaggeration and falsehood given an aspect of tyrannical misgovernment to a commonplace and legitimate financial act. There was great need of a new small coinage for Ireland, and Walpole had given a patent in 1722 to a certain William Wood, giving him power to coin farthings and halfpence to the value of £108,000. The contract and quality had been declared satisfactory by Sir Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint. The Irish Parliament declared that the patent would occasion a loss to the nation of one hundred and fifty per cent., an extraordinary assertion based upon the fact that a pound of rough copper in Ireland was worth twelve pence, while a pound of coined fine copper was to be worth thirty pence. But the mint in London gave eighteenpence a pound for its copper. The charge of coinage was fourpence, the duties upon copper imported into Ireland were twenty per cent., and the difference of exchange between England and Ireland rendered a slight diminution of the weight reasonable. Of course, however, it is certain that the patentee made something by the bargain, especially as the voracious Duchess of Kendal had been bribed to obtain it. But all facts and all reasoning were useless against the storm raised by Swift's Letters, and it was not till Walpole had exhibited his usual prudence in accepting inevitable defeat, and cancelling the patent, that Ireland was quieted.

It was not in Ireland only that the financial measures of Walpole met with opposition. For years the tax upon malt had been with great difficulty collected in Scotland. This tax had been changed into a charge of threepence upon every barrel of ale. Edinburgh was in commotion, and the brewers refused to brew. Lord Isla, the Duke of Argyle's brother,

Excitement
in Ireland.
Disturbances
in Scotland.
1725.

was acting as Walpole's agent in the matter. He prudently declined to interfere, certain that love of profit would speedily break up the combination. A public meeting, Walpole tells us, was held, and the question put by the chairman, "Brew or not brew?" He began by asking the man on his right hand. But he and many who followed him refused to vote, till at last one bolder than the rest refused to be bound by the majority and voted "Brew." The assembly broke up in some confusion, but before morning there were forty brewhouses hard at work in Edinburgh and ten in Leith.

The remainder of the reign offers but little of interest in domestic history, but before Walpole could enter unchecked on that course of peaceful policy which is the chief characteristic of his long tenure of office, he had yet one difficulty with Spain to overcome, while at home there was already springing up that opposition of discontented Whigs combined with the Tory party, which, under the fostering influence of Bolingbroke behind the scenes, and led in Parliament by the ability of Pulteney, was ultimately successful in driving the

Spanish
difficulties.
1725.

great minister from office. Since the adhesion of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance and the fall of Alberoni, a Congress had been sitting at Cambrai to arrange the

details of the final settlement of Europe. The chief points at issue were the renunciation of the title of King of Spain, to which the Austrian Emperor fondly clung, the Grand Mastership of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which the Emperor also claimed, and the restoration to their owners of certain Italian provinces of which the Emperor had taken possession. To gain these ends, Spain, absolutely renouncing the policy of Alberoni, attached itself closely to France and England, purchased the favour of the latter country by a treaty of commerce, renewing the *Assiento* and the annual ship to the Spanish colonies, and of the former by a marriage-treaty. This marriage-treaty Orleans was induced to accept in pursuance of his plan for keeping continual hold of the regency; all views of ultimate succession were gradually fading from him as the young King improved in health. It was a threefold arrangement; the Infanta Mary Anne, then only three years old, was to marry Louis XV., the two daughters of the Regent were to marry the Prince of Asturias, heir to the Spanish crown, and Don Carlos, presumptive heir to Parma and Tuscany. Spain had thus done so much that she awaited with confidence the meeting of the Congress at Cambrai. But that Congress was very slow in its operations, and the hasty Queen of Spain and her ambitious husband began to weary of the

ill success of their concessions, and to think that perhaps after all matters might be brought to a more speedy termination by direct action, without mediators, at the court of Vienna. The Spanish Government was the more inclined to this step, because it had been persuaded that the Austrian court would lend no unwilling ear to direct negotiations.

This belief had been forced upon the King and Queen by a strange, adventurous, but very able foreigner, who was rapidly rising into somewhat the same position in Spain ^{Intrigues of Ripperda.} that Alberoni had held. This was the Baron Ripperda. A Dutchman by origin, a soldier by profession, he was unusually well versed in the details of business and of political economy. He had taken up all Alberoni's views as to the possible expansion of the resources of Spain, and, thinking there was more room for his ability in that country than in Holland, had had himself naturalized there. He followed the King during his temporary resignation of the Spanish throne, and returned with him on his son's death to the possession of full power. There seems little doubt that throughout Ripperda had been in the pay of the Austrian court, and it was chiefly at his instigation that the Congress at Cambrai was deserted and direct negotiations between the courts opened. He had set before the King and Queen very plausible reasons not only for a negotiation but for a change of policy, no less complete than an entire desertion of the mediating Powers and of the principle of the Quadruple Alliance, and a close friendship with the House of Austria. Spain would thus be freed from the constant encroachments of England upon her trade, and the interference of France, which had been very irksome to the Spaniards since the Bourbon accession, would be avoided. The old question of the Barrier Treaty was exciting the animosity of England and Austria; for Austria, in distinct contravention of the commercial articles of that treaty, which forbade to the Austrian Netherlands the trade of India, had established a great Ostend India Company. And there was another object very dear to the Emperor's heart towards which Spain could lend important aid. It could guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, pledge itself, that is, to preserve the Austrian succession to the daughter of the Emperor, a pledge which in the case of Spain meant a great deal, as Spain had fair claims to a considerable portion of the succession on the extinction of the direct male line of the Austrian house. With these hopes and with these offers Ripperda set out for Vienna, with the intention of entirely destroying the present arrangements of Europe, of breaking the

existing marriage-treaty with the Orleans princesses, of substituting for them the Austrian archduchesses, and of restoring Europe to its ancient attitude by the close alliance of Austria and Spain in opposition to France and England.

The success of Ripperda's scheme, the completion of his great act of treachery, was rapidly secured by an act of a very similar description on the part of the Duke of Bourbon. That prince had an almost insane dread of the possible succession of the Orleans house to the French throne; to preclude its possibility he desired the immediate marriage of the young king. But his betrothed Spanish bride was but a baby; regardless therefore of all treaty obligations, the Duke sent her back almost without explanation to Spain, and married the young King to Maria Leczinska, daughter of the ex-King of Poland. The rage of the Spanish king knew no bounds; he sent peremptory

Treaty of
Vienna.
April 30, 1725.

orders to Ripperda to bring the treaty with Austria to a conclusion upon any terms. Under these circumstances the great Treaty of Vienna was made on the 30th of April 1725. It consisted of three separate treaties, two public and one private. By the public treaties the Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed; the Spanish ports opened to German commerce; the succession of Parma and Tuscany promised to Don Carlos; and Austria pledged herself to use her best influence to secure the restoration of Gibraltar and Minorca. Had this been all it would have been fair enough, somewhat humiliating to the countries left negotiating uselessly at Cambrai, but not otherwise than in accordance with the principles of the Quadruple Alliance.

On the supposition that there was no secret treaty the English Opposition desired that no notice might be taken of the transaction, and reprobated the action of the Government in forming a counter treaty as Hanoverian. But there can be little doubt that there was a secret treaty. Its tenor was afterwards disclosed by Ripperda. In it the marriages between the two houses were arranged; Austria and Spain pledged themselves to assist the restoration of the Stuarts; and to compel, if necessary by force, the restoration of Gibraltar and Minorca. The existence of this treaty before long reached the ears of the English ministers. For some little time the Jacobites had been extremely active. An envoy had come to rouse the loyalty of the clans, and had found them not disinclined to revolt; and the Duke of Wharton, one of the Jacobite leaders, had gone abroad and held ostentatiously secret meetings with Ripperda. Ripperda's own tongue was none of the

The secret
treaty.

quietest, and he boasted constantly of his great plans. The threat against the power of England was rendered more dangerous by the attitude of Russia, where the Empress Catherine, who was receiving large subsidies from the Spanish court, was eager to win for her son-in-law the Duke of Holstein the province of Sleswig, which the Danes had taken from him.

To meet this threatening alliance therefore, on the 3rd of September, the counter Treaty of Hanover was signed The Treaty of Hanover. between England, France and Prussia, for mutual assistance should either of the countries be attacked. The real intention was to compel the Emperor to relinquish the Ostend Company, and to withstand any attempt on the part of the Pretender. Ripperda had returned in triumph to Madrid; but his success was shortlived. He found himself unable to fulfil the promises he had made to the Austrians; the people of Spain hated him; he was driven from office, and had to seek refuge at the British embassy, where his confessions completely justified the precautions the Government had taken in bringing about the Treaty of Hanover. In spite of his fall the treaty he had arranged still continued effective.

It seemed as if Europe was upon the verge of a great war, divided as of old into North and South, Protestant and Catholic. Excitement of Europe. The indignation excited by the Treaty of Vienna in England was very great. As it was well put in the King's speech, it appeared as if the appropriation of the English trade was to be given to one country, and Gibraltar and Port Mahon to another, as a price for assisting the Stuart Pretender to the English throne. Very large subsidies were granted, and the army and navy increased. A British squadron blockaded Porto Bello, another squadron entered the Baltic to overawe the Russians; the Spanish galleons were seized. The foolish publication of a direct appeal from the Emperor of Austria to the English people excited the anger even of the Opposition, and secured the speedy dismissal of Palm, the Austrian ambassador. A Spanish army proceeded to invest Gibraltar.

But the skilful though selfish policy of Prussia, and the pacific tendencies of Walpole and of the new French minister Fleury, produced an arrangement. The Emperor found that his position was becoming dangerous. Prussia, at once the leader of the princely opposition to the Imperial house, and yet thoroughly German in its tendencies, determined to be neutral. It could not assist the

Emperor in supporting a treaty which by its marriage clauses threatened to put a Spanish prince on the Imperial throne. The King had hopes of gaining from France some portion of the Juliers succession. But the house of Brandenburg had become of great importance in European politics; neither party could well act without it. Its neutrality induced the Emperor to consent to the signature of preliminaries of peace, signed at Paris on the 31st of May 1727. He agreed to suspend the Ostend Company for seven years, and to refer other disputes to the general Congress. The pacific policy which had produced this arrangement was Walpole's. The skill which had formed the Treaty of Hanover, the dread of which had undoubtedly produced the peace, belonged to Townshend. And here began the ill-feeling between the brothers-in-law which ultimately produced the disruption of their friendship.

The period of this exciting foreign crisis was rendered interesting in England by the rising power of the Opposition to Walpole. At the back of that Opposition was constantly Bolingbroke. Enormous bribes had secured for him the favour of the Duchess of Kendal. Great stress had been brought to bear on Walpole to consent to his complete restitution. But Walpole would go no further than to allow a restoration of property, the attainder and consequent exclusion from the House of Peers was kept constantly suspended over his head. His anger against the minister who thus thwarted him knew no bounds. He set himself to work to form an Opposition. William Pulteney, an old friend of Walpole's, but like Carteret cast off as too able, lent himself to Bolingbroke's plans, and became his mouthpiece in the House of Commons. Between them they established the Opposition paper, the *Craftsman*, and under their influence every measure of the Government was vigorously attacked by the Jacobite or Whig members. Underhand intrigue promised to be even more effectual than overt opposition. The Duchess of Kendal, by dint of bribing, had grown to be zealous in the cause of the Opposition. She was constantly at work on the King, urging the full restoration of Bolingbroke, urging even the admission of him and his friends to the ministry, and the dismissal of Walpole. George indeed held bravely to his old minister. He showed him the insidious attacks which the Duchess put into his hands, and allowed him thus to meet and counteract them. But Walpole himself felt that the constant importunity of the favourite would sooner or later have its effect.

Preliminaries
of peace.
May 31, 1727.

Opposition to
Walpole headed
by Bolingbroke.

He was even, it is said, thinking of withdrawing to the Upper House, when the King's death at Osnabrück, on his return home from Hanover, put an end for a moment to the almost successful intrigue.

The King's
death.
June 9, 1727.

England had been singularly fortunate in escaping the dangers which generally accompany a violent change of dynasty. The attention of the new Government is usually so constantly directed towards the maintenance of its position in the face of the eager opposition of its worsted rivals, that it neglects the external interests of the country, and the nation sinks for a time into insignificance. In the first days of the Revolution the nation had fortunately fallen into the hands of a great statesman, whose wide policy, carried out with consummate ability by the Duke of Marlborough, had raised it to a very high position. At Utrecht it had treated as one of the first European nations. The skill of Stanhope had secured the prestige thus won. It was England which was the chief power of the Quadruple Alliance, her fleet in the Mediterranean which gave the first great blow to the plans of Alberoni. Twice the appearance of her fleet in the Baltic had overawed the North, and when the new European combination brought about by the Treaty of Vienna had threatened the existing arrangements of Europe, it was the diplomacy of England which called into existence the counter Treaty of Hanover.

Review of
the reign.

Increased
importance of
England abroad.

At home the survey of the reign is not so satisfactory. There was deep depravity in both domestic and public life. The licentiousness which had marked the whole Stuart period had lost nothing of its wickedness, but a good deal of its elegance, in its union with the corruption of a small German court. With a king without wit, without taste for the arts, without knowledge of literature, without perception of beauty, and swayed by two ugly, ignorant and rapacious mistresses, we hear with no surprise tales of the coarseness of the time. If possible, the depravity of public life was greater than the private immorality. It is enough to mark the character of the reign that the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Macclesfield, was towards its close convicted of disgracing the seat of justice by receiving bribes, and was removed with ignominy from his office; that three ministers at least, if not more, were compromised in the iniquitous transactions of the South Sea Company, and that the King's mistress amassed an immense fortune from the bribes by which her favour was purchased. But even worse than this shameless venality was the political infidelity which universally

Private and
public
immorality.

prevailed. It is this which is the real danger of a disputed succession. There is an uncertainty as to which party may ultimately be successful, which engenders a spirit of political gambling, while for any fancied insults, or any real loss of power, immediate revenge can be sought by a mere transfer, and frequently a secret transfer of allegiance. To this may be added the tendency of compulsory oaths, which men persuade themselves that they may accept as a matter of form, and which therefore weaken all sense of conscientious engagements. There was hardly a statesman of note who had not more or less tampered with the Jacobite party. Even Walpole is not quite clear of the charge, while the whole body of High Tories were in constant danger of drifting into Jacobitism.

Nor was this the only cause leading to low political morality. The reigning King was a foreigner in all his habits and in all his tastes. He was surrounded by a Hanoverian court, who regarded England as an instrument for the aggrandizement of Hanover, and formed a centre for all intrigues to win the royal favour at the expense of patriotism. It is strange, indeed, that their influence was less directly felt in English politics, and it is perhaps owing to those very Hanoverian predilections of the King, which are so often urged against him, that their influence was not greater. He was so thoroughly German in language and in thought, he was so incapable of comprehending the English Constitution and manners, that his real interests were entirely centred on his Hanoverian dominions, and in all matters in which they were not concerned he left England to work out its own revolution, and was compelled, moreover, to throw himself wholly into the hands of that party on whom the revolution rested, and with whom it was a matter of life and death to secure the completion of that revolution, and to maintain the security of the Parliamentary King. It was fortunate that that party was guided by the wisdom of Walpole. That jealousy of power which was his chief weakness was itself an advantage, since it tended to exclude from power the Tory party, and gave a united character to the Government, which proved the hopelessness of success to all who did not accept it.

Influence of the Hanoverian courtiers.

GEORGE II.

1727—1760.

Born 1683 = Caroline of Anspach.

Frederick = Augusta d. 1751. of Saxe-Gotha.	William, Anne = Prince Duke of of Orange. Cumberland. d. 1765.	Mary = Land- grave of Hesse-Cassel.	Louisa = Frederick V. of Denmark.
George III.			

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>France.</i> Louis XV., 1715.	<i>Austria.</i> Charles VI., 1711. Charles VII., 1742. Maria Theresa, 1745.	<i>Spain.</i> Philip V., 1700. Ferdinand VI., 1746. Charles III., 1759.	<i>Prussia.</i> Frederick William, 1713. Frederick the Great, 1740.
<i>Russia.</i> Peter II., 1727. Anne, 1730. Ivan VI., 1740. Elizabeth, 1741.	<i>Denmark.</i> Frederick IV., 1690. Christian VI., 1730. Frederick V., 1745.	<i>Sweden.</i> Frederick I., 1720. Adolphus, 1751.	

POPES.—Benedict XIII., 1724. Clement XII., 1730. Benedict XIV., 1740.
Clement XIII., 1758.

Archbishops.
Wake, 1715.
Potter, 1737.
Herring, 1747.
Hutton, 1757.
Secker, 1758.

Chancellors.
King, 1725.
Talbot, 1733.
Hardwick, 1737.
Northampton, 1757.

First Lords of the Treasury.
1727. Walpole.
1742. Wilmington.
1743. Pelham.
1754. Newcastle.
1756. Devonshire.
1757. Newcastle.

Chancellors of the Exchequer.
1727. Walpole.
1742. Sandys.
1743. Pelham.
1754. Legge.
1755. Lyttleton.
1756. Legge.

Secretaries of State.
1727-1757. Newcastle.
1730. Harrington.
1742. Carteret.
1744. Harrington.
1746. Chesterfield.
1748. Bedford.
1751. Holderness.
1754. Robinson.
1755. Fox.
1757. Pitt.
Holderness

CON. MON.

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THE ascendancy of Walpole was in great jeopardy on the death of George I. Bolingbroke's intrigues against him, backed by all the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, had indeed been thwarted by the straightforward manner in which George I. had put all complaints against him into the minister's own hands—a striking instance of that love of justice and fidelity to old friends which were the redeeming traits of his otherwise uninteresting character. But Walpole had now to do with a sovereign whom as Prince of Wales he had always opposed, and who had been known to use strong expressions of disapprobation with regard to him. George II., a little, dry man, gifted with the hereditary bravery and obstinacy of his family, but with very limited abilities, and a mind far more easily touched by little things than by broad interests, could not be expected to forget Walpole's opposition, nor to appreciate his calm, tolerant wisdom. When Walpole brought him the news of his father's death, he was at once directed to apply to Sir Spencer Compton, a dull, orderly man, Speaker of the House of Commons and Treasurer to the Prince of Wales. Walpole was wise enough to profess friendship for the new favourite, who even employed the ability of his predecessor to draw up the speech which the King was to deliver to the Council. For some days it was believed that Walpole's power was gone. His usual throng of followers deserted him and crowded to Sir Spencer Compton's levée. But before any definite arrangements had been made, Sir Spencer unwisely gave Walpole opportunities for personally explaining himself to the King. He was thus able to remove the bad impression the King had received as to his foreign policy, and to outbid his rivals in the arrangements he proposed to make for the Civil List, a point very close to the King's heart. He completely succeeded in winning the Queen to his interests; and when she heard that Compton had had to appeal to his assistance in arranging the speech from the throne, she took the opportunity of impressing upon George the absurdity of employing a minister who was obliged to lean for support upon his rival. The Queen's influence, which was very great, turned the scale in his favour. The ministry continued unchanged. Compton, feeling his brief importance at an end, withdrew from the contest, and shortly afterwards accepted the position of President of the Council as Lord Wilmington.

Increase of the
Civil List.

The offer which had proved so effective in securing Walpole's power consisted of a Civil List increased by £130,000, and a jointure of £100,000 to Queen Caroline. The Civil

Walpole
retains his
position.

List, which had been settled after the Revolution at £700,000 a year from all sources, had proved insufficient, saddled as it then was with a variety of expenses, such as the judges' and ambassadors' salaries, beyond the mere expenses of the Court. Anne had been £1,200,000 in debt, George I. £1,000,000. Walpole now offered to induce the House to raise it to £800,000 a year, allowing the King to claim anything beyond that sum which should arise from the hereditary revenues.

Before long Walpole won the entire confidence of the King himself, but it was at first chiefly on the friendship of the Queen that he relied. She was a woman of very considerable ability. Her intellectual fault indeed was an attempt to know too much. She collected around her men of learning of all sorts, dabbled in divinity, dabbled in metaphysics, patronized poetry, and delighted in listening to theological discussions, in which she kept the part of strict neutrality, believing it is thought but little on either side. But her influence in bringing forward men of ability, especially in the Church, was very great. Her sense was excellent, and by means of it, in spite of the King's royal immorality, she contrived to rule him absolutely. She thoroughly appreciated Walpole, and together they pursued that policy, which was no doubt the right one for the maintenance of the Hanoverian succession. This consisted in the pursuit of peace in every direction—peace abroad, peace at home. If any point was strongly contested it was given up; if any abuse was unobserved it was suffered to rest untouched; and in general their object was to let the nation learn by its material prosperity the advantages of an orderly and settled Government. As a consequence of this policy the period of Walpole's government was uneventful, and was occupied rather with the great Parliamentary struggle between himself and the Opposition under Pulteney than by any great national affairs.

The influence
of the Queen.

Character of
Walpole's
ministry.

The chief strength of that Opposition consisted of the discontented Whigs, most of whom were driven to oppose Walpole by his insatiable love of power. We have already seen Pulteney and Carteret forced from the ranks of the Government, and all overtures with Bolingbroke rejected. In 1730, Walpole quarrelled with his old friend and brother-in-law Townshend, who was only restrained by his patriotism from joining the Opposition. In 1733, Lord Chesterfield was added to the list. These leaders had behind them a certain quantity of supporters who took the name of Patriots,

Character of
the Opposition.

and wished to be regarded as the true old Whigs, looking upon Walpole with his large majority as seceders from them. There was much plausibility in this view: for the Whig party under Walpole seemed to have become closely attached to the Crown, and was supported principally by Crown influence. As the original principle of the Whigs had been antagonism to the over-great power of the Crown, it could be plausibly urged that they had now assumed the position of their former enemies. The Hanoverian line had ascended the throne with a parliamentary as contrasted with a hereditary title; it had therefore naturally found its chief supporters among the Whigs. With the Hanoverians that party had entered upon power. But the Revolution, while practically subordinating the power of the King to that of Parliament, had constitutionally left it untouched. The Hanoverian kings did not indeed employ it to its full, but placed it in the hands of the minister, who, by means of the royal influence, practically ruled England with as unquestioned a sway as any great minister of the Stuarts. The difference lay in this, that the power of the Crown consisted in the immense influence it possessed by means of pensions, places, and the command of the public money, and worked through the House of Commons, and not in opposition to it. The patriot Whigs were conscious of the power of the Crown, and were true to their principles in opposing it. Their error lay in this, that they did not understand that that power was formidable only so long as there was a venal House of Commons. Eager as they thought for liberty, they formed a close connection with the High Tories and Jacobites, the greatest enemies of liberty; and in their eagerness for office did their best to oppose that Government, which for the present, at all events, was the only safeguard against the restoration of the Stuarts, for the events of 1745 render it plain that danger from the Jacobites was as yet by no means over. In fact, however, principle had little to do with the matter, it was personal animosity to the minister, and anger at exclusion from office, which inspired the Opposition. Even the party names "Whig" and "Tory" were beginning to lose their meaning. By far the greater portion of the House was thoroughly attached to the Hanoverian succession. Some fifty Jacobites sat in it under the guidance of Shippen, and a certain number of country gentlemen, with Wyndham at their head, still retained the title of Hanoverian Tories. But the Parliamentary struggle lay in fact between different sections of the Whigs, either of which, whatever their pretensions may have been when out of office, would probably have acted in

much the same way had they succeeded in obtaining it. It was not till the close of this reign and the beginning of the next that the old party names began again to acquire significance. It had become evident that the power and influence of the Crown, but little diminished, as has been said, at the Revolution, had as it were been placed in commission in the hands of the great leaders of the Whig party, who by means of their own Parliamentary influence, added to the King's power which they wielded, had assumed a monopoly of the Government antagonistic at once to the Crown and to the people. Those who regarded this condition of things as a disturbance of the old balance of the Constitution began to rally round the King, and when George III. resumed into his own hands the power of the Crown and broke with the Whig oligarchy, he found his support in this new Tory party.

To oppose the many able men whom enmity to the ministers had driven into the ranks of the Patriots, the Government had little more than the inert strength of an unfailing majority to show. Besides Walpole himself, whose talents were unquestioned, the Government consisted of somewhat second-rate men, such as Newcastle, whose fussy silliness was a constant theme of jest, Stanhope, Lord Harrington, an excellent diplomatist but no politician, and Lord Hervey, a clever but bitter and effeminate courtier. But the Government was supported on almost every question of importance by a vast majority of the House, whose votes the surpassing skill of Walpole as a manager secured—many of them by small places and pensions, or other "considerations," as bribes were then called. That Walpole reduced the purchase of a majority, a practice by no means unknown, to a system must be allowed. It may be urged in his favour, that he used, but did not cause, the venality prevalent among all public men of the time, and employed it so as to secure what was upon the whole the government most advantageous for England at the time.

The folly of the Pretender spared the minister all trouble with regard to the Jacobites, for James had succeeded in alienating his ablest partisans. He had quarrelled with Atterbury as he quarrelled with Bolingbroke, he had excited scandal by his quarrel with his wife, and had suffered an unworthy favourite, Colonel Hay, or Lord Inverness as he called himself, to supplant all his better partisans in his favour. And when the death of Lord Mar was followed by that of the Duke of Wharton and of Atterbury in 1732, the Jacobite cause fell into the hands of very

inferior agents, whose intrigues, insignificant as they were, seem to have been thoroughly known by Walpole.

It was thus with one source of danger practically removed that Walpole resumed the threads of foreign policy. The last reign had closed before peace had been concluded with Spain, and while there were still unsettled difficulties with the court of Vienna, although preliminaries had been signed both in Paris and in Spain by what is known as the Convention of the Pardo. It must indeed have been obvious that the Treaty of Vienna, plausible as it seemed, could not have been a lasting treaty. The Bourbons were upon the throne of Spain, and the close junction of the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg was an impossible contradiction of all history, especially as the desire which was really the moving passion of the Spanish court, the establishment, namely, of a Spanish kingdom in Italy, was fundamentally opposed to the interests of Austria. At the same time the shadow of the approaching dissolution of his kingdom at his death was constantly overhanging the Emperor. No ideas of present greatness, not even the hope of restoring the Empire to the position it had held under Charles V., appeared in his eyes so important as to secure the reversion of his own estates for his daughter, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, by which, in 1713, he had arranged the succession to his hereditary kingdoms. It was impossible for him to hurry into a general war, which must of necessity prevent the acceptance of that arrangement. There was already a strongly expressed feeling in Germany against the marriages on which the Vienna Treaty rested, and which might have the effect of placing a Spaniard on the Imperial throne. The threatened secession of his chief allies, and the fear of postponing the acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction, were sufficient reasons to induce the Emperor to withdraw from his bargain. He therefore accepted the mediation of France, where Fleury, though he probably never forgot the old policy of the country which he governed, always apparently exhibited a love of peace; and it was agreed that disputed points should be referred to a general Congress to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, but subsequently moved to Soissons.

At the Congress the Emperor, afraid of exciting the national prejudices of the Germans, entirely deserted his Spanish allies, and instead of hastening a favourable negotiation, perpetually threw obstacles in the way. As far as England was concerned, the great point at issue was Gibraltar, which Spain had already besieged in vain. The ministry, both before and now, seem

European complications.

to have regarded the surrender of it as neither impossible nor very injurious; the view of the nation was very different. But as is so often the case, the Congress came to very little. Spain, finding herself deserted by Austria, and observing that the Congress was falling to pieces by constant delays, had recourse to a direct treaty; and on the 9th of November 1729 the celebrated Treaty of Seville was signed. It was a defensive alliance between England, Spain and France, to which Holland subsequently acceded. Spain revoked all the privileges granted to Austrian subjects by the Treaties of Vienna, re-established English trade in America on its former footing, and restored all captives. The Assiento was confirmed to the South Sea Company, and arrangements made for securing the succession of Parma and Tuscany to the Infant Don Carlos, by substituting Spanish troops for the neutral forces, which since the Preliminaries had been occupying those countries.

The Emperor now found that he had outwitted himself. He had clung to the Treaty of Vienna just long enough to irritate two of the great countries of Europe, he had put difficulties in the way of its completion, and hesitated about fulfilling it, just long enough to irritate the third. Old friends and old foes had made common cause. His hopes for the Pragmatic Sanction seemed entirely gone. It was not likely that he would sit down quietly while Spanish troops occupied fortresses in what he considered his dominions. He broke off all diplomatic relations with Spain, sent troops into Italy, and on the death of the Duke of Parma seized his duchy. But all men really knew that the bribe was ready, if they would only give it, to put an end to all his opposition. And the impatient Queen of Spain—angry with the shilly-shally policy of her new allies (who would not insist with sufficient rapidity on the completion of the Seville treaty), throwing over France, which she regarded as the chief delinquent in the matter—joined with England and Holland to offer the long wished for guarantee. Thus at length by the second Treaty of Vienna all the much vexed questions were decided. Austria was glad to accept the terms proposed at Seville, agreed to destroy the Ostend Company, to establish Don Carlos in his duchies, and not again to threaten the balance of European power. And in 1732, under the escort of English ships, the Spanish troops took possession of the disputed fortresses.

Both these treaties were arranged in accordance with the pacific

Treaty of Seville.

Nov. 9, 1729.

Disappointment of the Emperor

Second Treaty of Vienna, March 16, 1731.

views of Walpole. When the second was concluded he was absolute master of affairs in England; for almost immediately after the Treaty of Seville the old jealousy which had long smouldered between him and Townshend burst out, and Townshend had found it necessary to withdraw. Townshend was a proud, rough man, ill fitted to play the subordinate part which Walpole was determined to thrust upon his colleagues. Besides general ill-feeling, several specific grounds of difference existed between them. The first Treaty of Vienna had greatly irritated Townshend, who would have wished to avoid all compromise and to proceed to extremities with the Emperor. The link which had bound the brothers-in-law together had been broken by the death of Lady Townshend, Walpole's sister; and Walpole's conduct with regard to the Pension Bill supplied a fresh ground of quarrel. The Opposition had discovered, without exactly tracing it to its constitutional source, the power of the royal influence, and early in 1730 Mr. Sandys introduced the first of those Bills for restraining it which became from this time onwards one of the regular weapons of attack against the ministry. He moved for leave to bring in a Bill to disable all persons from sitting in Parliament who had any pension direct or indirect from the Crown, and proposed that every member as he took his seat should swear that he held no such pension. The attack was exceedingly well judged, for it gave expression to a very general feeling, and Walpole, who studiously avoided shocking the feelings of any large section of the nation, was at some loss how to meet it. But he knew that he could rely upon his great Whig supporters in the Upper House, and of that House Townshend was the leader. Walpole therefore suffered the Bill to pass the Lower House without opposition, so that it was upon Townshend and the Lords that the whole odium fell when, as a matter of course, they rejected it. On these and various other grounds such ill blood sprang up between the brothers, that it is told, though upon doubtful authority, that they nearly came to blows at an entertainment in the house of Mrs. Selwyn. It was impossible that both the ministers should remain in office; the influence of the Queen turned the scale in favour of Walpole, and Townshend resigned, withdrawing with unusual patriotism from political life, and devoting himself at Reynham, his house in Norfolk, to the improvement of agriculture. It is to him that we chiefly owe the cultivation of turnips. This change, by allowing a proper rotation of crops, and

Complete
supremacy of
Walpole.

The Pension
Bill.

Retirement of
Townshend.
1731.

thus avoiding the necessity of leaving fields to lie fallow, added nearly a third to the cultivable area of England, while by supplying large quantities of cattle-food from a comparatively small space of ground, it enormously increased the food-producing resources of the country.

For two years the ascendancy of Walpole was unquestioned. He was enabled to turn his thoughts to domestic improvements. English was substituted, certainly most reasonably, for the ancient Law Latin in all legal proceedings, to the grief it is said of some conservative lawyers, and against the opposition of most of the judges. There was a Committee of Inquiry also into the condition of public prisons, which brought many revolting horrors to light. Both in the Fleet and Marshalsea torture by thumbscrew and otherwise was constant, and the condition of poor prisoners who could not bribe the gaolers was inconceivably horrid. Forty or fifty of them, for instance, were locked up for the night in a cell not sixteen feet square. Gaol-fever and famine were constantly destroying them, so that the deaths at one prison were frequently eight or ten a day.

But it was as a financier that Walpole was most favourably known, and somewhat strangely it was a great financial reform in the year 1733 that almost brought him to ruin. Walpole was desirous of lessening even the weak opposition by which he was confronted in Parliament; and in the hope of attracting to himself the country gentlemen, he appealed, in accordance with his usual principle, to their love of money, and sought some way to lessen the Land Tax. For this purpose he suggested an excise upon salt. This must have been contrary to his own convictions. He could not have been ignorant how important an article salt is in many manufactures, how necessary an article of purchase even among the poorest. He was in fact taxing the poor and the manufacturing classes for the sake of winning the landed interest, which would be called upon to pay a land tax of one instead of two shillings. The new duty was carried, but by no large majority. The chief argument against it was that it was a step towards a general excise, which, because it seemed to infringe on the rights of the subject by giving revenue officers the right of entering houses, was much detested, and regarded as a badge of servitude. Although the tax upon salt was not really intended as a beginning of a general excise, it was nevertheless true that Walpole had a scheme of that nature in his mind: for it was found after a year's experience that the new tax upon salt fell short by two-thirds of the sum required to admit

Walpole's home
government.

His financial
measures.
1733.

of the reduction of the Land Tax to one shilling. It was to a new measure of excise that Walpole looked to supply the deficiency. The excisable articles at that time were malt, salt, and distilleries, and the produce of the tax in 1733 was about £3,200,000. When Walpole's project of extending the excise got wind it proved most repugnant to the people. Numerous meetings were held, and many members were instructed to vote against any such attempt. But when the project was brought before the House, then in Committee, it appeared that Walpole, disowning all intention of establishing a general excise, confined himself solely to the duties on wine and tobacco; and even on those commodities designed no increase of the present duties, but merely a change in the manner of collecting them. In future the dues were to be collected after the manner of an excise from the retailers, and not as heretofore in the form of customs at the ports. Fraud and smuggling were so prevalent that in tobacco alone the customs, which ought to have produced £750,000 a year, produced in fact only £160,000. As these frauds took place chiefly at the ports or along the seaboard, Walpole hoped by taxing the retail trade, and not the importation, much to lessen them. In addition to this, he would have established a system of warehousing without tax for re-exportation, thus making London a free port. It was undoubtedly an excellent plan. As he pointed out, it was the shops and warehouses alone which were under supervision, not the houses of the retailers; liberty was in no way infringed; it enabled him to remit the Land Tax to the advantage of the country gentlemen; the scheme was advantageous to the importer, who could re-export free of duty; the price of the commodity was not raised. But none the less did it meet with the most violent opposition. Wyndham likened it to the unjust imposts of Empson and Dudley, and Pulteney derided it as a vast plan to cure an almost imaginary evil. The people beset the doors of the House during the debate in great crowds, irritating Walpole till he let fall the unhappy words—"It may be said that they came hither as humble suppliants, but I know whom the law calls sturdy beggars;" an expression which was never forgiven. The resolution was carried, but by an unusually small majority. On this and subsequent motions a Bill was founded, and in the course of many discussions a new cry was raised by Pulteney, that, as most of the seaport boroughs were already in the hands of one or the other branch of the administration, this was a plan for bringing inland towns under the same influences; and before the Bill came to a second reading, the ministerial

majority of sixty had dwindled to sixteen. The excitement became dangerous; even the army was infected, and Walpole, according to his usual principle, yielded to the violence of the storm and withdrew the Bill. But though thus thwarted, he did not forego his revenge on the defaulters of his own party. Chesterfield, the ablest man in the ministry, Lord-Steward of the Household, was somewhat rudely dismissed. Lord Clinton, the Earl of Burlington, the Duke of Montrose, the Earls of Marchmont and Stair, and by a questionable exercise of prerogative the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, were deprived of their commission in the army,—an arbitrary act not lost sight of by the Opposition.

As Walpole, true to his principles, had purchased peace at home by concession, we find him the next year for the same object ^{His pacific} keeping entirely aloof from a new war which had broken ^{foreign policy.} out in Europe. The Peaces of Seville and Vienna had apparently completed the arrangements of the Treaty of Utrecht, and settled all differences between the courts of Spain and Vienna; but treaties based upon arbitrary territorial arrangements for the purpose of preserving the balance of power are always very liable to be broken. Neither party considers itself quite fairly treated, and is ever on ^{Fresh European} the look-out for some opening to regain its lost power or ^{war.} to acquire some new influence. The Peace of Utrecht had closed the War of Succession, undertaken solely to establish the balance of power in Europe, and had been exactly such a treaty as has been described. The Peaces of Seville and Vienna had been necessary to modify in some degree its arrangements. A quarrel as to the election of a new King of Poland was sufficient to render for the time all three of them useless. It will be remembered that the French King had married the daughter of Stanislaus, ex-King of Poland. All French influence therefore was now employed to secure his re-election, while the Czarina Anne of Russia and the Emperor strongly upheld the claims of Augustus, son of the late King. A Russian and a Saxon army were sufficient to secure the throne for Augustus; but the Emperor's interference, although indirect, had enabled Fleury to show himself in his true colours, to listen to that great section of his countrymen who were weary of the lengthened peace, and to bring on a war which promised to be far more advantageous to France than any success in Poland could have been. In his attack upon Austria he was joined at once by Spain: for the Queen, the real ruler of the Peninsula, was still discontented with the losses Spain had suffered by the late treaties, and was besides very anxious to secure

a crown for her son Don Carlos, who was already Duke of Parma. There was a short campaign upon the Rhine, where Berwick commanded the French, Eugene the Imperial army. Though the French lost their general before Philipsburg, they were everywhere successful, and when the united armies of Spain and Sardinia threw themselves on the kingdom of Naples, they found no great difficulty in conquering the Austrians, and completing the conquest of that country and of Sicily by the victory of Bitonto. Don Carlos assumed the kingdom as Charles III.

In the face of much obloquy Walpole steadily refused to side with either party; the Emperor, unable to secure his assistance, though he declined the pacific mediation proffered by the Maritime Powers, thought it wise to open direct negotiations with France. Preliminaries of peace were set on foot (Oct. 1735), which ripened in three years into the great treaty called the Definitive Peace of Vienna, by which the Spanish house was allowed to retain Naples and Sicily. Sardinia was rewarded with some frontier towns, among others Novara and Tortona, Lorraine was ceded to France, and the young Duke of Lorraine, Francis, the affianced husband of Maria Theresa (heirress to the Austrian Empire), was persuaded to accept Tuscany in exchange. France and Sardinia again ratified the Pragmatic Sanction. This somewhat trivial war thus completed the incorporation of France, established the Bourbons in Naples, and was the cause of the connection between Tuscany and the Austrian house.

Walpole had been more than usually anxious to keep clear of European wars, because the time for the dissolution of the Parliament under the Septennial Act was rapidly approaching, and there seemed every reason to believe that the struggle at the coming election would be a very fierce one. The Opposition were already supplied with several very effective cries. The Excise scheme, the arbitrary punishment of his opponents, and his determination to keep up a standing army, would all powerfully excite the people against the minister. Before the dissolution they added one more cry against him by making a strong attack upon the Septennial Act. As most of the Opposition Whigs had voted for this Act, they had always shrunk from demanding its repeal. It required all the skill of Bolingbroke, the wire-puller of the Opposition, to induce the two parties to unite in the assault. The debate is interesting, as showing in a great speech of Wyndham the temper of the Opposition and the sort of charges to which Walpole was exposed. "Let us suppose,"

Definitive
Peace of
Vienna.

Nov. 8, 1735.

Increasing
opposition to
Walpole.
1734.

said Wyndham, "a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and of but a mean fortune, raised to be chief Minister of State by the concurrence of many whimsical events, afraid or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, and most of them equally abandoned to all notions of virtue or honour, a man ignorant of the true history of his country, and consulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those whose education makes it impossible for them to have such knowledge or such qualifications as can either be of service to their country or give weight or credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation by such means neglected or misunderstood, her honour and credit lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, her sailors murdered; and all these things overlooked only for fear his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a Parliament of his own choosing, most of their seats purchased, and their votes bought at the public expense. Let us suppose attempts made to inquire into his conduct, and the reasonable request rejected by a corrupt majority of his creatures. . . . Upon this scandalous victory let us suppose this chief minister pluming himself in defiance, because he finds he has a Parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him arrived to that degree of insolence as to domineer over all the men of ancient families, all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation, and as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. . . . Then let us suppose a prince, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and interests of his people. . . . Could there any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne, advised and solely advised by such a minister, supported by such a Parliament?" Walpole replied in a speech scarcely less vigorous, unveiling the secret influence of Bolingbroke, attributing to him the whole management of the Opposition, and pointing out his vast ambition and unequalled faithlessness.

The election, after a severe struggle, ended by giving Walpole a large majority, although considerably smaller than he had hitherto commanded. The depression of the Opposition was great, especially as Bolingbroke, weary of all exclusion from power, and involved in quarrels with Pulteney, withdrew to France.

The leadership which Bolingbroke thus resigned fell in some

Wyndham's
speech against
Walpole.

degree into the hands of the Prince of Wales, not indeed that he possessed any of the talents of a leader, but that he formed a rallying-point for all sections of the Opposition. From his first arrival in England, in 1728, there had been the usual differences between him and his father. He had thought himself ill-used in the matter of his intended marriage with Wilhelmina of Prussia, whom, though he had never seen, he pretended to adore. The mutual dislike of the fathers of the proposed bride and bridegroom had broken off that match. He had since married a sensible wife, Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. But it was the parsimony of his father which had principally excited his displeasure. He held his income of £50,000 a year entirely at his father's will, whereas his father when Prince of Wales had £100,000 secured to him. But parsimony was the ruling passion of George II., and nothing could persuade him to increase his son's income. Round the Prince had collected all the great leaders of the Opposition; Pulteney, Chesterfield, Carteret, Wyndham and Cobham were intimate with him, and Bolingbroke was his political instructor. Nor was this all. Although the Queen had a love of literature, and in some ways patronized clever men (especially in the matter of Church preferment), Walpole had always refused to show them the least favour; and as a natural consequence, all the better writers allied themselves closely with the clever men of the Opposition, especially with Bolingbroke, who had always been their friend. Swift, Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot, were constantly writing vigorously against Walpole. "Gulliver's Travels" are full of strokes of satire against the conduct of affairs. Some of Pope's sharpest lines refer to the Queen's implacability towards her son. The "Beggars' Opera" of Gay was regarded as being directed almost entirely against the Government. The "Quarrels between Peacham and Lockit" were by some thought to allude to the quarrel between Townshend and Walpole;¹ and in the *Craftsman*, the organ of the Opposition, letters of the most virulent description were constantly published against Walpole. To this brilliant Court it was natural that the younger men rising to notoriety should ally themselves. The intellect of the political world seemed there to be centred, and the specious name of Patriot was apt to attract enthusiastic youth. Pitt and Lyttelton began their political career as members of this Opposition.

¹ The applications of the passages in the "Beggars' Opera" must have been afterthoughts, as the play was brought out in 1728, before the quarrel with Mrs. Selwyn's, if quarrel there was, took place.

It was not till the year 1737 that a public outbreak between the King and Prince took place. In the preceding year an event had happened, which, though of little historical importance, has been rendered interesting by Sir Walter Scott in his "Heart of Midlothian." During the King's absence in Hanover the Queen was left Regent. Two smugglers, Wilson and Robertson, were imprisoned in the Tolbooth, and tried to escape. Wilson went first, but being a big man, could not get through the aperture they had made. Feeling that he had injured Robertson, on the following Sunday in church he succeeded in grasping one of his guards in each hand, and a third with his teeth, thus giving Robertson an opportunity of escape, of which he availed himself. A strong sympathy was excited for Wilson, and after his execution the soldiers were attacked with stones. Porteous, who commanded the guard, fired upon the crowd. For this he was tried and condemned to death, but, in consideration of the provocation, was reprieved by Queen Caroline. The people, enraged at this, organized a riot, and though notice was given to the magistrates, no efficient means were taken for suppressing it. The gates were locked, and the commander of the troops, frightened by Porteous' example, refused to act. The Tolbooth was broken open, and Porteous hanged to a barber's pole, all with the greatest order and regularity. Having done this, and paid for the rope with which they hanged Porteous, the crowd dispersed, nor could any of the rioters be detected. The Queen, regarding the disturbance as a personal insult to her authority, was extremely angry. It was proposed to abolish the Edinburgh city guard and the city charter, level the gates, and declare the provost incapable of holding any office. The opposition of the Scotch members and of the Scotch nobles was however too great to be disregarded, and ultimately the city being fined £2000, and the provost declared incapable of office, no further punishment was inflicted.

During this year the Prince of Wales had married. But this by no means tended, as it was hoped, to the union of the Royal Family, for the Prince at once renewed his demands for an increase of income. He determined at length to follow Bolingbroke's advice, and demand that the sum he received should not depend on the King's will, but be permanent and fixed by the Parliament. This threat induced the King to make some overtures, with a promise to give the Princess a jointure. They were rejected, however, and the battle fought out. The great flaw in the organization of the Opposition was then made manifest, for the Tories (forty-five in number) refused to vote in

Quarrel of the
King and Prince.
1737.

favour of a Hanoverian prince, and the ministers were victorious. This dispute was followed by a still more scandalous squabble, the Prince hurried his wife from the King's residence at Hampton Court to the empty palace of St. James's when she was on the point of giving birth to her first child, who would be in the direct line of succession to the throne. This insult was never forgiven, and the King gave his son a peremptory order to leave the Court. He withdrew at once to Norfolk House in St. James's Square,

Death of the Queen.

which became the centre of the Opposition. The Queen remained implacable, refusing to see him even on her deathbed. Her death happened within a few weeks of this unhappy quarrel, to the great loss of the King, whose want of intellect she had chiefly supplied, of Walpole, whose staunch friend she had always been, and indeed of all England, for by seconding Sir Robert's views she had been mainly instrumental in securing for it that period of comparative rest which was so much wanted to re-establish its well-being after the troublous time of revolution it had passed through. It was believed that Walpole's power had rested chiefly on her influence, and there was a general expectation that her death would be followed by his downfall. The Opposition were much disappointed when they found his influence with the King as great as ever. It is

Walpole retains his influence with the King.

said that with her parting words she had recommended the King to continue to trust in her favourite minister; and her advice was then as always followed by him. For though he was not a faithful husband, having had Lady Suffolk for his mistress during the first years of his reign, and now allying himself with Sophia de Walmoden, created Countess of Yarmouth, his mistresses never had any great political influence over him—no influence at all events comparable to that exercised by the Queen.

The Opposition attacks his pacific policy.

The Opposition, though disappointed, by no means relaxed its efforts, and found a favourable point of attack in Walpole's pacific tendencies. There were still several points of dispute unsettled with Spain. The limits between Georgia and Florida were undetermined. By the Treaty of Seville trade was established on its former footing between the two countries, and the commercial relations between them were therefore regulated by the somewhat indefinite treaties of 1667 and 1670. By these the right of search and the right of seizure of contraband goods were allowed to the respective nations. This right was exercised with varying severity by the Spaniards according to their relation with England at the time. But the trade of English America had very much

increased, and would not be restrained from seeking legally of illegally the trade of South America. There was no doubt abundant smuggling. Even the South Sea Company, which was allowed to send one ship a year, contrived in fact much to increase that number by sending tenders with her, which secretly replenished her cargo as she parted with it. On the other hand, it is equally certain that the Spanish Guarda-Costas had exercised their authority roughly, and many tales of the ill-usage of British subjects were current. These stories were collected and brought up in Parliament by the Opposition, the best known being that of Jenkin's ear. Jenkin was a captain, who asserted that his ear had been torn from him, and that he had been bidden to take it to his king. "Then," said he, "I recommended my soul to God and my cause to my country." The ear, wrapped in cotton, he was in the habit of showing to his listeners. This claptrap story was most effective in rousing the popular indignation. Walpole resisted the clamour, but met with great difficulties. The King, who was at heart a soldier, now freed from the peaceful influence of his wife, was urgent for war; and in the Cabinet itself Newcastle began to bid for increased power by favouring this desire of the King.

George desires war.

In this eagerness for war, which is frequently represented as a folly on the part of the nation, the people were probably really wiser than their rulers. The state of Europe was becoming such that war was necessary for England, if she was to uphold her position, and to obtain that paramount situation in commerce and on the sea which her people then as now regarded as her due. Walpole's peace policy was certainly directed rather to the aggrandizement of his party than to the general interest of the nation, and in pursuit of it he had allowed himself to be duped by the pacific language of Cardinal Fleury. His attention had been distracted from the broader lines of European politics to the details of the constantly shifting diplomacy of the time. It is now known that, as early as 1733, the Family Compact had been entered into between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, for the express purpose of hampering the trade of England, and with a stipulation for mutual assistance both in warships and privateers in case of any encroachment on the part of England. Nor was the agreement a dead letter. M. de Maurepas had been busily and successfully employed in reorganizing the French navy.

Walpole attempted at first to pursue his established policy of peace. He opened negotiations with Spain, supported by such signs of

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coming hostilities as induced that Court to agree to a convention. Many English prisoners and some English prizes were restored, and compensation was promised to the amount of £200,000.

Negotiations
with Spain.
1739.

Against this, however, was set £60,000 to be paid by England for the destruction of Spanish ships by Admiral Byng in 1718, and in his eagerness for prompt payment Walpole suffered it to be further reduced to £95,000. The disputed points were left for further negotiation. No mention was made of the right of search; the limits of Georgia were not defined. When this convention became known the popular indignation was great. It was regarded as a resignation of our rights. The ridiculously small sum given for compensation was pointed out, and the payment of £60,000 for what the people regarded as a glorious victory was naturally much resented. It was in opposing this convention that Pitt seems first to have shown his great powers of oratory. The ministerial majority was only twenty-eight. Believing that they could now safely proceed to extremities, the Opposition determined upon seceding from the House. With the arguments all on one side, and the votes upon the other, it was impossible, they said, for them to continue to do their duty there. It was a foolish manœuvre, which, though tried more than once, has never been successful. To the public it invariably appears factious, and as no Opposition has been found determined enough to keep it up for any length of time, it has always been made ridiculous by the speedy return of the seceders. In the present instance Walpole sarcastically thanked the Opposition for their withdrawal, and proceeded at once to pass several measures which would otherwise have been sharply opposed; among others, a subsidy to Denmark for a palpably Hanoverian object—the security, namely, of the little castle of Steinhorst in Holstein.

But though he had carried his convention, and although the Opposition had withdrawn, and Cardinal Fleury had offered the mediation of France, it became obvious to Walpole that he must either declare war or resign. His love of power prevented him from taking the latter and more honourable course, and, to the loss of both power and fame, he suffered himself to be dragged against his convictions into war, which was declared on the 19th of October. The joy of England was very great, although Walpole was full of gloomy forebodings, for, as he himself said, “no man can prudently give his advice for declaring war without knowing the whole system of the affairs of Europe as they stand at present. . . . It is not the power of Spain and the

Walpole
declares war
rather than
resign.

power of this nation only that we ought in such a case to know and to compare. We ought also to know what allies our enemies may have, and what assistance we may expect from our friends.” He felt certain that the area of the war would soon be extended, for, although he had successfully used his efforts to maintain friendship with France, he knew that there was an intimate connection between France and Spain which must sooner or later bring the former into the field. Moreover, his information as to the plans of the Jacobites was exceedingly accurate, and while the Opposition were constantly deriding the notion of any formidable organization of that party, he never ceased to be on his guard against it. The justice of his views was at once shown, when the declaration of war called to life the slumbering energy of the Jacobites. Intrigues were immediately set on foot; a Committee was appointed in England; overtures were addressed to Spain; and, as Fleury gradually grew colder and more estranged from England, proposals were made to him also, to which he listened, and promised that he would send a body of troops, probably the Irish Brigade, to support any attempt in favour of the Stuarts; thus would be fulfilled the condition without which the English Jacobites had always refused to rise. It was hoped that the Duke of Ormond and the Earl Marischal might make a simultaneous expedition from Spain.

Meanwhile, Walpole, having once yielded, seemed conscious that he no longer possessed the absolute dominion over Parliament he had so long enjoyed. Wyndham, his chief enemy, indeed had died: but in the ranks of the Opposition were still to be found all those men of ability whom twenty years of exclusive and jealous power had made his enemies; and to his old foes was now added the exciting eloquence and uncompromising energy of Pitt. To oppose this formidable body Walpole stood almost alone in the Commons, supported only by such men as Henry Pelham, a conscientious and sensible but not first-rate man, Wilmington, and Sir William Young, whose ready ability scarcely atoned for his damaged character. In the House of Lords he still counted the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hervey, and Lord Hardwicke among his party. But Hardwicke and Newcastle were both opposed to his peaceful views, and the latter was already intriguing against his chief. The Duke of Argyle had lately become hostile to the ministry, and had been deprived of all his employments. Walpole thus became the single object of all the Opposition invectives. Every measure for the last twenty years which had either failed or

Increased
vigour of the
Opposition.
1740.

been unpopular was brought against him. The quarrel had become personal between him and the Opposition. His efforts to retain his power were unceasing. He yielded in the Cabinet as to the manner in which the war was to be carried on; he gave the chief command of the expedition in the West Indies to his political enemy Vernon; to secure the Jacobite votes at the next election he even went so far as to enter into correspondence with the Pretender, although probably without serious intentions. But this conduct did but encourage his enemies, and in the last session of Parliament (1741) Mr. Sandys brought forward a motion, which was repeated in the Upper House, for his removal from the King's councils. Walpole so far rebutted the charges brought against him, that, after a defence of great eloquence, he succeeded in throwing out the motion by a very large majority.

Walpole's forebodings were speedily fulfilled. Not only, as we have seen, was the Jacobite party at once again called to life, but his expeditions against Spain were by no means great successes. Anson indeed, although all his other ships were lost, made several successful attacks upon treasure-ships, captured Paita, and succeeded in bringing 'The Centurion' safe home after a circumnavigation of the globe. But Vernon, though successful in taking Porto Bello (when his conduct was vociferously contrasted by the Opposition with that of Hozier in 1726),¹ was repulsed with heavy loss in an assault on Carthage. France had become thoroughly hostile, and when, on the 20th of October 1740, the Emperor Charles VI. died, it became evident that the war would shortly become European. In spite, however, of these proofs of Walpole's foresight, in spite of his success against Mr. Sandys' motion, the charges which had been brought against him had such an effect at the next election that the Opposition found themselves with much increased strength, and it became pretty plain that the Government would have but a very small majority. The session opened with a series of close divisions. The Opposition succeeded in carrying their Chairman of

¹ In that year Hozier, probably by the orders of Government, had hesitated to attack that place. Glover, in his ballad of "Admiral Hozier's Ghost," makes him say,

"I with twenty sail attended,
Did this Spanish town affright;
Nothing then its wealth defended
But my orders not to fight.
Oh! that in this rolling ocean
I had cast them with disdain,
And obeyed my heart's warm motion
To have quelled the pride of Spain."

Committees against the Government candidate, and when he found himself at last defeated on the Chippenham election petition, Walpole took the resolution of resigning. A few days later he gave up all his places, and was made Lord Orford.

Walpole
resigns
1742.

Thus closed the career of the statesman who for twenty years had been the sole guide of English politics. It is remarkable how few great measures can be traced to him; but he probably displayed true wisdom in allowing all reforms, however much they may have been required, to remain for a time in abeyance. The one thing which England required was rest. The last hundred years had been one continual scene of political turmoil. During the whole of that period the Revolution had been slowly working itself out, and the English Constitution had been changing. The power had gradually shifted from the King to the House of Commons. The ministry had ceased to be a body of secretaries, to whom was indeed intrusted the chief management of all national affairs, but who, inasmuch as they were still in theory, and in a great degree in practice, merely called upon to execute the King's commands, might be chosen indiscriminately from all parties. Instead of this it had become, what it has practically ever since been, a Committee of the majority in the House of Commons. In a social point of view, during much of the same period, England had been perplexed by a choice of masters, and in some degree by a choice of religions. Walpole seems thoroughly to have understood this position, and to have set himself steadily to work to complete and give stability to the changes which had been going on. He had seen, that far more important than any further improvements to the Constitution was the establishment on a firm footing of what had already been done. His chief object was therefore to make himself absolute master of the House of Commons. For this purpose he used means which we should now consider disgraceful. He is reported to have acted on the principle that every man had his price. He steadily opposed all efforts for the exclusion of pensioners, not from a wish to increase the power of the Crown, but because he wanted to secure the power of the minister, who he saw must henceforward be the real governor of England. He opposed the Peerage Bill because it threatened to increase the power of the Lords as against the Commons. He persistently refused all attempts at coalition (such as had been contemplated by Stanhope and subsequently proposed by Bolingbroke), because he wanted the ministry

Review of
Walpole's
ministry.

to be the representatives of the party which had the majority in the House, and of that party only. He kept a tight hand throughout his administration upon the Jacobites, conscious that the security of the reigning house was the only way of calming the uneasiness which all classes felt while they had any choice of rulers offered them. For similar reasons, with regard to religion, he refused to listen to any propositions for the relief of Roman Catholics, which Stanhope had also contemplated; and still further to calm religious discords by the sense of one strong paramount Church of England, he also refused all concessions to the Dissenters, although they systematically supported him. In saying, however, that the power had passed to the House of Commons, we must be careful not to regard the House of Commons as a popular assembly. The next phase of our history, the complement to that part of the Revolution which we have now passed, is the struggle of the people to get possession of their own House. At the time of which we are speaking the House of Commons was so filled with nominees of great lords, the electoral body was so limited, and the distribution of seats so arbitrary, that the House of Commons could in no way be regarded as a fair representation of the people, and the great Whig majority rested not on the liberal feeling of the nation, but upon an oligarchy of great Whig nobles. In his foreign policy Walpole was influenced by similar principles. Though the Peace of Utrecht was a Tory peace, its maintenance, and that of the balance of power it had established, was his chief object. Anything was better than that England should be engaged in war. War at once opened the door for Jacobite hopes. War at once touched that material prosperity which was to be the surest claim of gratitude to the reigning house. Moreover, as a financier, Walpole hated war. It was in this capacity, if we set aside his general ability and skill in management, that Walpole was greatest. We have seen how prudently he re-established credit after the bursting of the South Sea bubble, and how wise was his plan in his ill-fated Excise Bill. If some of his measures (as the Salt Tax) were dictated by political rather than economical necessities, it is yet certain that he inspired universal confidence, and owed much of his power to the support of the moneyed interest. His personal character, like that of most of his contemporaries, was not good. A large, coarse-looking person did not belie the coarseness of his tastes. He drank freely, joked coarsely, and had more than one natural child. Although in one of his speeches he plumes himself on having never been charged with corruption, his private fortune

was certainly much increased by his ministry, and if we except his collection of pictures at Houghton, there is no sign that he had any appreciation of literature or of the arts. His ignorance of literature, and his contempt for it, is indeed notorious. He spent vast sums of money in purchasing the services of pamphleteers; scarcely one of them was worth anything. He seems to have regarded writing like any other trade, as being capable of being purchased by the piece. Patronage to literary men he systematically refused; we therefore find all the able writers of the time ranged on the side of the Opposition; and it is for the same reason perhaps that the worst points of his character are those which are more commonly known.

The chief fault of Walpole had been his jealousy of talent; on his fall there was no one in the ministry of sufficient influence to take up the reins which had fallen from his hands. Had there been any great difference of principle between him and the Opposition, a complete change of ministry would naturally have resulted. But both the Government and the Opposition had been in the main Whigs. Any man of commanding intellect might have kept the late ministry together. As it was, a sort of coalition was made. Pulteney, it is difficult to say why, avoided the responsibility of the Premiership, and withdrew into insignificance in the Upper House as Lord Bath. The nominal head of the new Government was Wilmington, that same dull man who had for a moment thought to supersede Walpole at the beginning of the reign. Under him many of the old Cabinet were retained; Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Young keeping their offices. The new element was represented by Argyle, who was reinstated as Master of the Ordnance, Carteret, who succeeded Lord Harrington as Secretary, and Sandys, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of Tories there appeared none, and Chesterfield and Pitt were excluded from the arrangement.

So slight a change in the construction of the Government seemed but a poor termination to the fierce opposition to which Walpole had been subjected. In fact, the rivalry had been one of persons and not of principles. The ministry were compelled indeed, by pressure from without excited by their own clamours, to institute a Committee to inquire into the conduct of the great Prime Minister. But though it consisted principally of his personal enemies, too many interests were at stake to render their task easy; and when their report came, it appeared so trumpery, when compared with the charges which had been lavished

The new
ministry under
Wilmington.

Character of
the new
ministry.

upon the minister in Parliament, that it was a mere object of ridicule. It seemed as though the system of Walpole was after all to be continued. Many of his followers still remained in the Cabinet, as the Pelhams (Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham), and Yorke, Lord Hardwicke, and even the virtual Prime Minister, his enemy Carteret, was obliged by stress of circumstances to adopt that very Hanoverian policy which had so often been laid to the charge of the late minister. Carteret was a man of genius, but of irregular life, and so capricious, and sudden in his actions, that his administration has been called the drunken administration. Disregarding home patronage for the higher and more exciting work of foreign diplomacy, he found his influence gradually and surely passing into the hands of the Pelhams. It was necessary for him at all hazards to secure the King's friendship; he therefore allowed 16,000 Hanoverians to be taken into English pay, and it was strange to hear Lord Bath, and Sandys, the accuser of Walpole, upholding the Hanoverian connection.

A ministry which showed itself thus inconsistent with its assertions when out of office, and in which the elements of disunion were so evident, could not last long. The death of Wilmington (1743), the nominal Prime Minister, was the signal for its dissolution. The candidates for the Premiership were Pulteney on the one hand, supported by the talents of Carteret, and by the favour which this minister's newly-found interest for Hanover had given him with the King; and on the other hand Pelham, as representative of the party of Walpole, and backed by the influence which he still possessed. The question was settled in favour of Pelham, who, though without commanding abilities and constitutionally timid, possessed much of his late leader's love of quiet and power of management. Carteret continued for some time in power under his new chief; but their union could never be cordial, and before the close of 1744, Carteret—who had by continual flattery of the King's weakness so ingratiated himself with his master that the Pelhams thought their legitimate influence damaged by it—was dismissed. But before the confusion which arose on Walpole's fall had settled down one great point in his policy had at all events been reversed—England had thrown itself vigorously into the Continental war.

Such indeed was the position of Europe that it was impossible that England should hold aloof. But Walpole had at least tried, and with some effect, the power of diplomacy. The death of the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany had opened two great questions for which Europe had been long preparing. One of

Pelham succeeds
Wilmington.
1743.

these was the succession to the Austrian dominions, which Charles had attempted to secure for his daughter by means of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the other was the succession to the Empire. The questions were closely connected. The most dangerous claimant for the succession to the Austrian dominions was the Elector of Bavaria, who alone of the powers of Europe had refused the acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction; he was also the most influential candidate for the Imperial dignity. The Elector rested his claim to the Austrian succession upon an arrangement by which, as long ago as the middle of the sixteenth century, Ferdinand I. was said to have substituted the heir of his daughter Anne, from whom the Elector was descended, in the place of any other female heir. A second claimant was the King of Spain, who regarded himself as the heir of all the rights of a descendant of Charles V., who, when he divided his empire with his brother, reserved the right of succession to his own immediate posterity should the direct male line of Ferdinand become extinct. Both Bavaria and Spain were close allies of France, and the possession of the Empire by the Elector, or of the Austrian dominions either by the Elector or the Spanish King, would render the influence of France paramount in Europe. It was necessary for England to oppose such an increase of the power of the Bourbons. For this purpose it had appeared necessary to Walpole to re-establish something resembling the Grand Alliance, a union at all events which should include the maritime powers, Hanover, Prussia (rapidly rising to a first-rate power), and Austria.

But Prussia had just fallen into the hands of the ambitious Frederick II., supplied by his father's care with a magnificent army and with a full treasury. He saw that the opportunity had arrived for making good certain long pending claims upon a portion of Silesia, and without declaration of war, occupied the disputed territory, and marching into Bohemia, entirely defeated the Austrian troops at Molwitz. He was however yet so far German at heart, that he was willing to guarantee the election of Maria Theresa's husband to the Empire, and to support the Pragmatic Sanction, if his claims in Silesia were satisfied. To induce the Austrian princess to accept these terms became the object of English diplomacy. It was thwarted by Maria Theresa herself. A strange infatuation had taken possession of the Austrian ministers during the close of the late Emperor's reign; in spite of his action in the Polish war, they believed in the pacific tendencies of Fleury, and relied

Question of the
Austrian
succession.

Ambition of
Prussia.

upon the friendship of France. All overtures on the part of Frederick were therefore disregarded, all appeals from England set at naught. The foolish dreams of Austria were dispelled when Frederick, thus repulsed, threw away his last remnant of German feeling and entered into close alliance with France, offering to renounce the claims which he had upon the Duchy of Berg, and to give his vote for the election of the Bavarian Elector to the Empire if his claims on Silesia were guaranteed.

Thus Maria Theresa found herself standing alone in Europe, supported by England only, which indeed supplied her willingly with subsidies, but still directed its chief efforts to persuading her to purchase Frederick's friendship by the cession of Silesia. In accordance with the convention with Prussia, in August 1741, two French armies were poured across the Rhine, one passing through Swabia to assist the Elector in a direct advance on Vienna, the second through Westphalia. So little was England prepared for war, that the King, as Elector of Hanover, was obliged to declare the neutrality of his Continental dominions for a year, a step which excited great anger in England, where the war spirit ran high, and which was a fresh source of complaint against Walpole. At this crisis of her danger Maria Theresa found assistance in that part of her dominions where she had least right to expect it. The hand of the Hapsburgs had been heavy upon Hungary, yet thither she betook herself, and yielding back to them almost the whole of their constitution, excited the warlike magnates to enthusiasm by confiding to their charge her person and that of her child. As they crowded round to kiss the infant's hand, the hall rang with the shouts, "We will die for our king, Maria Theresa!" A moment's breathing space would allow time to bring the levée en masse of Hungary into the field: the opportunity was afforded by the diplomacy of England, which induced Frederick, who saw with jealousy the advancing power of France and Germany, to check his victorious march and sign a secret treaty at Kleinschnellendorf. The gathering forces of Hungary, the withdrawal of Frederick, and the errors of the Elector and of the French, who were jealous of each other, changed the face of the war. The march to Vienna was postponed for the capture of Prague. The withdrawal of the invaders to Bohemia allowed the Austrians to make a counter blow. As the Elector Charles Albert hastened to Frankfort to secure his election as Emperor, Khevenhüller, with the Austrian troops, was approaching his capital of Munich. Again, at the earnest entreaties of France, Frederick deserted his late

Position of
Maria Theresa.

engagements and renewed the war, but, unable to hold his advanced position at Olmutz in Moravia, he too fell back upon Bohemia, where the war was now centred.

The changed aspect of affairs was completed by the conduct of England: the pride of the country had been touched by Vernon's failure at Carthage; the neutrality of Hanover had caused great discontent; and when, in February 1742, Walpole had been driven from the ministry, the first act of his successors had been to increase both army and navy, to vote large subsidies to Maria Theresa, to induce the States-General to follow the lead of England, and to send an army of 30,000 English and Hanoverians into the Low Countries. It was understood that, although as yet but auxiliaries in the main quarrel, it was the rivalry of France and England which was again to be decided in arms. Both the arms and diplomacy of England were successful. In the Mediterranean the fleet under Commodore Matthews forced King Charles of Naples to neutrality, and allowed Sardinia, driven by the ambition of Spain to side with Austria, to defeat all the projects of the Bourbons in that country; while the urgent instances of the ambassador at Vienna at length prevailed, and Maria Theresa was induced to give the price which Prussia demanded,—Silesia was conceded by the Treaties of Breslau and Berlin in June 1742. Frederick once more threw over his allies, and the French and Bavarians stood alone in Germany. They were unable to make head against their enemies, their troops were shut up in Prague, and only after a brilliant but disastrous retreat did a shattered remnant of 14,000 men reach a place of safety in January 1743.

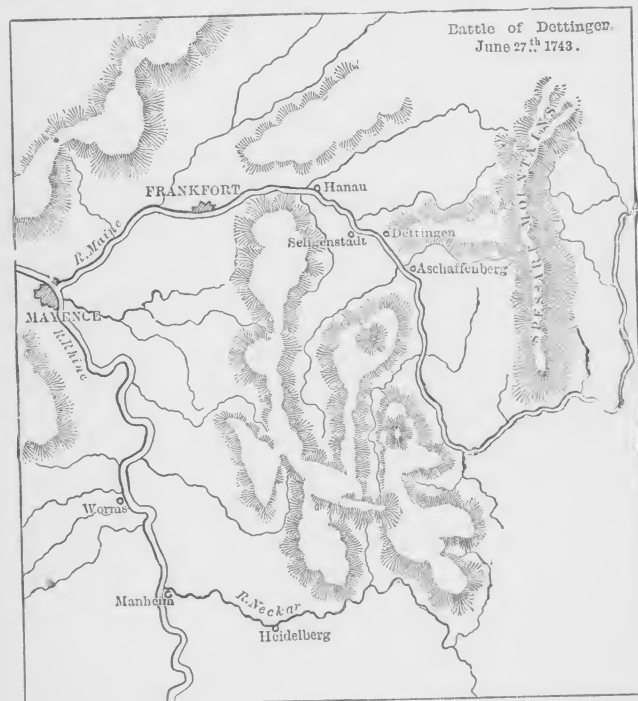
The tide of victory was then already turned when the English made their first appearance in Europe, acting in conjunction with some 18,000 subsidized Hanoverians. The command of the English army, which to the number of 16,000 had been all the last year lying inactive in Flanders, was given to Lord Stair, and the object of the allies was to drive the French entirely out of Germany, and if possible invade Alsace and Lorraine, on which the eyes of the Austrians, who had but lately lost them, were constantly fixed. To oppose the movement an army under the Duke de Noailles entered Franconia, and the various divisions of the British army and their allies from Hanover were set in motion towards the Maine. With characteristic slowness, Stair proceeded to collect upon the Maine an army of 40,000 men. Towards the Maine also on the south De Noailles betook himself

England
supports
Austria.

The English
army in
Flanders.

with about 60,000. Stair lay idly awaiting his 12,000 Hanoverians and Hessians who had not yet appeared, and thus gave De Noailles opportunity of securing the south of the river and holding most of the passages across it. Having waited long enough to be thus

outgeneralled, Stair suddenly changed his plan, and, without receiving his reinforcements, marched up the



river towards Franconia. He passed Hanau, where he established his chief magazines, and moved towards Aschaffenberg. Between these two towns branches of the Spessart mountains approach the Maine, and about half way between the two is the large village of Dettingen. From Dettingen to Aschaffenberg extends a narrow plain, entered by a somewhat difficult passage between the mountains

and river at Dettingen. On reaching this plain the English found themselves outmarched by De Noailles, and thus cut off from Aschaffenberg. It was while thus entangled that they were joined by the King and the Duke of Cumberland. The King found the army cut off from the supplies it had hoped to draw from Franconia, and in danger of being separated from its magazines at Hanau also. Thither it was determined if possible to secure a retreat. As the English believed that the enemy was higher up the river than they were, and that they should be closely pursued, the King took command of the rear as the post of danger, but De Noailles had already forestalled them. He had at once moved down the river so as to put himself between the English and Hanau, taking up his position at Seligenstadt. He sent some 23,000 men, under his nephew the Duc de Grammont, across the river to occupy Dettingen. These troops occupied a very strong position behind a swamp and a ravine made by a watercourse. De Noailles' main army lay on the southern bank, but bridges of communication were made between the two divisions, and cannon placed on the south bank to play upon the flank of the retreating English. Escape seemed almost impossible, especially as the English were in entire ignorance of these movements. On finding his advance checked at Dettingen, George at once left the rear and put himself at the head of the army. There seemed no course but to cut a way through De Grammont's forces. This commander, however, believing himself engaged with the advanced troops of the English army only, and thinking to crush them, rashly left his strong position and crossed the ravine. He found himself in front of the whole English army. The King's horse had run away with him, and he had dismounted and put himself at the head of his troops, and addressing them a few inspiring words, led them to the attack with much gallantry. De Noailles saw the destruction of his plans and hastened to retrieve the error of his nephew. His efforts however were useless. The mass of infantry, led by his Majesty in person, broke through the enemy, whose loss was so great that De Noailles recalled them beyond the Maine. The retreat towards the bridges became a rout, and they left more than 6000 dead and wounded upon the field. The King wisely determined to get out of his dangerous position as soon as possible, and pushed on that night to Hanau, leaving his wounded to the mercy of the French commander, who treated them exceedingly well. Stair, as hasty in the moment of victory as slow in his preliminary movements, urged immediate pursuit, but was overruled by the King. On receiving the

expected reinforcements he again urged advance, but jealousies had sprung up between him and the German commanders. He was disgusted at the rejection of his advice, and talking loudly of Hanoverian influence, sent in his resignation, which was accepted.

The objects of a further advance however were obtained without bloodshed. The French army in Bavaria had been beaten backwards by Charles of Loraine,¹ and had retired behind the Lauter into Alsace, whither De Noailles, finding himself unsupported between two enemies, also withdrew. The victorious allies pushed on after them, the King to Worms and Prince Charles to beyond the Rhine opposite Alt Brisach. The new Emperor was thus left without allies, and concluded (July 1743) a convention of neutrality with the Austrians, and withdrew to Philipsburg.

A favourable opportunity for peaceful arrangements seemed to have arrived. Prussia had gained its object; French intervention had failed; the Austrian succession was secured; the only open question was what was to be done with the expelled Emperor. George and his favourite minister Carteret, who were at Hanover, undertook the negotiations. George, as Elector of Hanover, and Carteret, from his general interest in foreign politics, took a German and not an English view of the situation. It was George's object, as Elector of Hanover, to appear as a paramount power among the other electors, and to form a strong alliance in the Empire entirely in his own interests. For this purpose he had naturally,—considering the antecedents of his second kingdom England, regarded a close alliance with Austria as of the utmost importance. At the same time, as a Prince of the Empire, he had no strong wish that the Imperial dignity should be constantly in Austrian hands, and was quite willing to allow the validity of the election of the Emperor Charles. In conjunction with Carteret, he therefore agreed that Charles should retain the Imperial title upon condition of renouncing all claims on Austria, of allowing the validity of the vote of Bohemia in all affairs of the Empire, and of dismissing the French from the fortified places they still held within the Empire. He even consented to insist upon the restoration by Austria of Charles's hereditary dominions, Bavaria (now to be erected into a kingdom), and upon the payment of a large sum to the Emperor to support his dignity. Had this treaty been completed, George would have appeared as the mediator of the peace of the Empire, as the champion of the rights of the princes, as the defender of the Austrian dominions, and altogether as the chief

¹ Brother of Francis, Maria Theresa's husband.

Effect of the
victory.

Negotiations
for peace.
July.

power in Germany. To a certain point the interests of the people of England had been the same as that of their King. But their real enmity was against France, and under the guidance of a Whig aristocracy, they would have wished to pursue their traditional policy of opposing the Bourbons chiefly at sea. The arrangements of the proposed treaty by no means suited them. They had long been clamouring against the German tendencies of the King, they had seen with extreme dislike the employment of subsidized Hanoverian troops, and now positively refused to pay a subsidy to the Emperor—a Bavarian prince and the hereditary friend of France.

To the astonishment of the negotiating Powers and the shame of Carteret, the proposed treaty was suddenly broken off. England wanted war with France, and considered it could be best carried on by close alliance with Austria, which was only too glad to continue the war, with the hope of retaining its hold on Bavaria and rewinning Silesia. A treaty known as the Treaty of Worms therefore took the place of the former pacific arrangements. England, Holland, Austria, Saxony, and Sardinia, agreed to assure the Pragmatic Sanction and the European balance, while Sardinia undertook the armed defence of the Austrian dominions in Italy. It was met by a counter treaty known as the League of Frankfort, the most important members of which were France and Prussia; for the elevation of Hanover implied the degradation of Prussia, and the promise of the King of Sardinia set free Austrian troops which the Prussian King believed would be used only for the purpose of reconquering Silesia. The European contest was thus assuming a more general and intelligible form; England and France, hitherto auxiliaries, appeared each at the head of a great league, and it was their interests, and indirectly the supremacy of the sea, which were now at issue.

Even yet no declaration of war between England and France had been issued, but it was natural that the French, aware of the real character of the war, should use every means for distressing England. Early in the year it set on foot an attempted invasion of England in favour of the Stuarts. An army of 15,000 was collected at Dunkirk, and placed under the command of the best French general, Marshal Saxe, while fleets were collected at Toulon and Brest for the invasion of England and to support a Jacobite rising. The Brest fleet came out of harbour and approached the English coast. The English fleet was drawn into

Treaty of
Worms.
Sept. 13, 1743.

League of
Frankfort.
April 6, 1744.

Threatened
invasion of
England.

pursuit; and for the moment the coast of Kent was unguarded. A considerable portion of the French army was on board the transports and had sailed. Once again England owed its safety to the weather. A violent storm blowing direct upon Dunkirk, prevented the movement of the rest of the transports, scattered those already at sea, and the loss was such that the French ministry abandoned their design, and Marshal Saxe was appointed to command the army in Flanders. The naval armaments and this open support of the Pretender gave rise to warm complaints of breach of treaty on the part of our envoy at Paris; as his complaints were listened to with disdain, a formal declaration of war was at length made.

On the Continent the selfish policy of the French, who could think of nothing but the extension of their own boundaries, ruined the success of the war. The Netherlands were invaded and rapidly overrun; Savoy and Piedmont conquered; but these successes on the extremity of the scene of action did not tend to the conclusion of the war. Frederick of Prussia advanced through Bohemia and took Prague, and thus saved France from a threatened invasion of Alsace; but, unsupported by his allies, he fell back from the Austrian dominions, and upon the death of the Emperor (Jan. 20, 1745) was unable to prevent the election of the Prince of Tuscany, husband of Maria Theresa, who ascended the Imperial throne as Francis I. Maximilian, the son of the late Emperor, had shown himself willing to accept the views of Austria; by the Treaty of Fuessen (April 22, 1745) he renounced all claims to the Austrian succession, promising to recall his troops from the French armies, and to give his vote to Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, who on her side recognized the election of his late father, and restored all her Bavarian conquests. Again it appeared that general negotiations might have been possible. But Carteret had been driven from office, and the Whigs under Pelham were bent on carrying on their hostility with France. His unpopular Hanoverian tendencies, and the offhand manner in which he had treated the Pelhams, secured Carteret's fall. His place was taken by Walpole's old colleague Harrington. With Carteret withdrew Lord Winchelsea and several others, thus affording Mr. Pelham an opportunity for carrying out that form of administration to which his timidity urged him. In exact contrast to Walpole, he dreaded opposition, and sought to make friends of all parties, and to establish his ministry on what was then called a broad bottom. He persuaded Chesterfield and Pitt to give up their

Progress of
the war.

Changes in
the ministry.
Nov. 1744.

opposition, and the former to accept the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland. To the Tory Lord Gower he gave the Privy Seal, and even Sir John Hind Cotton, an undoubted Jacobite, was given a place about the Court. This was not done without great opposition from the King, who disliked Chesterfield and Pitt for their opposition to his Hanoverian schemes, and had a natural mistrust of Tories and Jacobites. The effect of these changes was almost to suppress opposition in the House. The ministry, now including most of the leaders of the Opposition, satisfied with a change of principles, made but little change in practice. The reunited Whig party felt that, as they were engaged in an open war with France, they were, even while subsidizing Germans, carrying out their true policy. Pitt openly declared that he no longer opposed subsidies in face of the present state of affairs abroad. He pointed out that the object of the war was somewhat changed, that, the minister who rested wholly on his foreign influence being removed, they were no longer fighting solely in the interests of Austria, but to secure an equitable peace for themselves and their allies. However this may have been, the system of German subsidies went further and further. The Hanoverian troops were for the present dismissed, but their pay was added to the Austrian subsidy. Saxony was bought, the Elector of Cologne was bought, and so was the Elector of Mayence; and next year (1746) 18,000 Hanoverians were again taken into English pay. Robert Walpole lived just long enough to see the dangers he had kept aloof for twenty years gathering round England. He died in March 1745, leaving England plunged deep in a Continental war, with constantly increasing grants for military service, and consequently increased financial difficulties, and on the eve of the most determined and dangerous effort which the exiled family ever made for the recovery of their crown.

The war still continued under the mistaken conduct of the French. But neither their successes against England at Fontenoy, nor the invasion of the young Pretender which they supported, nor their victory over the Sardinians at Basignano, were the least decisive. As Frederick, who felt himself deserted, bitterly said, the victories might as well have been won on the banks of the Scamander. What he could do singlehanded the Prussian King did. He defeated the Austrians at Friedberg, and again upon the Sohr. He conquered the Saxons at Kesseldorf and occupied Dresden. But seeing clearly that his allies were bent upon their own ends, he

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German sub-
sidies granted.
1745.

again listened to the anti-Bourbon diplomacy of England, made a separate peace with Austria, and the Treaty of Dresden (Dec. 25, 1745) closed the second Silesian war. But, in spite of the withdrawal of Prussia, the general war continued. Early in the spring a French army under Marshal Saxe invested Tournay. The Netherlands were occupied by an allied army of English and Dutch. There should have been 28,000 English and 50,000 Dutch, but, although it was their own country that was threatened, the Dutch were so dilatory that the allied army numbered little more than 50,000. These were under the Duke of Cumberland and the Dutch general the Prince of Waldeck. The Duke, who was young, was somewhat controlled by the Austrian Marshal Konigsberg, and had with him as his military guide General Ligonier. With these troops the Duke advanced to the relief of Tournay. Marshal Saxe, whose forces were much superior in numbers, could afford to leave 15,000 men to continue the siege, while, marching southward along the river, he occupied a very strong position to cover his operations. The position was rendered almost unassailable. The French faced southward; on their right was the river Scheldt, with the fortified bridge securing their communication and retreat, and the village Antoing. A narrow and difficult valley ran along their front from Antoing to Fontenoy, and their left was covered by the wood of Barré, on the right of which a redoubt had been constructed. The whole of this position was fortified with field-works and abattis, with the exception of a gap between Fontenoy and the wood of Barré, where the difficulties of the approach were held to be of themselves sufficient. It was resolved to assault this terribly strong position. To the Dutch was intrusted the attack of the French right, with the villages Antoing and Fontenoy; to the English the attack on their left. The attack of the Dutch was without energy, and failed, and the Prince of Waldeck, withdrawing his troops to a safe distance, kept them unemployed the remainder of the day. A similar want of energy was exhibited by General Goldsby, who had been instructed to assault a redoubt on the left of the French and to clear the wood of Barré. Finding more opposition than he expected, he withdrew when the enemy were on the point of abandoning their redoubt, and demanded further orders. The English and Hanoverians, on the other hand, energetically assaulted the unfortified gap between Fontenoy and the wood. Regardless of the flanking fire by which they were decimated, they pushed across the ravine and up the opposite hill. The space

Battle of
Fontenoy.
May 11, 1745.

was narrow, and they advanced, without deploying, in a solid column 10,000 strong with a face of about forty men. The ground was too rough for their cavalry, which therefore advanced in their rear. In this solid formation, with astonishing heroism and determination, they pushed on, crushing all opposition, and unchecked by frequent cavalry charges. They won the crown of the position, cut the enemy's centre, and were moving onwards towards the bridge of Calonne, threatening thus to cut off all retreat from the broken army. The victory seemed decided, and Voltaire allows that, had the Dutch only moved, the French must have been inevitably routed and destroyed. But the Prince of Waldeck never stirred. Fresh troops could therefore be brought from Antoing and Fontenoy to repel the victorious column. In this work it was the Irish Brigade which chiefly distinguished itself, and at last when, by the advice of the Duc de Richelieu, four cannon were placed right in front of the column so as to fire down its whole length, finding itself wholly unsupported, the heroic body began to give ground. It retired as it had come, slowly, disputing every yard, and entirely without confusion. When it reached ground where cavalry could act, that arm, hitherto useless, covered the retreat, and the whole army fell back to Ath. Tournay was treacherously surrendered, and the allies had to content themselves with covering Brussels and Antwerp. This wonderful unsupported advance, though useless for the battle, and purchased with immense loss of life, was for long a just source of pride to the English soldier.

It was the necessity of withdrawing troops for the defence of England which had rendered the campaign in Flanders after the partial defeat of Fontenoy so disastrous. Prince Charles Edward, though bitterly disappointed by the failure of the expedition in the preceding year, did not leave France; and as the French ministry, occupied with their continental affairs, refused him further assistance, he determined to go alone and unsupported to Scotland, and throw himself on the loyalty of his friends there, although in all his previous negotiations with them they had refused to think of a rising unsupported by foreign troops and arms. Scraping together what little money he could, and purchasing a small supply of firearms, the Prince embarked at Nantes in a privateer. He was escorted, without the knowledge of the Government, by a French man-of-war, in which his stores were placed. On the passage to England they encountered an English vessel, which, though unable to capture the French man-of-war engaged it so

Prince Charles
Edward lands
in Scotland.

vigorously that it had to withdraw to France to refit, and it was in the little privateer, 'La Doutelle,' thus stripped of his supplies and with only seven companions, that the Prince reached the Hebrides. In this plight he met but a cold reception, and it was not without considerable persuasion that Macdonald of Clanranald and other gentlemen of that tribe joined him. Their chief, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and the head of the Macleods, on whose assistance he had relied, kept aloof. Of more importance even than the Macdonalds was the adhesion of Cameron of Lochiel. This chief seems to have been won, against his better judgment, by the persuasive power of Charles, who undoubtedly had in an unusual degree the art of attracting adherents. While still in the extreme west of the mainland Charles was joined by Murray of Broughton, who had been his chief agent, and whom he appointed his Secretary of State. The Prince had reached the mainland on the 25th of July; it was not till the 30th that information was received by the Government that he had left Nantes, and he had been three weeks in Scotland before it was known in London. On the 19th of August the insurrectionary standard was raised in the solitary valley of Glen Finnan, where the aged Marquis of Tullibardine, the rightful heir to the dukedom of Athol, read Prince Charles's Commission of Regency. This ceremony was graced by the presence of a considerable number of English prisoners, who had been captured a few days previously by Lochiel's followers as they were marching to reinforce Fort William.

Scotland is cleft in sunder by a great valley running from the Beanley Firth in the north-east in a south-westerly direction to the salt-water lake Loch Eil. This valley, at present occupied by the Caledonian Canal, forms the basin of a chain of lakes, by far the largest of which is Loch Ness, occupying nearly half of the north-east end of the valley. Between its northern extremity and the sea lies the town of Inverness; at its southern end was Fort Augustus, one of the forts established to keep the Highlands in check, while, where the valley reaches Loch Eil, there was the still more lonely post of Fort William immediately under Ben Nevis. It was in the close neighbourhood of this fort that Charles's followers were first collected, and it was while trying to strengthen it that the royal troops had first come into collision with the insurgents. The tribes to the north of Inverness, as well as Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod, were either well-affected or held in neutrality chiefly by the influence of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President, who had

also contrived for the present to attach Lord Lovat, head of the Frasers, to the Government interest, so that it was with the western clans only that Charles began his expedition.

The English military commander in Scotland was Sir John Cope, who had altogether about 3000 men under his command. Cope marches against him. All this time the King was absent from England, and orders had to be issued by the Lords Justices. They approved however of Cope's plan for immediately marching into the Highlands and crushing the insurgents if possible among the mountains. With this intention, leaving his dragoons behind him, Cope set out from Stirling along the direct north road towards Inverness. At Dalwhinnie, which is now a posting-station on the great north road, the military road made by Marshal Wade branched off to Fort Augustus, which it was Cope's object to reach and relieve; the main road passed onwards to Inverness. The mountain which forms the south-east side of the great valley in which Fort Augustus lies has to be crossed. It is called in this place Corrie-Arrack, and to cross it the road winds in steep zigzags. The Highlanders had got possession of this difficult pass, and intended to destroy Cope's army while ascending the zigzags. Their disappointment was great when they found that he had turned aside at Dalwhinnie, and was in hasty march for Inverness. By this means he probably hoped to strengthen the loyal clans of the north and to draw the Prince's army in pursuit. He however left the road towards the capital quite unguarded. Charles at once pushed on and crossed the Badenoch mountains to Blair Athol, from whence the great road runs, without any obstacle, through the Pass of Killiecrankie into the plains of Perthshire. He rested a few days at Perth, where he was joined by Drummond, Duke of Charles avoids him, and gains Edinburgh. Perth, and by Lord George Murray, the Duke of Athol's brother, a man of considerable military experience and capacity. He then crossed the Forth a little above Stirling, the dragoon regiments which had been left there retiring before him, and advanced rapidly towards Edinburgh. The Castle of Edinburgh was secure, but the town had no adequate fortifications, and the inhabitants doubted long and painfully as to whether they should open their gates or not. The news that Cope, on learning his mistake, had taken ship and had already reached Dunbar, encouraged them to think of resistance, but their determination vanished away after a skirmish called "the canter of Colt-Brig," when two regiments of dragoons ran away, and did not stop till they reached Dunbar. Negotiations were set on foot, but were cut short by the surprise of the town by the Highlanders. On

the 17th of September Charles took possession of Holyrood House, and it seemed as if the inhabitants of Edinburgh were by no means sorry to receive him. He could not rest long, however, as Cope was marching along the Firth from Dunbar. He expected to meet his enemy between that town and Edinburgh, but the Prince marched along the hills to the south of the Firth, and Cope was surprised to find his enemy again beyond him. He was then near Prestonpans. He changed his face at once, and lay with his back to the Firth and his face to the hills, as he believed in an unassailable position, separated from the Highlanders by a morass. But Charles was bent on fighting, and a narrow pathway through the morass to the eastward was pointed out to him. Down this he led his forces so as to gain a position eastward of the English, who had again to change their face, looking now directly eastward, with their backs to Edinburgh. Their infantry were in the centre, their cavalry on either flank. The battle is said to have been decided in six minutes. The rush of the Highlanders renewed the panic among the dragoons, who all took to their heels. The infantry stood with their flanks exposed, and as their fire did not check the Highlanders, they were soon engaged at close quarters, where the Highland target parried the bayonet thrust, while the right hand was free to use the claymore. The line was soon broken, and it is said that not more than 170 escaped death or capture. The cavalry, taking Cope with them, did not draw bridle till they reached Berwick.

Is defeated
at Prestonpans.
Sept. 21.

Some preparations had been made in England to withstand the advance of the rebels. Marshal Wade was at Newcastle with such troops as he could collect, the Dutch were called upon to supply, in accordance with their treaty, 6000 men, and some regiments were recalled from Flanders. But throughout the population of England there was now, and through the whole campaign, a strange carelessness as to which side should prove victorious. The Revolution had been, comparatively speaking, an aristocratic movement. It had moved the power from the Crown only to put it in the hands of the nobles. Parliament was so far from being an adequate representative body, that the disputes carried on in it excited no very warm interest in the nation at large. At times indeed it was necessary for the Opposition to excite the people by some national cry; but that Opposition had uniformly employed the most violent language against the Hanoverian influence and the minister of the Hanoverian King. Such partial views therefore as

Indifference
of England.

the people had been allowed of what was going on among their governors had all tended rather to direct the loyalty, which was then so inherent a characteristic of the English, towards the exiled house. Except in the matter of religion, the people at large were able to discover but little difference whether their king was a Stuart or a Guelph; and on this occasion the assurance had been carefully spread that the privileges of the Church of England would not be touched; indeed one of Charles's difficulties arose from the jealousy of his Protestant followers. The class who had gained by the Revolution was that class which Walpole and Walpole's policy had chiefly favoured—the middle class; but as usual the middle class was apathetic and slow to risk anything unless for some personal object. At first therefore it was the Government, unaided by the people, which had to check the insurrection. It will be seen that afterwards the aristocracy offered, though in a very selfish manner, to come forward, and that some towns, especially in Scotland, awoke to their responsibilities, but on the whole it was the Government alone which had to act by means of its soldiers, and England had been stripped of soldiers for its foreign wars. On the other hand, the Jacobites had seen the insurrection of 1715 so thoroughly futile, and had during Walpole's long administration so settled down under the existing Government, that only a few of the more enthusiastic took a real interest in the quarrel.

Had Prince Charles advanced immediately after the battle of Prestonpans he would have found himself almost unopposed; but by the time he had collected some money, gathered in his reinforcements, organized his army, and persuaded the Highlanders to cross the border, Marshal Wade's army had increased to 10,000; the Dutch and English troops had come from abroad; there was a second army under the Duke of Cumberland formed in the centre of England; the guards and trained bands had marched out to Finchley and formed a third body, which the King declared he would himself lead. To turn the position of Wade at Newcastle it was determined, as in 1715, to march along behind the Cheviots and enter England by Carlisle; and the clans (about 6000 strong) crossed the Border on the 8th of November. Carlisle yielded without much difficulty, and on the recommendation of Lord George Murray, who now assumed the military command of the army, it was determined to advance into the heart of England. In two bodies they marched up the Eden over Shap Fell to Lancaster and to Preston; the Prince winning the heart of the Highlanders by wear-

Charles marches
into England as
far as Derby.

ing their dress and marching at the head of the second division, as strong and unwearied as the best among them, for he was gifted with a fine athletic body, which he had further trained by constant exercise. His carriage he insisted upon offering to the aged Lord Pittsligo. His care for his followers, of which this is an instance, tended much to endear him to them; he was at this part of his life adorned with many of the best graces of a king; his clemency was the constant complaint of his sterner counsellors. It is said indeed to have encouraged more than one attempt at assassination. Towards his enemy, the Elector as he called him, he was also studiously merciful and dignified. In all negotiations with his followers or with the French the safety of the Hanoverian Elector and his family was bargained for; and even when £30,000 was put upon his head, dead or alive, after entirely refusing to make a counter proclamation, he insisted on offering only £30. This was indeed afterwards overruled, and a larger reward offered, but he even then said he felt sure no follower of his was capable of winning it, and the proclamation ended: "Should any fatal accident happen from hence let the blame lie entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example."

The army passed Preston, that ill-omened town to the Stuart cause, in all haste, entered Manchester, where they met with more recruits than usual, skilfully deceived the Duke of Cumberland into the idea that they were marching towards Wales, got past his army, and had nothing between them and London except the camp at Finchley. They reached Derby, but there Lord George Murray and all the commanders unanimously advised retreat. It was true that they had eluded both Wade and Cumberland, but those commanders with their armies were following them close; the slightest check before reaching London, and their little army of 5000 would be enveloped by 30,000 men; it would surely be better to fall back upon their supports in Scotland, where Lord Strathallan had a force of some 3000 or 4000 men. Charles was unable to hold out against these arguments, backed by all the men of military weight in his army, and very sullenly and unwillingly at length gave his consent to a retreat. It is plain that the Scotch chiefs had been thoroughly disappointed in the neutrality of the English population, were beginning to fear for their own heads, and thought it more prudent as well as more practicable to separate the two kingdoms, and establish

but retreats, to
the relief of the
Government

Charles at all events at first as King of Scotland. This determination was an immense relief to the Government. Whether a further march would have been successful

or not, it is certain that the Government regarded its chances of success as very great, and London was stricken with panic; the Bank was reduced to pay in sixpences; the Duke of Newcastle is said to have seriously thought of declaring for the Pretender; the King sent some of his valuables to the river ready for embarkation. The camp at Finchley was by no means completed; Wade and Cumberland were so far behind that they scarcely hoped to come up with the Highlanders; the occupation of London would have been the signal for a French invasion, and probably for a great Jacobite rising in England. The day on which the news of the advance to Derby was known was called Black Friday.

The retreat was very rapid, and, as was natural, now that the soldiers were in bad humour, by no means orderly. The insurgents were closely pursued by the Duke of Cumberland, who came up with them, but was checked in a skirmish near Penrith, and passing through Carlisle, which was speedily recaptured by the English, reached Glasgow, where they established themselves, and by means of large requisitions succeeded in refreshing and reorganizing themselves after their rapid march. They had marched 580 miles in 56 days. After a week's rest they advanced to besiege the Castle of Stirling, which was defended by General Blakeney. Being joined by the Scotch army under Strathallan, with whom were some French soldiers, and Lord John Drummond, a general in the French service, the Pretender's army reached the number of 9000, the largest he ever commanded. Wade, who had grown slow from age, was superseded by General Hawley by the advice of the Duke of Cumberland. He was an officer of some experience, but little talent, and of a ferocious disposition. He was nicknamed the Lord Chief Justice, and as Horace Walpole tells us, "was brave and able, with no small bias to the brutal." He profoundly despised his enemies, and advancing to relieve Stirling Castle, took up his position at Falkirk without even ordinary military precaution. He was not even present with his army, but was enjoying, with some of his officers, the civilities of Callendar House, where the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband was with the Pretender, was entertaining and delaying them. There are two roads between Stirling and Falkirk; some troops were sent forward by the straight road to deceive the English, while the main body under Charles swept round to the south. They were then separated from the English by a high rugged heath called Falkirk Muir. When the news of their approach was brought to Hawley, he

Charles besieges
Stirling.
Jan. 3, 1746.

Wins the
battle of
Falkirk.
Jan. 17.

hastened to the field, and led his cavalry rapidly forward to try and secure the crest of this hill. It was a race between him and the Highlanders, and they succeeded in winning it. Hawley fell back to lower ground, and arranged his troops, with their right upon a broken ravine which descended to the plain. His artillery got hopelessly jammed in a morass. The battle began with a charge of the royal cavalry on the left, which was met by a steady fire from the Highlanders, from which the dragoons as usual fled, all but one regiment. The Highlanders, then rushing forward, entirely broke the centre and left of the royal army, but their rush was checked by the ravine on the right; the royal troops there held their own, and being joined by the one steady regiment of cavalry, were enabled to make an orderly retreat. One of the flying regiments had fought well at Fontenoy, and Lord John Drummond, who had been present at that battle, believed that their retreat was a feint, and by his advice further attack was suspended. Charles had shown considerable skill in bringing his troops with their back to the wind, so that the driving storm and cold January wind might beat full in the faces of the English troops.

The Duke of Cumberland, who had been detained in the south of England in expectation of a French invasion, was indignant at this defeat, and declaring that he would himself willingly lead the broken remains of Hawley's army against the Highlanders, got himself appointed commander. He was a young man of great energy, with the hereditary bravery of his family, and an active if not a very able general; he had, moreover, won the confidence of the army at Fontenoy. He was a man however of violent passions, and at present roused almost to ferocity by the success of the Highlanders, which touched his pride both as a military man and a prince of the Hanoverian house. The Pretender did not follow up his success, but persisted, from a false sense of honour, in the siege of Stirling, and allowed the broken English army to be reconstituted. He was however obliged to desist from this project by a memorial signed by all his chiefs, and presented by Lord George Murray. Some coldness had arisen between the Prince and his followers ever since the retreat from Derby, and the present prudent counsel tended still further to widen the breach. The army was divided into two bodies, and marched rapidly towards Inverness, where they were to unite. Cumberland hastened in pursuit. Inverness was easily mastered, and the neighbouring clan, the Mackintoshes, joined the Prince. But the English,

Cumberland
takes command
of the army.

now fully on the alert, prevented the arrival of any supplies from France, and the army was suffering from want of provisions and money. Cumberland's army was meanwhile well supplied from the sea, and marched towards Inverness along the coast from Aberdeen. The passages of the rivers, Spey, Findhorn, and Nairn, were but weakly disputed, and on the 14th of April the royal army entered the town of Nairn. That night Charles slept at Culloden House, the seat of President Forbes, who had fled on his approach. Want of provisions, and the habit of the Highlanders of returning at times to their homes, had reduced his army to about 5000, and of these many were absent from the standards in Inverness and elsewhere searching for food. It was determined, at the suggestion of Charles and Lord George Murray, to attempt a night surprise, but the darkness of the night and the weariness of the men prevented its success, and the hour proposed for the attack still found them four miles from the English posts. They fell back to Culloden Moor. Murray and some others wanted to retire, but Charles and some of his more reckless followers from France, in overweening trust in the dash of the Highlanders, insisted upon fighting. The men of Athol, the Camerons and the Stuarts, had the right of the line under Lord George Murray, while the Macdonalds, who claimed that position ever since the battle of Bannockburn, sulkily received orders to occupy the left. Taught by former experience, the Duke of Cumberland ranged his army in three lines, with cannon between every two regiments, the second line being drawn up three deep, and arranged as men now are when forming square to receive cavalry. The opening cannonade was wholly in favour of the English, and observing the loss of his followers, Murray advanced with the right. Wearied and harassed as they were, the Highlanders broke through the first line, and captured two cannon, but the firm formation and scathing fire of the second line threw them into hopeless confusion. On the left of the Highland line the Macdonalds, aggrieved at their position, remained immovable, in spite of the urgent entreaties of their commander, in spite even of the touching words of Macdonald of Keppoch, who cried as he fell, "My God, have the children of my tribe forsaken me!" They afterwards fell back and joined the second line. They were however now outflanked, and their retreat threatened, and though there were some thoughts of trying to retrieve the fortunes of the day with the unbroken left, the more prudent officers regarded the battle as lost, and compelled Charles to fly. He went first of

He defeats
Charles at
Culloden,
April 16,

all to Lord Lovat's residence, but, finding but a cold reception from that scheming villain, who was trying to keep well with the Government, while he had sent his son and clan to join the Prince, he fled onwards till he reached the Castle of Glen-garry, beyond Fort Augustus. The broken fragments of his army were collected, about 1200 in number, by the skill of Lord George Murray at Ruthven in Badenoch. But Charles gave up the struggle, and sent orders that they should look to their own safety. The insurrection was over: vengeance began. The cruelty with which that vengeance was executed gained Cumberland the nickname of "The Butcher." In the pursuit after Culloden but little quarter was given, and acts of brutal ferocity stained the glory of the day. Some wounded Highlanders who had crawled to a farm building were deliberately burnt to death in it. The prisoners were kept in want of the necessaries of life, and many of the wounded put to death in cold blood. Cumberland fixed his headquarters at Fort Augustus, and harried the neighbouring country with every species of military execution. Acts of cruelty and of wild license were done chiefly at the instigation of General Hawley, but not without Cumberland's knowledge. The Duke was however, and rightly, hailed as the saviour of England.

For five months Charles was a solitary fugitive in the Highlands and Hebrides. He frequently had to trust his secret to the poorest Highlanders, but the high price set on his head never induced them for a moment to break their faith. His best known escape took place in South Uist, whither he had been tracked very shortly after the battle of Culloden, and where he was surrounded by upwards of 2000 men. Flora Macdonald, a young lady visiting Clanranald's family, succeeded in bringing him safely through this difficulty by procuring from her stepfather, who was an officer in the King's army, a passport for herself and a female servant. In this disguise she took Charles with her into Skye, where, making his secret known to the wife of Sir Alexander Macdonald, who was in the King's interest, she by her means got him put under the charge of Macdonald of Kingsburgh, who brought him to a place of safety. We are told that his height and want of grace in the management of his petticoats, especially in passing the watercourses, very nearly betrayed him. Flora Macdonald afterwards married the son of Macdonald of Kingsburgh. At last, on the 20th September, attended by Lochiel and a considerable number of other fugitives, he set sail

and cruelly
suppresses the
rebellion.

Charles escapes
to France.

for France from Loch-na-Nuagh, the very spot where he had landed fourteen months before.

Thus terminated a most romantic piece of military history, astonishing both in the success which the small body of Highlanders were able to gain and the rapidity with which their successes were brought to an end. Had Lord George Murray been a worse general, and had the Scotch chiefs had less at heart the separation of Scotland from England, the success of the enterprise might have been different. At the two critical periods of the war, at Derby and after the battle of Falkirk, Charles was probably right in disliking any retrograde movements. No doubt, on purely military grounds, his opinion was wrong; but a body of half-trained enthusiastic Highlanders are nothing unless victorious. The marked change visible in their retreat both from Derby and from Stirling, on both of which occasions great disorder and want of discipline arose, shows that the moral side of the movement was not sufficiently considered by the generals. On the other hand, Lord George Murray showed great skill in hoodwinking and passing the armies both of Wade and Cumberland, and much good judgment in refusing to introduce regular drill or arms among the Highland regiments. The Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock were beheaded for their share in the conspiracy, and Lord Lovat, wily though he had been, was convicted on the evidence of the Prince's Secretary of State, Murray of Broughton, who turned King's evidence, and executed. Many stringent measures against the Highlanders were at once passed, such as the Disarming Act, the Act to forbid the wearing of the Highland dress, and more important, an Act for the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, by which the arbitrary power of the chiefs of the clans was destroyed, and regular tribunals under responsible judges established.

At the very time that the Highlanders were still in the country England had passed through a ministerial crisis. The Pelhams had found themselves thwarted and in danger of being supplanted by Granville (Carteret); for although they had succeeded in driving him from the ministry, he was still the King's favourite—a position which he had earned by constantly seconding the royal wishes with regard to foreign politics. The chief opponents of these views were Pitt and Chesterfield, and the Pelhams now determined upon bringing matters to a crisis by demanding the admission of Pitt into the ministry. The King, influenced by Lord Granville and Lord Bath, refused to admit him, and the Pelhams, their friend Lord Harrington

Ministerial
crisis.
Feb. 1746.

(Stanhope), and their whole party resigned. The King at once instructed Lord Granville to form a new Government. He undertook the task, but three days sufficed to show that the King's favour was no match for the Parliamentary influence of the great Whig party, of which Newcastle was the acknowledged leader. Much against his will, the King had to receive back his old ministry upon any terms they chose to propose, and Pitt became first Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and shortly afterwards Paymaster of the Forces. In this position he was enabled much to increase his popularity, by rejecting the vast profits which it had been the habit hitherto for the Paymaster to make. That officer had been in the habit of receiving a large percentage upon all foreign subsidies, and of using as his own the interest accruing from the large balance of public money he had constantly in hand. These profits Pitt rejected, and at once established a reputation for disinterestedness.

The insurrection in Scotland had had considerable effect upon the continental war. The campaign in Flanders, where the Austrians had been deprived of English succour, had been very unfavourable, and after the battle of Raucoux, the French, under Marshal Saxe, had mastered nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands. But, deprived of their Bavarian allies by the Treaty of Füssen, of the Prussians by the Treaty of Dresden, and all hearty support from Spain by the death of Philip V., they began to think of peace, and negotiations were opened at Breda. Lord Harrington, having fallen under the King's displeasure for his conduct in the ministerial crisis, had resigned, and Chesterfield was called from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland to become Secretary of State. He at once began to use his influence, which was very great, both from his social gifts and from his eloquence, in favour of peace, so that there seemed some hopes of a cessation of the war. It was pursued however without check during the whole of the next year. In Holland the appearance of 20,000 French within the frontier roused the national spirit, and the people, disgusted with the dilatory conduct of their republican chiefs, rose in revolution; they again looked for safety to the house of Nassau, and the young Prince of Orange, a son-in-law of George II., was made hereditary Stadtholder. In conjunction with the Duke of Cumberland he took command of the army in Flanders, but was defeated with much loss to the English at the battle of Laufeldt. The great fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom was taken, and at length Maestricht, on the safety of which Holland depended, was itself besieged. To balance these disasters, the course of the

Effect of the
rebellion on the
continental
war.

war in Italy had been constantly disastrous to France. The Austrians, freed from the pressure of Frederick on the north, were able to act with vigour. They were so successful that Genoa was taken, and Provence itself invaded; and though in the following year the Austrians were driven from France and Genoa regained, the war in that direction closed with a complete victory over the French at Exiles, and the French troops withdrew to their own country, not to appear in Italy again till the renewed vigour of the Revolution plunged them afresh into a career of conquest. Meanwhile, however, in spite of these disasters upon land, England had been steadily gaining its real object. Holland, whose political importance had almost disappeared, and which had become a faithful follower of England, was still more closely joined to that country by its late revolution. Upon the sea disaster everywhere met the French. Their colonial empire was attacked, Cape Breton Island was captured, and the St. Lawrence and Canada thus laid open to the English. Their navy gradually dwindled away, till it was represented by three or four ships only. They were wearied of the war, and alarmed at the immense addition to their debt. The Dutch were disappointed at the want of success which had attended their revolution; and the English were satisfied with the destruction of the French marine. All parties were thus at length ready to listen to a reasonable peace.

It was therefore determined to hold a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. Moreover, the Pelhams had now resumed in some degree the pacific policy of Walpole, and the apparent certainty of the fall of Maestricht brought matters to a crisis. On the 30th of April the preliminaries were signed between France, England and Holland, without waiting for the agreement of Austria and Spain. The terms of those preliminaries befitted the causeless war which they terminated. The chief condition was the complete mutual restoration of all conquests, and the return of each party to its position before the war. There were, however, some slight changes; Parma was to be given to the Infant Don Philip; the cessions of Austria to both Prussia and Sardinia were to be secured, and Spain was to restore the Assiento Treaty and the right of a periodical vessel in the South Seas to the English, while the fortifications of Dunkirk towards the sea were to be destroyed; in exchange for its losses Austria received the complete guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction and the acknowledgment of the Emperor. The restoration of conquests touched even India, where the conquest of Madras and the resistance of Pondicherry to the English arms had

Treaty of
Aix-la-Chapelle.
Oct. 1748.

Results of
the war.

raised in the minds of the French well-grounded hopes of founding a colonial empire. Taking the war as a whole its results were these: Holland had disappeared from the rank of great nations; it was evident that it could not defend itself against France. Austria, though it had lost Silesia, had learnt the strength to be derived from the military resources of its eastern provinces. Prussia had proved itself a predominant power in Europe. England had secured its maritime supremacy. France had exhibited its growing weakness, had lost its best opportunity of re-establishing itself upon the sea, and under a show of magnanimous generosity had made plain to the world its total absence of good government, of good administration, or good diplomacy.

The period of the premiership of Henry Pelham is marked by the absence of parliamentary contest. Taught by the stormy close of Walpole's career, he so far deviated from his master's precepts, that, instead of wishing to stand alone in his government, his chief object was to conciliate all parties, and the broad ministry over which he presided included nearly all the men of striking talent in Parliament. There was no opposition worth mentioning, except a little clique who gathered round the Prince of Wales, and at whose head was Doddington. It was not till the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754 that the strife of parties again began.

Pelham's
conciliatory
government.

Meanwhile the system of subsidies to foreign powers was quietly carried on, even Pitt ceasing to raise his voice against them. The lull of party strife, and the strength of his position, enabled the minister, who was a good financier, to alleviate what was then considered a very threatening danger to the country, and at the same time to demonstrate the firm and constant increase of the national wealth. He determined to introduce a measure (1750) for the reduction of the debt, which was at that time about £78,000,000, paying an interest of £3,000,000 a year. This sum was at that time regarded as very formidable. But Pelham, rightly thinking that the country could well bear the amount of debt, directed his attention not to diminishing the capital but to lowering the rate of interest. This plan had indeed been carried out constantly since the time of William III., and as the operation had been always successful, it marks the increased confidence of the nation in the Government, and the increased wealth of the nation, since money could be procured at gradually cheapening rates. Under William III. eight per cent. had been given: under Queen Anne the interest had been reduced

to six: under George I. to five and to four; Pelham now proposed to reduce it to three per cent. In spite of some natural opposition the Bill was carried. Those who were unwilling to receive the reduced interest, and there were few such, received their capital from money borrowed at three per cent. The rest accepted the terms, which were three and a half, for the next eight years, and three per cent. after 1758. The annual saving was more than half a million, and Smollett says that Europe saw with wonder England reducing the national obligations immediately after a war which had almost ruined Europe. Three millions was indeed a considerable charge upon a revenue amounting to about £8,523,540. This was derived from four principal sources;—more than £3,800,000 from Excise and Malt Tax, £1,900,000 and over from the customs; £1,637,608 from the Land Tax, and the rest from the stamp duties and other small sources. The late war had cost the nation upwards of £30,000,000, and many financiers, not foreseeing the enormous development of the national resources which the next half century would produce, took a gloomy view of the financial position of England. But, as we have seen, the ease with which Pelham completed the reduction of the interest proved that there was considerable wealth in the country.

Indeed, although the great industrial period had not yet quite arrived, both commerce and manufactures were making considerable strides, and that wealth was accumulating which was to find its employment in the next decade. Several branches of foreign trade had been relieved from restrictions—whale and herring fisheries, the African trade and the silk trade had all been relieved, while manufactures had been steadily increasing. As early as 1715 silk spinning had been introduced at Derby; and the woollen manufactures, which, with the silk, were heavily protected, were of great and increasing importance. The use of cotton, which was to change the whole face of Lancashire, was regarded most unwisely as injurious, and but little use was made of it except for mixing with silk and wool, and in a small degree for exportation. Protection of silk and wool even went so far that penalties were laid on the wearing and selling of calico goods. Both in Birmingham and Sheffield metal works were largely established, and silver plated upon other metals, which was introduced at Sheffield in 1742, was soon widely used under the title of Sheffield plate. Improvements, too, had also been made in the stocking-frame, and, in 1738, John Kaye had invented his shuttle, which doubled the amount of work

Increase of
wealth and
trade.

CON. MON.

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which could be done. But while cotton was as yet scarcely thought of, and improvements in the old manufactures were only introduced by degrees, the second great source of English wealth was discovered and set to work. The quantity of iron in the United Kingdom is very large, but keen observers complained that, while there was plenty for our own supply and for exportation, we still imported largely from America, where it could be worked cheaper. This was because it had been thought necessary that iron should be smelted with charcoal, and as carriage was as yet wholly by land and expensive, it was only when iron occurred in woody districts, such as Surrey and Sussex, that it could be worked with advantage. The occurrence of the termination *Hammer* in the name of several villages in Surrey marks this old state of things. The railings round St. Paul's Cathedral were regarded as the great achievement of the southern ironworks. In 1740 means were discovered of working iron with pit-coal, which at once opened an almost unbounded sphere for industry. The discovery is attributed to Dr. John Roebuck of Birmingham, who, in the year 1759, established the great Carron ironworks in Stirlingshire. It is curious that a similar plan should have been regarded as one of the bubbles of the South Sea year. Agriculture was still in a backward condition, especially with regard to implements. The plough was still a rude machine, chiefly of wood. Turnips were still crushed with the beetle. Cultivators, and other means of assisting or saving the trouble of ploughing, were unknown. But in the east of England, at all events, the value of frequent manuring was understood;—turnips and other root-crops had taken the place of fallow, and a limited rotation of crops was in vogue. The use of the drill, although invented in 1732, was little known. All these improvements were however gradually getting introduced, as the waste lands or great common fields were by degrees enclosed. Suffolk, where this had been early done, was at the head of agricultural improvement.

During the period of parliamentary quiet which preceded Pelham's death, two or three measures of permanent interest were passed.

In 1751 the reform of the Calendar was proposed and carried triumphantly through Parliament, chiefly by the exertions of Chesterfield, Lord Macclesfield, and Bradley the astronomer. The Julian Calendar, in which the length of year was slightly miscalculated, had been reformed by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, and this reform had been gradually adopted in all countries in Europe except England, Russia, and Sweden. England is said to have rejected it from hatred of the Papacy. The

Reform of the
Calendar.
1751.

effect was, that while the year in every other country began upon the 1st of January, in England it began on the 25th of March; while, as compared with other countries, there was a difference of eleven days in computing the days of the month. The change proposed was, that the year 1752 should begin upon the 1st of January, and that eleven days should be suppressed between the 2nd and 14th of September, so that the third of that month should be called the 14th, and that henceforward such changes should be introduced as would make the solar and legal year coincident. The chief practical difficulty was in the matter of payments. It was settled that these should not be put forward. It is thus that the 5th of April, the 5th of July, the 10th of October, and the 5th of January, still remain the days on which the dividends of the public funds are paid. This change met with a good deal of ignorant opposition. The common Opposition election cry was, "Give us back our eleven days."

In 1753 a Marriage Act, usually known as Lord Hardwicke's Act, was brought in, to decrease the number of the formal acts which constituted a pre-engagement, in which a man might be entangled by carelessness and against his own will, and, secondly, to check very rapid marriages. At this time the facilities given to marriage enabled heirs and heiresses to marry without consent of their natural guardians—a practice still further supported by a quantity of broken and disreputable parsons who hung about the Fleet Prison, and were known as Fleet Parsons, whose performance of the ceremony was binding, and who could of course always be procured for money. By the new Act marriages must be performed in the parish church, after publication of banns, or by special licenses granted by the Archbishop, and on payment of a heavy sum. Any clergyman solemnizing a marriage in contravention of these restrictions is liable to seven years' transportation. A Bill for the naturalization of Jews, although carried, had to be repealed before the popular uproar. The Bishops, who had supported the measure, drew upon themselves the larger share of the popular indignation. They were indeed at this time unusually liberal in their views. In the earlier part of the reign Queen Caroline, whose hands the appointments had chiefly been, had carefully selected men of good repute and of liberal tendencies; in opposition to the general feeling of the clergy, she confined her appointments almost exclusively to Whigs. It is possible that this conduct, however praiseworthy in itself, may have tended to increase the general laxity among Churchmen and Dissenters, which had already begun to

Lord Hard-
wicke's
Marriage Act.
1753.

Decay of
the Church.

be visible before the death of Bishop Burnet. Since that time a variety of causes had combined to increase it. Thus, the separation of the Church from the State in their political views, the Church being chiefly Jacobite while the State was Whig; a similar division between the Bishops and their clergy, and between the Universities, and the Government, and the Bishops, all tended, by loosening the bonds of authority, to the decay of the Church. The falling away of the Dissenters, and the entire defeat of the Roman Catholics, had also removed all competition; and while thus unnerved, the Church had been called upon to answer the requirements of an increasing population and of growing towns. It had, moreover, to combat the very general growth of that scepticism which was so rife in France, and which was one of the remarkable symptoms of the coming revolution.

It was this state of public morality which induced the Wesleys to begin their effort at a revival of religion, and to establish and organize the great body of Wesleyan Methodists. They began their career at Oxford, where they collected a small band of followers, deeply impressed with the necessity of heartfelt religion. The most prominent among them was Whitfield, who, after a youth passed in the humble avocations of a waiter in the "Bell Inn" at Gloucester, was now struggling to educate himself for the Church as a servitor at Pembroke College. In his zeal for religion, Wesley went as a missionary to Georgia. He met with no great success there; but on his return, in 1738, he found that his society had grown, and had reached even London. Whitfield had been ordained, and had become renowned for his eloquence. He it was who, while working at first among the colliers at Kingswood near Bristol, introduced that field preaching which became the main instrument in the spread of Methodism. It was some time before Wesley could bring himself to adopt this custom; but it afterwards became his constant practice. A separation soon occurred between Whitfield, who was extreme in his views, and Wesley, who had separated himself from the Moravians, with whom he had at first worked, but who in England at least were guilty of many extravagances. The withdrawal of Whitfield made Wesley undisputed chief of the new sect, and to him was left its organization. His agents were for the most part energetic, half-educated laymen, who all looked to Wesley as their absolute chief. His object was not to separate from the Church, he himself said, "Our service is not such as supersedes the Church service: we never designed it should;" and only a very little while

Rise of the
Wesleyans.
1730.

before his death, he said, "I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it." What he tried to do was to bring religion within the reach of those who, either by character or by the line of life they pursued, were unlikely to be reached by the ordinary apparatus of the Church, and to excite among his hearers a more true and enthusiastic religion than the formalism at that time prevalent. His society was to be not the enemy, but the handmaid of the Church. Its organization was strict and admirable. The preachers moved on in constant succession from district to district, so that neither preacher nor hearer should grow weary of monotonous work. A conference, consisting of preachers whom he selected, was held every year. The Methodists were divided into classes, with a leader to each class, and a weekly class-meeting was held. Love-feasts were also established, and any grave sin was visited by exclusion from the society. The effect of this earnest and well-arranged effort at reform was very great; not only on the Methodists themselves, who were principally among the poorer classes, especially miners and people out of reach of ordinary Church influences, and who at his death in England and America numbered nearly 110,000, but also on the Church, by exciting that warmth and emulation which we have seen was at the time so much wanted. Although its influence was thus great and excellent, it must not be concealed that, as was natural, enthusiasm produced some eccentricities which will explain a good deal of the opposition which Wesley undoubtedly met with among the higher classes and among careless Churchmen.

As in wealth and religion, so in its political tendencies, this period was one of growth and of preparation for the more important half century which was to follow. In that period was to begin the second phase of the political change introduced at the Revolution:—the gradual assertion by the nation of their right to proper representation in Parliament. There were signs that the people at large were already growing weary of the influence of a few great nobles, of the squabbles of aristocratic parties for their own personal aggrandizement, and of the secrecy in which the conduct of their nominal representatives was veiled. It is thus that the Opposition could generally rouse an almost irresistible expression of feeling by appealing from the overwhelming majority of Parliament to the passions of the nation. It was thus that Pitt, regarded as a disinterested and patriotic man, without any of the

The nation as-
serts its opinion
in opposition
to Parliament.

usual sources of influence, became the most popular and powerful statesman in the country; and thus when, in 1752, Mr. Murray charged with interrupting the high bailiff at a Westminster election, refused to kneel to the House, and was consequently imprisoned during the session, he was led in triumphal procession by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex. Indeed, the privileges claimed for the members of the House might alone have sufficed to excite opposition. We hear that the very rabbits, fish, and footmen of the members were taken under the august protection of the House.

The term of the existing Parliament was just over, and it seemed as if the same quiet course would be pursued in the following one, when all such ideas were overthrown by the unexpected death of Henry Pelham. His death broke the tie which connected so many able men of varying opinions, and it became evident that parliamentary and party struggles would again occur. The King is said to have exclaimed, "Now I shall have no more peace." Upon the Duke of Newcastle fell the task of attempting to continue the existing Government. He himself took his brother's place at the head of the Treasury; he appointed Henry Legge as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. But it was not easy to supply Pelham's place as leader of the House of Commons. The choice seemed to lie between Henry Fox, who was Secretary at War, a friend and protégé of the Duke of Cumberland, Pitt, who was Paymaster, and Murray, who was Attorney-General. Pitt, personally disagreeable to the King, and moreover at this time in ill health, was not to be thought of; Murray's ambition was confined to the law; the Duke therefore applied to Fox. But they quarrelled about the arrangement of patronage, of which Newcastle was very jealous; and ultimately Sir Thomas Robinson, a man of no mark, was made Secretary, and given the management of the House. Pitt and Fox combined to render his position ridiculous and miserable. "The Duke might as well send his jackboot to lead us," said Pitt to Fox. Before the new Parliament had been assembled a month it was found necessary to make terms with Fox, who was given a seat in the Cabinet, although remaining in his subordinate place. This caused a permanent estrangement between the two statesmen. With Fox's assistance Newcastle got through the year.

But Newcastle was not the man to uphold a ministry during a time of such difficulty as was evidently approaching. Everything pointed to a speedy renewal of war. At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the limits of our American

Pelham's death gives the Government to Newcastle. 1754.

Approaching danger from India

colonies had been left undefined; while in India, where Dupleix and Labourdonnais had inflicted heavy blows on the English during the war, although the nations were at peace, the French and English contrived to continue their rivalry by allying themselves with native princes, and Clive had already rendered his name famous by the defence of Arcot and the restoration of English power in the Carnatic.¹ Thus there were dangers both in the East and in the West. In America the main object of the French was to secure the valley of the Mississippi, to connect by this channel their Canadian colonies with those upon the Gulf of Mexico, and thus to confine the English to the strip of country between the Alleghany mountains and the sea. The English would thus be constantly threatened on all sides, cut off from direct intercourse with the Indians, and from all hope of any extension of their settlements towards the west. The French began their encroachments by erecting forts on the Ohio river, which were to secure the connection between the Mississippi valley and Canada. A colonial war, in which the name of Washington first becomes prominent, arose from these encroachments. And this local warfare continued, till it became necessary for the Government to take the matter up. A force under General Braddock was therefore despatched against Fort Duquesne on the Ohio; but his careless stupidity led him into an ambush, where he himself and a great number of his troops were killed.

In spite of these hostilities, and although the existence of unsettled questions had caused a very uneasy feeling between them, France and England were as yet nominally at peace. And Newcastle, wholly unfit to conduct a great war, and eager to temporize as long as possible, seems to have tried to confine the war to matters affecting the prosperity of the American colonies. Thus Admiral Boscawen was sent out with orders to watch the French fleet, and attack it if it appeared bound for the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The consequence was an engagement, in which the French lost two ships. The rest of the fleet, to the disappointment of the English people, reached its destination. So again, Hawke's fleet in the Channel received strange and contradictory orders. One party in the Council wished to act openly and declare war. Newcastle suggested that no orders should be given to Hawke, but that he should be sent out to cruise, and that he should be ordered not to attack the French fleet unless he thought it worth while. Finally, instructions were given him to attack line of

Newcastle tries to confine the war to the colonies.

¹ For the consecutive history of India, see p. 1113.

battle ships, but nothing smaller, and to spare trading vessels. He had not been gone a week when orders reached him to destroy everything large and small between Cape Ortegal and Cape Clear. The consequence was a large capture of prizes, and a not unfair outcry from France and the rest of Europe against the strange conduct of the English in seizing vessels without a declaration of war.

It was plain that war could not much longer be delayed; and the King's thoughts turned as usual to his continental dominions. Although the importance of the crisis was universally felt, he was content to leave England in the hands of a regency; and as soon as Parliament was over, just before Boscawen sailed, he hurried to Hanover. Next to France, the object of George's dread was Prussia. More than one cause of quarrel had arisen with that country. Frederick had refused to assist in securing the election of the Archduke Joseph (afterwards Joseph II.) as King of the Romans, a project which Newcastle and George had deeply at heart, believing that it would preserve the European balance and strengthen Austria against the French. Deprived of Frederick's assistance, the plan came to nothing. In 1753, again, a dispute had arisen about some ships captured in the late war, and condemned, as Frederick asserted, unjustly by the English Admiralty courts. To such an extent had the irritation against Prussia increased, that it was confidently believed that Frederick intended to assist the Pretender in another attack upon England, taking advantage of the disturbance to secure Hanover for himself. Against Prussia, therefore, George began contracting great subsidiary treaties with the continental princes. The most important of these were with Hesse and with the Czarina of Russia. A factory, says Horace Walpole, was opened at Herrnhäusen, where every prince that could muster and clothe a regiment might traffic with it to advantage.

It became Newcastle's duty to carry these contracts through Parliament. He knew the opposition they were certain to meet with, and the necessity of finding some strong support in the Lower House; but his Cabinet was there represented by no man of mark. He had recourse to Pitt, who held the office of Paymaster, but he positively refused to support the subsidies. His colleague Legge went further, and refused to sign the warrants which were to open the Treasury. Newcastle had then recourse to Fox, and succeeded in securing his services by removing Robinson, and making Fox Secretary of State. But the introduction of the

George's
anxiety for
Hanover.

He makes sub-
sidiary treaties
against Prussia.
1755.

They are
opposed by Pitt.

address at the opening of Parliament in the autumn, when the Russian and Hessian subsidies were recommended, was the signal for an open mutiny in the ministerial camp. It was attacked in vehement words by Pitt, who, in a well-known passage, likened the new coalition to the junction he had once seen of the Rhone and the Saône; the one a gentle, feeble, languid stream of no depth, and the other a boisterous, impetuous torrent. Newcastle had no alternative but to discharge both Pitt and Legge from their offices.

Meanwhile the courage of the nation had sunk very low. There was a dread of an immediate French invasion; and the Government so thoroughly lost heart as to request the King to garrison England with Hanoverian troops. This dread was kept alive by a simulated collection of French troops in the north. But, under cover of this threat, a fleet was being collected at Toulon, with the real design of capturing Minorca. The ministry were at last roused to this danger, and Byng was despatched with ten sail of the line to prevent it. Three days after he set sail the Duke de Richelieu, with 16,000 men, slipped across into the island, and compelled General Blakeney, who was somewhat old and infirm, to withdraw into the castle of St. Philip, which was at once besieged. On the 19th of May—much too late to prevent the landing of Richelieu—Byng arrived within view of St. Philip, which was still in the possession of the English. The French Admiral, La Galissonnière, sailed out to cover the siege, and Byng, who apparently felt himself unequally matched—although West, his second in command, behaved with gallantry and success—called a council of war, and withdrew. Blakeney, who had defended his position with great bravery, had to surrender.

The failure of Byng, and the general weakness and incapacity of the ministry, roused the temper of the people to rage; and Newcastle, trembling for himself, threw all the blame upon the Admiral, hoping by this means to satisfy the popular cry. But Fox, his chief supporter, was in no mood to risk anything by fidelity to so weak a chief. He therefore resigned the Seals; and as Murray insisted upon either resigning or being made Lord Chief Justice (which office was given him), Newcastle, without support in the Commons, found himself obliged to resign also.

It was hoped that Fox and Pitt might come in together, but their quarrel was irreconcilable. After some negotiations, therefore, the Duke of Devonshire was made First Lord of the Treasury, and Pitt

The French capture
Minorca.
May 1756.

Newcastle
resigns.
Nov. 1756.

First Secretary of State and real Prime Minister. The measures of the new Government were in strict accordance with the principles of the party which Pitt represented.

Pitt's vigorous
government.
1757.

The Hessians were dismissed, a Bill was passed for increasing the militia, by which 32,000 men were to be called out; reinforcements were sent to America; the enterprising and warlike character of the Highlanders was enlisted on the side of order by the formation of Highland regiments, a step which did more towards the pacification of the country than any measures of coercion. Pitt also did what he could to dissociate himself from the conduct of Newcastle with regard to Admiral Byng. A court martial held upon that officer had been bound by strict instructions, and had found itself obliged to bring in a verdict of guilty, though without casting any imputation on the personal courage of the Admiral. On his accession to power Pitt was courageous enough, although he rested on the popular favour, to do his best to get Byng pardoned, and urged on the King that the House of Commons seemed to wish the sentence to be mitigated. The King is said to have answered in words that fairly describe Pitt's position, "Sir, you have taught me to look for the sense of my subjects in another place than the House of Commons." The sentence was carried out, and Byng was shot on the quarter-deck of the 'Monarque' at Portsmouth (March 14, 1757). But the new ministry was of short duration. Pitt found himself unable to stand up against the dislike of the King, and the want of that Parliamentary influence which Newcastle's position as head of the Whigs, and his long course of corruption, had gained him. He was summarily dismissed. The King tried to get back Newcastle and his subservient ministry (whom he used to speak of as "Newcastle's footmen"), and, after a period of intrigue, Pitt had to consent to a compromise, giving his own talents and popularity, and accepting in exchange the great Parliamentary support of Newcastle. To this ministry Fox was persuaded to give his adhesion, and to accept the lucrative post of Paymaster-General. Thus was formed that strong Government so gloriously known as Pitt's ministry.

While these ministerial changes had been going on in England, our dispute with France as to the limits of our American colonies had become blended with a quarrel of quite a different origin, which was to plunge Europe into a general war for several years. As early as 1745, before the signature of the Treaty of Dresden, the Courts of Vienna and Dresden had entered into some sort of arrangement for curtailing what they

Secret treaties
of Maria
Theresa.

regarded as the undue pre-eminence of Prussia. After that treaty the Empress Queen seems to have been still more anxious for some similar plan, and almost immediately after the termination of the War of Succession, had entered into relations with the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia; a treaty had been agreed to, to which there were added secret clauses, providing that any movement on the part of Prussia against either Russia, Austria, or Poland, should be held wholly to invalidate the Treaty of Dresden; and in the result of a success of their arms, it was arranged that Prussia should be divided between the three countries. These arrangements are sometimes spoken of as the Treaties of Warsaw and of St. Petersburg. To this treaty the Elector of Saxony, who was also King of Poland, was a party, though without signing. In 1754, magazines and armies were prepared in Bohemia and Moravia; the Saxon army was collected at Pirna; and finally, in 1756, adroit flattery addressed to Madame de Pampadour, the reigning mistress at the French Court, induced France to join in the alliance. Louis and his ministry, ignoring the really vital question which was then at issue with England, reversed the traditional policy of France, rejected the proffered alliance with Prussia, and threw the country headlong into a European war, in close alliance with its old enemy the Austrian House.

Europe prepares
for war.

In accordance with the traditions of European policy it was England, not France, who should have appeared as the ally of Austria. But a coldness had been gradually springing up between the Courts. The Barrier Treaty of Utrecht, by which the Austrian Netherlands were debarred from the Indian trade, was a constant cause of uneasiness. The part which England had taken in mediating the Treaties of Breslau and Dresden, which ceded Silesia to Prussia, had been mistaken by the Austrian Court; although in fact both wise and friendly, it had excited deep displeasure. Thus, when an alliance was mentioned, the terms proposed by Austria were so high that the English Government had no choice but to refuse them. Under these circumstances, as Hanover could not be left exposed wholly without friends, England turned to the opposite party and allied itself with Prussia.

Alliance be-
tween England
and Prussia.

Frederick had already entered upon the war. The appearance of hostile preparations had aroused his suspicions. He demanded a plain answer as to the intentions of the Empress Queen, and on receiving an evasive reply, he determined upon striking the first blow, although he knew that his nation num-

Frederick's first
campaign.

bered but 5,000,000, while the number of the allies could not be estimated at less than 90,000,000. He passed rapidly through Saxony, blockaded the Saxon army in Pirna, and, collecting all his forces, defeated the Austrians under Marshal Braun at Lowositz (Oct. 1, 1756). After this victory he rendered the relief of the Saxons impossible, and the whole army surrendered at Pirna. Frederick occupied Dresden, and there found and published copies of the secret treaties, which fully justified his conduct. The French had made a false step in plunging into the continental war. They were already successful in the Mediterranean; already the overbearing conduct of the English, in laying a nominal blockade on all the ports of France, had excited the general indignation of the Continent. The real policy of that country was to direct all their energies to the colonial and maritime war with England. It is probable that they thought to wring from George concessions in the colonies in exchange for the security of Hanover, which lay exactly between the contending parties. But Pitt at once apprehended the error they had made, and saw a great opportunity for raising the power of England. He knew that when France was busied in the endless difficulties of the European war, England, while subsidizing foreign troops, could employ her real power in completing her colonial empire. He therefore braved the charge of

Supported
by Pitt.

inconsistency, and threw himself heart and soul into the defence of Hanover and the support of Frederick. To understand how complete his apparent change of views was, and his courage in openly avowing them, the principles of the party which he had hitherto represented must be remembered. Though a section of the great Whig party, they differed in their views both as to foreign and domestic policy from the main body of the Whigs. To both the power of France was an object of dread. But,—while the official Whigs desired to check it by the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, by close connection with the continental powers, by money subsidies, and by occasional assistance of troops,—Pitt

Foreign policy
of the various
parties in
England.

and his friends thought that, as England was an island, its natural policy was to depend upon the navy; that as trade was our proper business, so the navy was our proper strength; that we did but weaken ourselves by entangling ourselves with foreign politics; that our army should be entirely defensive, and that we need have no fear of invasion while we commanded the sea. Thus while one party upheld the necessity of subsidies and a considerable standing army, the other wished for no

subsidies, a strong militia, and a powerful navy. The differences were not less in their respective views of home policy. The main body of the Whigs were desirous of retaining quite unchanged the Constitution as settled by the Revolution, and held that power must be secured by parliamentary influence and the distribution of patronage. In Pitt's more liberal view, parliamentary influence should have been unnecessary—a Government pleasing to the people, which a good Government would naturally be, would want no other support. Pitt's alliance with Newcastle and his acceptance of his parliamentary influence was as entirely opposed to this view as his maintenance of subsidies to the European powers was to all appearance opposed to his former views of foreign politics. But circumstances had arisen which to his mind entirely altered the position of England, and he frankly declared that it was for the sake of England that Hanover was threatened, and that he would win America for them in Germany.

The object Pitt set before him in his new ministry was to raise the national spirit. For this purpose he threw himself with all his vehemence into the war, and his energy became visible in every department. He at once assumed the whole conduct of foreign affairs, leaving to Newcastle the jobbery he so much liked; it is even said that the Admiralty had orders to sign his despatches and instructions without reading them. But he was met with difficulties arising from the bad Government and the bad appointments which he found on entering office. It was thus, with wholly inefficient generals, that he set to work to do what he could in the year 1757. True to his general view of employing England chiefly on the sea, it was to expeditions to the French coast that he at first looked for success. Before he was well seated in the ministry such an expedition had been despatched against Rochefort under Admiral Hawke and General Mordaunt. The fleet acted well enough, but Mordaunt and his soldiers brought the expedition to ruin, though Wolfe volunteered to capture the town if he might be intrusted with 500 men. In America the same want of success met the English. Lord Loudon was there commanding in chief, a man who was incessantly busy and never did anything; he was graphically described by Franklin as resembling a St. George and the dragon on the sign of an inn, always mounted on a galloping horse, but never advancing a step. Under such leadership the attack on Louisburg failed. Worse than this was the disaster which attended our troops in Germany. The Duke of Cumberland, bold and active,

Disasters of
the year
1757.

but no general, allowed himself to be outmanœuvred by Marshal D'Estrées, suffered the French to cross the Weser unopposed, was beaten at Hastenbach, and while attempting to cover the fortress of Stade, was surrounded by the French and compelled to sign the Convention of Klosterseven, by which it was agreed that his army should be entirely broken up, the auxiliaries sent to their homes, and the Hanoverian troops go into cantonments. To complete the misery of the situation, Frederick had himself suffered a disastrous defeat at Kolin, in Bohemia, while covering the siege of Prague. The extraordinary campaign which saved Prussia does not belong to our history; it is enough to understand, that with extreme rapidity he threw himself towards the western extremity of his widespread dominions, and filled the gap which Cumberland had left open. The great victory of Rosbach, in the neighbourhood of the Saale, over the French and Imperialists, rendered that flank secure for the present. Suddenly darting back again into Silesia, where his affairs had not been going prosperously in his absence, he completely defeated the Austrians at the battle of Lissa, north of the river Schneidwitz, and thus rendered that flank secure also.

This year, so disastrous in Europe, had been marked by the signal success of our arms in India, whither Clive, who had come home after his brilliant successes in the Carnatic, had again returned as Governor of Fort St. David. He had been summoned to Bengal to revenge the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and had there laid the foundation of the English power by the brilliant victory of Plassy.¹

The disasters which had met the English arms in all directions moved the anger of Pitt, and he determined on a thorough change of generals. In the place of Cumberland, who had shown his inefficiency in the last campaign, Ferdinand of Brunswick, a worthy disciple of Frederick's, was appointed to command the army of Hanover; and as the Convention of Klosterseven was repudiated by the English, he found the defeated army at Stade ready to receive him. Loudon gave place to Amherst and Wolfe. It was in America that the English troops were chiefly employed. The mouth of the St. Lawrence was guarded by Cape Breton Island and Louisburg. At New York the Hudson falls into the sea, and from its mouth there runs northward, nearly into the valley of the St. Lawrence, a valley and chain of lakes, of which the first is Lake Champlain. The fortress which holds the road is Ticonderoga. On the Ohio, as already mentioned,

Change of
generals.
1758.

Success in
America.

¹ See p. 1110.

was Fort Duquesne, where Fort Pittsburg now is. The French possessions were to be attacked by each of these three points. Amherst and Wolfe, with a fleet under Boscawen, were to capture Louisburg. Abercrombie was to push up the Hudson and take Ticonderoga, while to Forbes was intrusted the capture of Fort Duquesne. Working hand in hand, without jealousy, Amherst and Boscawen succeeded at once in capturing Louisburg, which had last year been supposed unassailable. Fort Duquesne was also taken. Ticonderoga, strong from its situation in the midst of water and marshes, resisted all efforts, but the line of junction between Canada and the Mississippi was effectually cut.

In Europe the same energy was visible. The army of Ferdinand was reinforced by a considerable number of English troops. Prince Ferdinand was opposed by the Count of Clermont, an unusually incapable general, who had in fact never before seen troops in the field. He succeeded in clearing Hanover and driving the French behind the Rhine at Creveld. He there defeated them with a loss of some 6000 men, but found himself unable to retain his advanced position, and recrossed the river. Pitt had often asserted that, much as he wished to uphold the cause of Frederick, nothing would induce him to send British blood to "the Elbe, to be lost in that ocean of gore." But this successful campaign induced him to change his view, and a considerable body of troops, about 12,000 in number, under the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, were sent to join Prince Ferdinand. These same officers had just been employed in executing one of those joint military and naval expeditions which Pitt seems at first to have thought the proper means by which England should assist in a continental war. Like all such isolated expeditions, it was of little value. St. Malo, against which it was directed, was found too strong to be taken, but a large quantity of shipping and naval stores was destroyed. The fleet also approached Cherbourg, but although the troops were actually in their boats ready to land, they were ordered to re-embark, and the fleet came home. Another somewhat similar expedition was sent out later in the year. In July General Bligh and Commodore Howe took and destroyed Cherbourg, but on attempting a similar assault on St. Malo, they found it too strong for them. The army had been landed in the Bay of St. Cast, and, while engaged in re-embarkation, it was attacked by some French

Victory of
Creveld.
June 23, 1758.

Expeditions to
Cherbourg and
St. Malo.

troops which had been hastily collected, and severely handled. In spite of this slight check it was plain that the tide of victory had changed. The campaign of King Frederick had been marked by chequered fortune. He had found the siege of Olmutz, in Moravia, beyond his strength, but upon the east of his dominions had won a great victory over the Russians, under General Fermor, at Zörndorf (August 25); and though he suffered a heavy defeat by a night surprise at Hofkirchen, he managed his retreat so ably, that before the end of the year he had rid Saxony of the Austrians and again secured Silesia.

The success which had marked the course of the British arms in all parts of the world continued to attend them, and this year (1759) is one of the most glorious in our military annals. Horace Walpole remarks, that "it was necessary to ask every morning what new victory there was for fear of missing one." In January came the news of the capture of Goree in Africa, in June the news of the capture of Guadaloupe, in August of the victory of Minden, in September of Lagos, in October of Quebec, and in November of Quiberon. The contrast between the England of 1757, crouching in fear within its own limits and crying for help to Hanover and Hesse, and the England of 1759 is indeed striking. There was again a threatened descent of the French upon England, but there was now no craven fear of such an event. Pitt had raised the temper of the people. The threat was regarded not only with indifference, but as a means of acquiring further triumph. England could well defend itself. The militia was called out and mobilized; the fleet was so large and in such order that it could efficiently watch all the French ports. Boats for the expedition were building at Havre; Rodney anchored in the harbour and bombarded it for fifty hours, destroying most of the boats; Boscawen was watching De la Clue at Toulon; Hawke was watching Conflans at Brest. Thurot, in Dunkirk, was also blockaded. This arrangement of fleets produced in the course of the year two great naval victories.

The French desired to connect their scattered squadrons. For this purpose De la Clue attempted to come out of Toulon and to join the fleets in the north of France. As he passed round Spain, Boscawen, whose duty it had been to watch him, fell upon his fleet off Lagos. Three of his ships were taken and two destroyed, while eight vessels, which had been separated from him, were lost as they came through the straits; so that, with the exception of two ships, the whole of his squadron was annihilated.

Victories of
the year
1759.

Naval victories
of Lagos and
Quiberon.

This was in August. Three months later (Nov.) a still greater success met the English navy. Sir Edward Hawke attacked the Brest fleet under Conflans off the point of Quiberon. He had been driven from his watch by stress of weather, and Conflans had taken the opportunity to come out of harbour, hoping to destroy a detached squadron which was off the coast. But Hawke's return was too quick for him. He made a junction with the detached squadron, and thus, superior in force to the French, drove them back towards the coast. The French withdrew among the rocky islets near the mouth of the Vilaine. It was blowing a gale, and the rocky coast was full of danger. But Hawke replied to the representations of his pilot by giving him peremptory orders, that whatever the risk might be, he was to lay his ship alongside of the French admiral's. "You have done your duty in showing me the danger, now you are to obey my orders and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal*." The victory was complete: two French ships struck, four were sunk, and the rest, all damaged, ran for shelter to the Vilaine. This blow, together with the complete destruction of Thurot's squadron, which had come out of Dunkirk and made a landing in Ireland, completed the practical annihilation of the French fleet. The total loss up to this time of the French navy was sixty-four ships, without counting Thurot's squadron. During the same time the English had lost but nine.

But the great victory of the year was the capture of Quebec. To secure Canada was one of Pitt's chief objects. Louisburg and Duquesne had already fallen, and the country itself was thus open to his attack. The French army was under the command of an excellent general, the Marquis de Montcalm, who had his headquarters at Quebec. General Amherst was the English commander-in-chief, but subordinates of more than usual vigour were necessary for him, and Pitt, who had kept his eye on Wolfe since the attack on Rochefort, and had seen his energy at the siege of Louisburg, disregarding all claims of seniority, intrusted to him the attack on Quebec. This was originally to be a combined movement. Amherst was to march up by Lakes Champlain and George, take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, where Abercrombie had failed last year, and thus reach the St. Lawrence. Generals Prideaux and Johnson were to take Fort Niagara, and then, passing down Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence, to join in the attack on Quebec, securing Montreal on the way. Though both these latter expeditions were successful, the difficulties met with rendered them so slow that the

CON. MON.

[P]

Capture of
Quebec.

combination failed. The plan was Pitt's own, and was probably too extensive; it may be doubted whether he had sufficient knowledge of what it is possible for an army to do. Wolfe, with 8000 men, embarked in the squadron of Admiral Saunders, and reached the Isle of Orleans in the St. Lawrence river on the 13th of June. The expedition experienced no disasters in the way, having fortunately captured a vessel with some excellent charts of the river.

Quebec lies on and below the rocky edge of a plateau on the left or northern bank of the St. Lawrence, just above the junction of the St. Charles river, which thus covers its eastern side. On the other side of the St. Charles the ground again rises and continues in a rugged and difficult mass, till it sinks where the river Montmorency falls into the St. Lawrence in a lofty waterfall. The ridge between the Montmorency and the St. Charles is called Beauport. On this Montcalm's army was in position, precluding the possibility of investing Quebec, to which he had access by a bridge across the St. Charles. On the other or Quebec side of the St. Charles, the heights on the edge of which the town is built extend up the St. Lawrence, and are called the Heights of Abraham. They were believed to be inaccessible to an army. The Isle of Orleans lies in the St. Lawrence from the mouth of the Montmorency till almost opposite Quebec harbour. As long as Montcalm's army occupied the line of Beauport Quebec could not be invested. In that position the army was unassailable. To draw him from it therefore was Wolfe's great object. For this purpose frequent feints were made, but were all unavailing. One assault indeed near the mouth of the Montmorency was attempted, but the English were beaten off. Nor were the defenders of the town idle; again and again were fire-ships sent down, but the skilful vigilance of Saunders rendered all such efforts unavailing. A battery or two were erected and the town was bombarded, but this did little or no good. It seemed plain that from the Isle of Orleans nothing could be done. The army was moved in succession to two points higher up the river and above Quebec. But Montcalm would not move; he was content to send an army of observation up the river, and the besiegers lost all hope of the succours they had expected from Amherst and Johnson. On the 9th of September, Wolfe wrote a despatch in which he seemed quite to despair of success. Within a week Quebec was taken. The bold design occurred to him of surprising the Heights of Abraham, and thus compelling Montcalm to fight. He ordered feints to be made both up and down the river while he quietly collected boats. As it was, they were so few in

number that his army had to cross in two divisions. Very early in the morning of the 13th of September he began his attempt. With immense toil, up a passage so narrow that at times only one could pass, his soldiers forced their way, and even dragged up one piece of artillery, and when the morning came Montcalm found between three and four thousand men in position opposite to him upon the heights. To cover Quebec it was necessary for him to withdraw his troops from Beauport and to cross the St. Charles. This he at once proceeded to do, and the battle began. Early in the day Wolfe, who was on the right wing, was wounded and carried to the rear, but before he died he had the gratification of knowing that the victory was secured. Both armies lost their first and second in command. Five days afterwards Quebec was surrendered. Wolfe was but thirty-three when he died; he entered the army at fourteen, and had seen much service; a shy, retiring, domestic man, of unprepossessing exterior and weak frame, he owed his promotion entirely to the feeling of confidence which his sound sense and chivalrous energy inspired. It is much to the credit of Pitt that he should have found out his merits, and having found them out have ventured to place so great a responsibility upon so young and unprepossessing a person.

While all the efforts in which the English were engaged single-handed had thus been successfully carried out, they had also, in conjunction with their German allies, won on the 1st of August the great battle of Minden. The French had early in the year taken possession of Frankfort. Their army, strongly reinforced—for the new ministry of the Duc de Choiseul began by being very energetic,—was divided into two; the northern corps under Marshal Contades, the southern army about Frankfort under De Broglie. An attempt of Ferdinand to regain Frankfort was frustrated by De Broglie, who beat him at the battle of Bergen. The two French armies then joined, and pressed upon the Prince till they drove him behind Minden, a town on the left or French side of the river Weser. It became clear to Ferdinand that a battle must be fought to save Hanover. He therefore advanced southwards up the Weser, carefully keeping his communications with that river open, while the object of the French seems to have been chiefly to separate him from it. By spreading his army so as to give it the appearance of weakness, though it was in reality capable of rapid concentration, he induced the French to leave an extremely strong position they had taken up upon Minden Heath, with their right covered by

the town, which was in their possession. A body of troops, apparently detached, upon the extreme left of the allies, and close to the Weser, was the bait by which the French were attracted. They hoped by destroying this ill-supported detachment to cut the Prince off from the river. But as De Broglie approached what he believed to be the weak point, he was surprised to find the whole allied army in array before him. Ferdinand by this clever trap brought his enemy to an engagement upon his own ground. The battle consisted in great part of a series of charges of French cavalry on compact bodies of the English and Hanoverian infantry. Weary with their futile exertions, the cavalry, who formed the centre of the French line, gave way. The line was broken, and a charge of cavalry alone was wanted to complete the destruction of the army. Three aide-de-camps were sent in succession to Lord George Sackville, bidding him charge. He pretended not to understand the order, and said he must consult the Prince in person. The same order was given to the Marquis of Granby, who commanded in the second line, and a vigorous charge made, but time had been wasted, and it was too late. The victory was however rendered tolerably complete by a body of 10,000 men, whom Prince Ferdinand had had the courage and foresight to detach from his army, although he was already numerically weaker than his enemy, for the purpose of cutting the enemy's communications. Lord George Sackville was tried by court martial and dismissed from all his military appointments.

The story of the British victories of the year is completed by the success of their arms in India, where the siege of Madras was raised, much of the Carnatic secured, and Wandewash taken by Colonel Coote.

It is necessary to say a few words about the war carried on under Frederick's own eye. The plan of the campaign was much the same as the last. The Russians advanced to gain the Oder, and fought and won the battle of Zullichau over General Wedel, after which they were joined by an Austrian army under Loudon. Against this united force the King advanced, leaving Daun's army already threatening Berlin. He met Saltikow and Loudon at Kunersdorf. The Russian position was forced, seventy cannon taken, and the victory appeared complete, when suddenly Loudon advanced with his troops and altered the fate of the day. In these two last battles the Prussian forces had been weakened by 30,000 men, and the King, feeling certain that he was at the end of his resources, made every arrangement for committing

Frederick's
fourth
campaign.

suicide. Unaccountably the enemy did not advance, and he had time to collect a few troops. But fortune was still against him; his general, Fink, with 12,000 men, was surrounded, and had to surrender at Maxen; Dresden had fallen into the hands of Daun. After this reinforcements from the army of Prince Ferdinand enabled the King to continue the campaign, till the extreme cold of winter made it necessary to go into winter quarters. The following year Frederick still made head against his gathering enemies. He was unable indeed to save Berlin from the hands of the Russians, but he rescued Silesia by the victory which he gained over Loudon at Liegnitz, and at his approach the Russians fled from his capital. He then turned his arms against Daun, who was still master of Saxony. The fearful battle of Torgau was fought, where the victory was secured to the Prussians, but at the cost of 14,000 men; the Austrians are said to have lost 20,000. This was the last pitched battle of the war.

Battle of
Torgau.
1760.

The constant success of his schemes raised Pitt to the highest eminence of power. His ministry was unopposed. Year by year he was enabled, without difficulty, to carry through the House a subsidy of £670,000 to the Prussian King, and to set his estimates at from twelve to twenty millions, a sum before this unheard of. His power over the House was absolute; members were actually afraid of replying to him, and the only difficulty which met him was the temper of his relative Temple, who insisted upon receiving the Garter, and almost shipwrecked the ministry by his selfish claims. It was at this moment of prosperity that the King suddenly died, and, as had long been expected, a change took place in the counsels of the Sovereign.

Pre-eminence
of Pitt.

The King dies.
Oct. 25, 1760.

GEORGE III.

1760-1820.

Born 1738 = Sophia-Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

George IV. Duke of York. d. 1827.	Frederick, William IV. (Duke of Clarence.) d. 1820.	Edward = Victoria Duke of Kent. d. 1820.	Ernest, King of Hanover. d. 1851.	Augustus, Duke of Sussex. d. 1843.	Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge. d. 1850.
Charlotte = King of Wurtemberg.	Augusta.	Elizabeth = Frederick of Hesse-Homburg.	Mary = Duke of Gloucester.	Sophia.	Amelia.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	Germany.	Spain.	Prussia.
Louis XV., 1715.	Francis I., 1745.	Charles III., 1759.	Frederick II., 1740.
Louis XVI., 1774.	Maria Theresa, 1745.	Charles IV., 1788.	Frederick William II., 1786.
Republic, 1793.	Joseph II., 1765.	Ferdinand VII., 1808.	Frederick William III., 1797.
Napoleon, 1804.	Leopold II., 1790.		
Louis XVIII., 1814.	Francis II., 1792.		
Russia.	Denmark.	Sweden.	
Elizabeth, 1741.	Frederick V., 1746.	Adolphus, 1751.	
Peter III., 1762.	Christian VII., 1765.	Gustavus III., 1771.	
Catherine II., 1762.	Frederick VI., 1808.	Gustavus IV., 1792.	
Paul I., 1796.		Charles XIII., 1809.	
Alexander, 1801.		Charles XIV., 1818.	

POPES.—Clement XIII., 1758. Clement XIV., 1769. Pius VI., 1775. Pius VII., 1800.

Archbishops.

Thomas Secker, 1758.
Frederick Cornwallis, 1768.
John Moore, 1783.
Charles Manners Sutton, 1805.

Lord Chancellors.

Lord Northington, 1757.
Lord Camden, 1760.
Charles Yorke, 1770.
In Commission, 1770.
Lord Bathurst, 1771.
Lord Thurlow, 1778.
Lord Loughborough, 1788.
Lord Thurlow, 1783.
Lord Loughborough, 1798.
Lord Eldon, 1801.
Lord Erskine, 1806.
Lord Eldon, 1807.

CHIEF MINISTERS FROM 1760-1788

1035

First Lords of the Treasury.

Oct. 1760. Newcastle.
May 1762. Bute.
April 1763. Grenville.
July 1765. Rockingham.
July 1766. Grafton.
Jan. 1770. North.
March 1782. Rockingham.
July 1782. Shelburne.
April 1783. Portland.
Dec. 1783. Pitt.

Chancellors of the Exchequer.

Oct. 1760. Legge.
March 1761. Barrington.
May 1762. Dashwood.
April 1763. Grenville.
July 1765. Dowdeswell.
July 1766. C. Townshend.
Sept. 1767. Mansfield.
Dec. 1767. North.
March 1782. Cavendish.
July 1782. Pitt.
April 1783. Cavendish.
Dec. 1783. Pitt.

Secretaries of State.

Oct. 1760 { Pitt. Holderness.	Oct. 1768 { Weymouth. Rochford.
March 1761 { Pitt. Bute.	Dec. 1770 { Sandwich. Rochford.
Oct. 1761 { Egremont. Bute.	1771 { Suffolk. Rochford.
May 1762 { Egremont. G. Grenville.	Oct. 1775 { Suffolk. Weymouth.
Oct. 1762 { Egremont. Halifax.	Nov. 1779 { Hillsborough. Stormont.
Sept. 1763 { Sandwich. Halifax.	March 1782 { Fox. Shelburne.
July 1765 { Conway. Grafton.	July 1782 { T. Townshend. Graham.
May 1766 { Conway. Richmond.	April 1783 { Fox. North.
Aug. 1766 { Conway. Shelburne.	Dec. 1783 { Carmarthen. Sydney.
Dec. 1767 { Weymouth. Shelburne.	

ON the 25th of October news was brought to the Prince of Wales that his grandfather was dead. It was an event which must have been for some time expected, and George III. and his friends were prepared for it. His training had been somewhat peculiar. The Princess of Wales, his mother, had kept him much secluded, and his education had been chiefly withdrawn from the hands of the distinguished men whom the King had given him as governors, and intrusted to sub-preceptors of the Princess's own choosing. Her constant friend and adviser in this and other family matters had been Lord Bute, who had thereby acquired the greatest influence over the young King. It was understood that henceforth his advice would chiefly regulate the policy of the Crown. His influence and that of the teachers he had selected, some of them it is believed nominated by Bolingbroke, had all tended politically in one direction, so much so that complaints had been made, though uselessly, to the late King of the unconstitutional precepts which his heir was being taught. The views with which the young Prince's mind was filled were those which Bolingbroke

had developed in "The Patriot King." The beneficent rule of a powerful monarch governing his people by his own will, but for their good, was the ideal he had been taught to set before him. It was pointed out to him that since 1688 the will of the sovereign had been held captive by that great Whig party which had produced the Revolution and secured the Hanoverian succession. And it had been impressed upon him that it was his duty to free the prerogative from this state of servitude, and to annihilate party government by restoring to the Crown its freedom of choice and action. It was with the deliberate intention of carrying out this plan that the King began his reign. Nor was the plan, had it been properly executed, either impossible or unjust. It was felt that the old party divisions were in fact obsolete, that Whig and Tory, in the sense of Hanoverian

*George's view
of royalty.*

and Jacobite, were things of the past; and that it was highly detrimental to the public service that able and loyal men should be excluded from all share of the Government because, very frequently on only hereditary grounds, they belonged to a party opposed to the great Whig connection. Yet such had been the case. Parliamentary contests had, till Pitt's accession to power, been nothing but greedy struggles for place and power between two sections of the Whig party which had separated in 1716. Had the King made use of his present popularity, and of that advantage which he possessed over his predecessors in his English birth, to exercise his prerogative of choice in selecting eminent men from all parties for his ministry, and had he taken for his chief minister a man who stood well with the nation, the feeling of the country would almost certainly have gone with him. Unfortunately his somewhat narrow intellect and his restricted education made him unable to take a wide view of his position, filled him with a vehement prejudice against the whole Whig party, and made him rest for support on the personal friendship of a second-rate man, who laboured under the unpopularity attending his Scotch birth and his supposed favour with the Princess of Wales.

The behaviour of the young King was at first all that could be desired. In his family relations indeed he was nearly always respectable. He still further added to his popularity by directing a change in the law with regard to the judges, so that their commissions no longer terminated with the death of the King. They henceforward held their commissions for life, unless deprived of them at the joint petition of the two Houses of Parliament. They were thus rendered absolutely independent of Court favour.

The six months which elapsed before the dissolution of Parliament passed without any great changes, although there was no lack of indication of what was coming. The King's name was constantly put forward. Newcastle, who had kept all patronage in his hands, found places filled without his knowledge, and complained that he was met with the uniform answer that it was the King's desire; and Bute openly rebuked Lord Anson for filling the Admiralty boroughs without consulting the King. With the dissolution of Parliament the changes in the ministry began. Legge gave place at the Exchequer to Lord Barrington; Charles Townshend became Secretary at War, and Dashwood, another follower of Bute's, took the place that Townshend vacated, while four days afterwards (March 25th) Bute was appointed one of the Secretaries of State in the place of Lord Holderness, who had been removed and handsomely compensated. The admission of Bute to the ministry could hardly fail to produce the dismissal of Pitt, for on the great question of the day they were in direct antagonism. Bute, in pursuance of his policy of opposition to all that the Whigs had done, was determined if possible to break off the English connection with the Continent; and, unable to see the difference between buying troops from a Prince of Hesse and assisting the greatest monarch of the time in a war from which England was reaping nothing but benefit, he intended to refuse the payment of the King of Prussia's subsidy, and was strongly bent upon peace.

*First signs
of change.
1761.*

Frederick's own campaign of 1760 had closed, as has been already said, with the dreadful battle of Torgau, and the same year Prince Ferdinand had held the French in check, worsting them at Warburg, but had been unable to keep them out of Göttingen and Cassel; and the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, detached to the siege of Wesel, had been defeated at Kloster-Campen. In 1761 the campaign was continued, and the Duke of Broglie was driven back to the Maine and beaten at Langensaltza. But Prince Ferdinand was not strong enough to keep what he had regained. The French again advanced, and in June the Prince of Soubise joined the Duke de Broglie, and they together moved forward to the Lippe. They were defeated at Kirch-Denkern, but the effect of the victory was small, and both armies closed the year in much the same position as they began it. These campaigns, resulting in little but loss of life, and the exertions which they entailed, and which had brought France to the verge of bankruptcy, had become intolerable; and early in the year De Choiseul had induced

*The campaign
of 1761 pro-
duces a desire
for peace.*

both Austria and Russia to consent to negotiations at Augsburg. But as the connection of England with the continental question was accidental, and her quarrel with France quite separate from it, it was thought expedient that a separate arrangement should be made between the two countries. For this purpose M. de Bussy was in June sent to England and Mr. Hans Stanley to Paris.

The terms offered by the French were not unreasonable. The difficulties lay in Pitt's views as to the rights of England, which were undoubtedly very high. He had, as he said that he was able to do, raised England from her degradation. He had done this by means of a successful war, and had no mind to lose his work or to consent to what would be but a mere cessation of hostilities. He would have, he said, no new Peace of Utrecht. Choiseul's first offer (on the 26th of March) was, that each of the belligerents should keep what they held in Europe on the 1st of May, in West India and Africa on the 1st of July, and in India on the 1st of September. Pitt refused this, insisting that the date fixed in all cases should be that of the signature of the treaty. He was hoping in fact that fresh victories

Separate negotiations between France and England. June 1761.

Pitt opposes peace.

would improve his position; nor was he disappointed. Before the end of July Belleisle, an island which must be considered an integral part of France, Dominique in the West Indies, and Pondicherry in the East, were added to our conquests. The territorial arrangements were for the most part easily settled; but three demands of the French Pitt obstinately refused to grant. These were the restoration of one of her African settlements and Belleisle in exchange for portions of Germany then in her possession—these Pitt demanded without exchange; secondly, compensation for prizes taken before the declaration of war; and lastly, the withdrawal of all English troops from Germany. As the first of these demands was not unreasonable, as the second was obviously just, and the third belonged, and could probably have been transferred, to the general Congress, Pitt would scarcely have refused them had he not seen reason for believing that the propositions of the French were hollow. The fact is, he was already beginning to suspect, and more than suspect, the existence of a treaty inimical to English interests between France and Spain. Ever since the accession of Charles III. to the Spanish throne, in the year 1759, the two Courts had been gradually approaching one another; and the policy which Marlborough's wars had been designed to check was gradually winning its object. In July De Bussy, on presenting the draft of the proposed

Suspecting the existence of the Family Compact.

treaty, appended to it certain claims on the part of Spain, desiring that these might be settled at the same time as the French claims. Pitt was naturally indignant at this, and haughtily replied, that France was "not at any time to presume a right of intermeddling in such disputes between Great Britain and Spain." The Spanish minister, General Wall, owned that he was cognizant of the measure, but expressed peaceful wishes with regard to England. However, though Bristol, the English minister at Madrid, had been so completely deceived that he continued to assert the friendly disposition of the Spanish Court, the correctness of Pitt's surmises became evident, when in August the arrangement known as the Family Compact was signed. By this treaty the Bourbon houses of Spain and France contracted a close and perpetual alliance. Besides France and Spain the Bourbon Princes of Naples and Parma were to be admitted to it. There was a secret clause binding Spain to declare war on England if peace was not made before May 1762. The knowledge of this treaty induced Pitt not only to break off negotiations, but to determine upon war with Spain, for which he immediately made preparations, planning a great expedition against Havannah in the West and Manilla in the East Indies. With his usual haughtiness, he urged these measures upon the Council, but Temple alone supported him. He indignantly declared that he would not be responsible for measures he did not manage, and on the 5th of October resigned. Thus terminated that splendid administration which had raised England from the depths of degradation to a position of first-rate importance in Europe.

Pitt resigns. Oct. 5, 1761.

Bute was at once practically supreme in the Council, although he had yet to rid himself of Newcastle. He was afraid of Pitt's popularity, and did his best to injure him by persuading him to accept a pension, and the title of Lady Chatham for his wife, hoping by that means to make it appear that Pitt was not hostile to his Government, or at all events to wreck his popularity, which rested largely on the public belief in his disinterestedness. Lord Egremont became Secretary in his place. Before the year was over Pitt's wisdom was vindicated. The change of ministry in England and the safe arrival of the treasure-ships, which Pitt would have forestalled, changed the tone of the Spanish Government, and even the pacific Bute found it necessary to declare war in January 1762. Already the impossibility of Bute's peaceful view was demonstrated, but he none the less prevented the payment of the Prussian subsidy; although this looked

Bute virtual minister.

War with Spain. 1762.

very like a breach of faith, it could be urged in extenuation that Frederick's need was much lessened by the death of the Czarina and the accession of Peter III., a devoted friend and admirer of the Prussian King. Bute's policy was indeed so completely opposed to that of his predecessors, that there is reason to believe that he even used his influence to induce Russia to withdraw from its new alliance. This change of policy afforded Newcastle, who was conscious that he was sooner or later to be got rid of, an opportunity of leaving the ministry with dignity. On his resignation Bute at once named himself Prime Minister, and proceeded to carry out, in some points at least, his favourite principles. These were peace at almost any price, and the abandonment of continental connections, the increase and restoration of the power of the Crown, and Government without bribery. But these aspirations degenerated in practice into a war, which was successful owing to his predecessor's arrangements, a vindictive assault upon the Whig party, and the most shameless corruption ever practised in England. The expeditions which Pitt had planned were carried out. Martinique, held to be impregnable, and with it Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, were captured by a squadron under Rodney, and this was but a stepping-stone to the capture of the still greater prize — Havanna. The expedition against the Philippine Islands was equally successful.

But Bute, in his eagerness for peace, did not even wait to hear the result of the expeditions, but at once reopened peace negotiations with France. Left to himself, he would have taken no account of the last great conquests. Councillors less anxious for peace succeeded in getting them exchanged for Florida. In November the peace was signed. The conditions were much the same as those of the preceding year. Canada passed wholly to the English, the French retaining St. Pierre and Miquelon, with the rights of fishing. England kept Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, but restored Martinique and St. Lucia. Minorca and Belleisle were to be exchanged. The French evacuated their conquests in Germany, but on the other hand—and this was a concession Pitt had refused—Goree was restored to France, and the English army was withdrawn from Germany. In India the French were to have no military establishment, but their factories were restored. All the Spanish claims on England were rejected. On the whole, the peace, though it did not destroy the House of Bourbon, as Pitt would have wished, probably gave England as much as she had a right to expect. The conclusion of the treaty was

Terms of the
peace.
Nov. 3, 1762.

rendered easier by Frederick's continued successes in Germany. Although the Czarina Catherine, who had succeeded Peter, had reverted to the old policy of Russia, and withdrawn her troops from Frederick's assistance, he had been able to retain his superiority throughout the campaign. Prince Ferdinand had gained fresh successes in Westphalia, and had taken Cassel from the French; while Prince Henry, Frederick's brother, had won a victory at Freiberg, which closed the Seven Years' War.

Close of the
Seven Years'
War.

Bute, while thus obtaining peace, though in a way so irritating to our German friends that England stood henceforward absolutely without allies, had been carrying on his vindictive attack upon the Whigs. The opportunity selected for this purpose was the passage of the peace through Parliament. Grenville, a man of firmness, but without commanding abilities, and deficient in tact, had taken Pitt's place as Leader of the House of Commons. But he was not regarded as strong enough to make head against the opposition which was expected, for the Whigs of all sections, conscious of Bute's designs against them, were beginning to combine. Bute selected a man of greater powers to assist him. He bargained with Fox (whose conscience was not scrupulous when money was to be made) to assume the lead of the House. It was hoped that he might bring some Whigs with him. This he found himself unable to do, and with consummate audacity set to work to purchase a majority. The Paymaster's office became in fact a shop for the purchase of votes, £200 being the least price given. Against such a majority all efforts were of course useless, and the peace received the approbation of Parliament. After this victory vengeance began. The Duke of Devonshire, the head of the great Whig house of Cavendish, for declining to attend a Cabinet Council, was rudely deprived of the office of Chamberlain, and the King with his own hand scratched his name off the list of Privy Councillors. All place-men who had voted against the peace were dismissed. Newcastle and Rockingham were removed from their Lord Lieutenancies, and even the meanest officers of the administration—tax-gatherers and customhouse officers, who owed their places to Whig patronage, were removed. Bute appeared triumphant. Even the cider tax, a ridiculously unfair excise suggested by the ignorance of Dashwood, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, was carried by a large majority in his venal House. Suddenly Bute resigned. It is difficult to explain why. Perhaps it was because he was conscious of the unpopularity

Attack on
the Whigs.
Feb. 10, 1763.

Bute resigns.
April 6, 1763.

he had incurred. His Peace of Paris was distasteful to the nation; he had driven from office Pitt, the favourite of the people; he was a Scotchman; the voice of scandal constantly coupled his name with that of the Princess Dowager of Wales, and the odious name of favourite was indissolubly attached to him. Whether well or ill founded, his unpopularity had reached such a pitch, that he was afraid to leave his house without a bodyguard of prize-fighters. Perhaps experience had taught him his unfitness to conduct the Government. Perhaps, and this was the general belief of the time, he preferred the irresponsible power of the favourite to the dangers and responsibility of

the minister. He named Grenville for his successor, and as he had always used him as his creature, he probably still hoped to find him a pliant tool. In this he was disappointed; and though for a few years he doubtless had much private influence with the King, this part of his career has been much exaggerated, and he himself complained bitterly of the King's ingratitude.

With Grenville the Secretaries of State, Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax, were regarded as holding the direction of public affairs. This ministry has therefore been sometimes called The Triumvirate. Bute found them by no means ready to accept his interference, and soon began to intrigue against them. Grenville more than once complained to the King of his want of confidence. The sudden death of Lord Egremont gave an opportunity for a change in the ministry, and Bute so far changed his former policy as to recommend the King to send for Pitt. A long interview with the King, in which Pitt stated the necessity of bringing back some of the Whig connection to power, left him with the impression that he was to be minister, and he wrote to the Whig chiefs accordingly. But two days after, on a second interview, he found matters changed. The King wished the Earl of Northumberland, Bute's intended son-in-law, to be Prime Minister, and desired several of the present ministry to be retained. This Pitt would not hear of, designating Temple, Devonshire, and others who had just fallen under the King's displeasure, as his colleagues. The negotiation was broken off. Probably on the day which intervened between the two interviews Bute had changed his mind. In carrying through the peace negotiations he had been assisted by that section of the Whigs which was under the influence of the Duke of Bedford. It is to this section that Fox belonged. The Duke, though of a retiring character, was now induced to accept office

He names Grenville as his successor.
The Triumvirate ministry.
1763.

Bedford joins the ministry.

by a false rumour, that Pitt had expressly declared that he would not admit him to any Government of which he was the chief. A mixed ministry of the followers of Grenville and Bedford was formed, and is generally known by the name of the Bedford Ministry. The Secretaries of State were Halifax and Lord Sandwich, a man of mean character and licentious morals.

The new ministry met Parliament on the 15th of November, and both Houses were at once occupied with questions with regard to Wilkes. The unpopularity of Bute had found expression in numerous pamphlets. Among the Opposition writers was Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, who, in conjunction with an author of the name of Churchill, had established a paper, *The North Briton*, in which the favourite and his Government had been very roughly handled, and which won popularity by unreasoning general assaults upon the Scotch nation. He had so far exceeded the usual practice of pamphleteers of the time as to write the names of his opponents at full length, instead of employing initials. When the King had prorogued Parliament (April 23rd) on Bute's resignation, he had spoken of the peace as honourable to his crown and beneficial to the people. This produced an attack in the famous No. 45 of *The North Briton*. Grenville had at once proceeded against the author. A general warrant (that is, a warrant in which no individual names are mentioned) was issued against the authors, printers, and publishers of the paper, and under it Wilkes was apprehended, his house and papers being also ransacked. He at once became a political martyr. The chiefs of the Opposition, Temple and Grafton, visited him in his prison, and he proceeded to try the validity of his arrest. Chief Justice Pratt, before whom the case came, held that Wilkes was exempted from arrest by his privilege as a member; for a member of Parliament is free from arrest on all charges except those of treason, felony, and breach of the peace, and a libel, he said, could not be construed as a breach of the peace. But though the law had failed to punish him, he was pursued by the vengeance of the Government; he was deprived of his commission in the militia, and his supporter, Temple, was removed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire. The result of the trial was received with public rejoicings in all corners of England. This dispute between Government and a scurrilous writer, of most licentious morals, would be scarcely worth mentioning, although it occupied nearly the whole session, were it not one of the proofs of the want of harmony existing between Parliament and those whom Parliament

The trial of Wilkes.
1763.

was held to represent. It was one of several incidents which showed that the venal House of Commons, consisting of nominees of the Court or great families, was rapidly ceasing to command the obedience of the people, and that the machinery of the Constitution was thereby becoming dislocated.

The question at once came before both Houses. In the House of Lords it assumed a personal form. Lord Sandwich, a former friend of Wilkes, and his associate in his greatest debauchery, but now Secretary of State, did not think it unbecoming to produce an obscene parody on Pope's "Essay on Man," of which Wilkes was the author, and demand his punishment. The book had never been published; fourteen copies had been privately printed; it had come into Sandwich's possession when Wilkes's house was ransacked, and afterwards by tampering with Wilkes's printer. Sandwich complained of it as a breach of privilege, for it was addressed to him. "Awake, my Sandwich!" it began, instead of "Awake, my St. John!" of Pope's Essay, and ridiculous notes were added, attributed to Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, who had annotated Pope's work. In the House of Commons Wilkes rose and complained of his imprisonment as a breach of privilege, but he met with little sympathy. By a large majority No. 45 was voted to be a seditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. A dangerous riot was the consequence, nor was the operation completed till a jackboot and petticoat, the popular emblems of the Princess of Wales and Lord Bute, were committed to the flames to share the fate of the obnoxious publication. Further proceedings against Wilkes were postponed by a duel in which he was engaged

Wilkes is expelled by the Lower House.

with a Mr. Martin, who had grossly insulted him, and in which he was wounded; but he was eventually expelled from his place in the House. On the two constitutional questions which were involved in this quarrel—the construction to be given to the privilege of members and the legality of general warrants—the popular party was defeated, in spite of the powerful support of Pitt. In opposition to the Courts of Law, Parliament held that privilege could not cover a seditious libel; and Grenville and his majority contrived to shelve a resolution which was introduced declaring the illegality of general warrants. The whole question excited the intensest interest; the House is said to have once sat for seventeen hours. Wilkes, unable to withstand all the assaults upon him, had, in spite of his popularity, been obliged to withdraw to France.

Grenville and his ministry had hardly completed this quarrel, in which they had wantonly embroiled Parliament and people, when they took a fresh step which, though well intentioned, was destined, from the way in which it was carried out, to lose England the best of her colonies.

The thirteen American provinces owed their origin to many different causes, and were very distinct both in their character and laws. There was, in the first place, the group of New England provinces, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire (which included what is now called Vermont), and Rhode Island; these owed their origin to the Pilgrim Fathers, and though the first zeal of their Puritan religion had died away, much of the stern character of their original founders remained among the population: their capital was Boston, almost surrounded by the sea, and already a port of very considerable importance and wealth; the Hudson formed their boundary towards the west. Then there came a group of provinces originally belonging to the Dutch, and known as the New Netherlands. These had come into the hands of England during the war between Holland and England in the reign of Charles II., and had been granted to the Duke of York. New Amsterdam became New York, and Fort Orange, higher up the stream, Albany. Another part of the same grant was New Jersey, lying between the Hudson and the Delaware. This had been given for payment by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; the western part had been subsequently parted with by Berkeley to the Quakers, and the whole province, which was surrendered to the Crown in the reign of Queen Anne, was therefore known commonly as the Jerseys, and was peopled almost exclusively by Quakers, Presbyterians and Anabaptists. Spreading from their colony in New Jersey, the Quakers, under their great leader William Penn, had occupied the large province of Pennsylvania, with its capital Philadelphia lying inland to the west. One other province belongs to this group, Maryland, which was regarded as a sort of appendage to Pennsylvania, but had a separate assembly of its own; the governor however was generally the same as the Pennsylvanian governor. Below these two groups were three great colonies, owing their origin to less easily defined sources. Virginia, south of the Potomac, originally founded by Raleigh, had then (by a grant of King James I.) passed into the hands of merchant adventurers. Behaving badly, and quarrelling with their colonists, they were deprived of their rights, and in 1624 the colony became a Crown

Origin of the American provinces.

CON. MON.

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colony. It had been peopled principally by Church of England men and by men of good English birth. As the oldest colony it was the best peopled, while the birth and character of its proprietors, who resembled English gentlemen, caused them to be regarded as the aristocracy of the colonies. The two Carolinas had been granted to a number of proprietors in the reign of Charles II., but, as in most other cases, the original proprietors had quarrelled with the people, and sold their rights to the Crown. Below these Carolinas was Georgia, founded for philanthropic purposes as a refuge for insolvent debtors and persecuted Germans by General Oglethorpe, the originator of the inquiry into the English prisons in 1728. The only power not English now in North America was that of Spain, which had received a portion of Louisiana from the French in exchange for Florida, which they had been obliged to cede to the English. French influence had disappeared after the Peace of Paris.

There was an infinite variety of religion, law and government in these provinces, but in all a certain assimilation to the English Constitution; a house of assembly, an upper house or council, sometimes elected, sometimes nominated by the governor, and the governor himself in the Crown colonies nominated by the King and the proprietors in conjunction. The population appears to have been about two and a half millions.

The old view of the use of colonies was that they should be employed entirely for the advantage of the mother country. It was held that, by the mere fact of their existence, and for the protection they received, they were bound by a debt of gratitude. They were thus the constant subject of mercantile legislation in favour of the mother country, and by the existing navigation laws very close restrictions were laid upon their trade. By those laws the colonies were prohibited from procuring a large number of articles—those, namely, which formed the chief manufactures of England—anywhere except from the mother country. They thus became naturally one of our principal purchasers. Although their imports into England were considerable, the balance of trade was constantly against them—that is, taken as a whole, they constantly owed large sums of money to England. This balance had, of course, from time to time to be made up by payments in actual money, which was chiefly procured by the colonies by means of illicit trade, carried on partly with the West India Islands, but chiefly with the Spanish colonies of America, and was illicit chiefly in that it broke the customhouse regulations of Spain. The

Constitution of
the provinces.

Restrictions
on colonial
trade.

colonial illicit or free trade, as it was called, was regarded in point of morality as something quite different from European smuggling. It was carried on openly and systematically by the best colonial merchants, and enabled the colonies to get rid of their timber and those wooden products known under the name of lumber, and also of a considerable quantity of their farm produce which would otherwise have been wasted. A wise minister would not have thought of meddling with such a business, which was in fact the only means by which the colonists were enabled to carry on conveniently their trade with England. But Grenville, with his narrow and legal turn of mind, could see no difference between colonial smuggling and smuggling in England. This he was determined to put down, and not content with the ordinary means of repression, English men-of-war were employed in all directions as customhouse vessels, and naval officers, people said, were degraded into customhouse officers of the King of Spain. The effect was a crushing blow to the trade of America. And, as if to render the position of the colonists still more distressing, in 1764 a series of enactments were made, laying duties upon various articles for the benefit of England,—at the same time declaring for the first time the right of England to raise a revenue from her colonies; and while the quantity of money in America had been considerably diminished by the stoppage of the free trade, the present Act was rendered more irksome by ordering all the duties imposed to be paid in hard cash into the English Exchequer. It was coupled, too, with another Act stopping the use of paper money in America. Taken together, this series of arrangements had therefore produced the following effects—a large branch of commerce, the chief source of ready money, was destroyed; at the same time more ready money was demanded by England; and the colonists saw themselves prevented even from carrying on their domestic trade in the ordinary channels.

These measures had produced retaliation from the Americans; it had been determined that as little trade as possible should be carried on with England. Lamb was not to be eaten, and lambs were not killed, in order to increase the stock of sheep for the supply of the wool which was England's great manufacture; and in all other possible ways men denied themselves European luxuries. It has been said that the preamble of the Act for the new duties stated the necessity for raising a revenue from the English colonies, and at the same time Grenville had proposed a Stamp

General sup-
pression of
smuggling.

The Stamp
Act.

Act as one of the means of raising such revenue. With singular want of wisdom, though with kindly feeling, he put off bringing in a Bill for the establishment of this tax, which would be an article of excise or inland duty, till the assemblies of the different colonies had stated their views with regard to it. The Americans, though probably without any real legal grounds, drew a line between the levying of customs and the imposing of an inland tax. It is probable that by the strict letter of the law they were liable to both, for even the Long Parliament had only granted temporary exemptions from taxation. But when their attention was drawn to the intentions and claims of the English Parliament, and when a tax, new in fact though perhaps not in principle, was suggested to them, and a year given them to talk it over, it was natural that their opposition should be roused. Five colonies sent petitions against the new measures, but they were wholly disregarded, and the Stamp Act passed without much opposition in Parliament.

The ministry seemed unusually strong—it had triumphed over Wilkes; and its financial policy, though ruinous, had been accepted—when suddenly the King became alarmingly ill, suffering from that loss of intellect which afterwards incapacitated him from reigning. In alarm at this illness, on his recovery he desired a Regency Bill to be passed. The natural person to have appointed Regent would have been the Queen. The King had been hastily married in the first year of his reign (1761) to the Princess Sophia of Mecklenburg, a marriage which, as it was contracted chiefly by the influence of the Princess Dowager and Lord Bute, and without the will of the King, for the purpose of withdrawing him from his dangerous love for Lady Sarah Lennox, might have been expected to turn out ill, but which became in fact a happy lifelong union. The King however, instead of suggesting, as was natural, that his wife should be Regent, desired to keep the appointment in his own hands. The Government objected to this, without limitations, and suggested that the King's choice should lie among the Queen and the members of the Royal Family resident in England. When this Bill was brought forward it was pertinently asked who the Royal Family were? and it became evident that the ministry did not themselves know how to define it. They ultimately concluded, however, that the Princess Dowager was not a relation of her own son. In making this ridiculous assertion, and insulting the Princess by excluding her name, they were probably instigated by the dread of a Bute ministry in

The King's
illness.

The Regency
Bill
1765.

case anything should happen to the King. In pursuance of this policy, Halifax hurried to the King, and persuaded him that the unpopularity of the Princess Dowager was such that the introduction of her name in the Bill would infallibly be followed by its omission on the demand of the Commons, and the Princess thus exposed to public insult. The King, taken off his guard, and naturally wishing to spare his mother so public a mark of disrespect, consented to the omission of her name. The Bill was brought into the House of Lords and passed, limiting the regency to the Queen and the descendants of the late King and Queen resident in England. When the Lord Chancellor—an honest man—explained to the King what he had done, he was much disturbed, but no entreaties of his could move Grenville to change the Bill. Upon its introduction into the Lower House the absence of the name of the Princess was at once remarked, and a large majority voted for its introduction; thus making obvious to the King the shameless trick of which he had been the victim. For this he could not forgive Grenville and Bedford, and at once began arrangements for getting rid of them.

For this purpose he called in the assistance and experience of his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, whose upright and consistent conduct had given him an authority and importance which he had not sought. He was a firm Whig, and had of late years regarded Pitt as the real head of that great party. To him therefore the Duke now applied. In a long interview Pitt explained his views and stated his terms. He demanded that an alliance with the Protestant powers of Europe should be entered into, to balance the Family Compact, that general warrants should henceforward be declared illegal, and that officers dismissed for political reasons should be restored. Everything seemed to promise success, but Pitt wished to see Temple, to whom he was bound by ties of relationship, party, personal friendship, and even pecuniary assistance. After his interview with Temple it was evident that some obstacle had arisen, and the negotiation was broken off. The fact is, that Temple, infinitely Pitt's inferior, had come to terms with George Grenville, and was planning a family Grenville ministry; and Pitt's lofty view of his obligations to his brother-in-law prevented him from breaking with him. The King was thus thrown back, bound hand and foot, into the hands of his old ministry. They would consent to remain in their places if the King would pledge himself to dismiss Bute from his friendship, to get rid of Fox, now Lord Holland, from the Paymastership, turn Mr. Stuart

Negotiations for
a change of
ministry.

Mackenzie out of his place as Privy Seal for Scotland, make Lord Granby Commander-in-Chief instead of the Duke of Cumberland, and give Ireland to the ministry, which meant the dismissal of the Earl of Northumberland, Bute's son-in-law, from the Lord-Lieutenancy—a mere set of personal and vindictive conditions, contrasting finely with Pitt's political demands. Such as they were the King was obliged to accept them, but he could not bring himself to like or trust his ministry, and after a strong, though not perhaps unduly strong, representation from Bedford against the underhand employment of the King's influence against his own ministers, he determined that he would rid himself of them, even at the cost of accepting the Whig Houses. Pitt was again applied to, talked honestly and simply to the Duke of Cumberland, stating as his terms an European alliance, the abolition of general warrants, the repeal of the cider tax, and a change in American taxation, thus in his two sets of terms clearing himself of all complicity with the follies of the present Government. But Temple refused to take the position of Prime Minister except as the head of a Grenville administration, and Pitt with infinite sorrow gave up the negotiation, sold his house at Hayes, and declared his intention of retiring to Somersetshire, where an admiring stranger had lately left him the house of Burton-Pynsent.

The Duke of Cumberland, finding that Pitt was by some means separated from the great Whig party, applied directly to its acknowledged family chiefs, who agreed to form a ministry, putting forward as their head Lord Rockingham, a sporting man of sound sense and large possessions, but no power of language or popular government.¹ Under him were the Duke of Grafton with no parliamentary experience, General Conway, a sensible man, but without any of the gifts of leadership, to whom was intrusted the management of the House of Commons, and the veteran Duke of Newcastle, to whom was given the Privy Seal, with a special perquisite of the patronage of the Church. With the exception of Lord Chancellor Northington, there was in fact scarcely any one of the requisite degree of efficiency in the ministry. Its life could not be a long one. It is fair to say that Burke, who was now first introduced to public life by Lord Rockingham, speaks highly of him for enlargement of mind, clear sense, and unshaken fortitude.

This weak Government found on its hands a question of difficulty

¹ He seldom spoke. When Lord Sandwich was one day attacking him, a friend asked him, "How could you worry a poor dumb creature so?"

too great for it. The Stamp Act had been very badly received in America; there had been riots in many of the towns, involving much loss of property; the collectors had been obliged to renounce their offices, and the stamped paper had been destroyed. Virginia had solemnly protested in regular form through the House of Burgesses; and a Congress of delegates of nine or ten of the States had met at New York (October), and passed resolutions, claiming for the provincial assemblies the exclusive right of taxation. At home the merchants had begun to feel the effects of the self-denying determination of the Americans, in a diminution of their trade, and of the enforcement of the laws against smuggling, in the impossibility of getting money payments for their goods. The sum due is stated variously at two to three millions. During the recess of Parliament the writings and proceedings of the ministry had an air of weakness, and finally, unable to act vigorously themselves, they determined to put the matter into the hands of Parliament.

In January Parliament met, and on the 14th the subject was brought before the House. There was a great debate. Burke then made his maiden speech, and was followed by Pitt, who had not yet expressed his views, and had indeed absented himself from the House for a year. Expectation was raised to the highest pitch, and in a magnificent speech he declared, what till that moment had in England been scarcely thought of, that Parliament had *no right* to tax the colonies, for taxation and representation went hand in hand. He however, like the Americans, drew a line between taxation and customs. Customs he regarded in the light of trade regulations, and therefore in the hands of the Imperial Legislature. After a speech of weak acquiescence from Conway, Grenville made an able reply; he exposed the fallacy of distinguishing between taxes and duties, alleged many instances of the taxation of unrepresented bodies, and charged the Americans with ingratitude for declining to pay for a war so entirely in their own interest as the last. Pitt, though he had spoken, was, contrary to the rules of the House, called upon by the general voice to speak again. He rose, and declared himself ready to answer Grenville on every point. His reply was such as a statesman must make to a lawyer. "I rejoice," he cried, "that America has resisted; three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to have made slaves of the rest." He had not come down with the "statute book doubled down in

Question of
American
taxation.

Return of Pitt,
and his declar-
ation of views.
1766.

dog's ears to defend the cause of liberty," and as to gratitude, he supposed that all the bounties to America were for English purposes. There was a trade with America of £3,000,000 a year, and it was trade which carried England through the last war. "This you owe to America, and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a peppercorn into the Exchequer to the loss of millions to the nation?" He closed by stating his belief that England could crush America to atoms, but the triumph would be hazardous. If she fell she would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Constitution with her. He advised the immediate and entire repeal of the Stamp Act, but that the other rights of Parliament, apart from taxation, should be clearly declared. There was no doubt much weight in Grenville's instances of imperfect representation, but they were not wisely urged against Pitt, who in his first speech had himself pointed out in very trenchant words the wretched state of the representative system in England. Indeed, he almost alone seems to have understood the real meaning of the Wilkes riots, and to have wished to bring Parliament and the people into harmony. Pitt's bold speech encouraged the ministers to act, and after a long examination of witnesses, among whom Franklin, who had come over as an agent to oppose the Act, was the most important, the Repeal of the Stamp Act was proposed and carried amid the enthusiasm of the mercantile and liberal world on the 21st of February. For this time Pitt's political wisdom had saved England from a disastrous breach with her colonies.

Once embarked on a policy of repeal, the Rockingham ministry continued to reverse the acts of its predecessors. The trade of America was again fostered, and Dominique and Jamaica were made free ports; the obnoxious cider tax was ameliorated, general warrants were condemned, as was also the practice of depriving military officers of their commands for political opposition. General Conway was himself the last victim of this practice. Foreign manufactured silks were also prohibited, and thus the clamours of the Spitalfields weavers were silenced, which, during Grenville's administration, had produced a riot directed chiefly against the Duke of Bedford. But, in spite of these healing measures, the Government was never strong. The King detested it as being distinctly a party Government, and the abilities of the ministry were not conspicuous. They tried in vain to induce Pitt to join them. Upon the failure of this negotiation the King

The Stamp Act repealed.

Weakness of the Government.

was glad to have recourse again to that great man. For the third time since the close of his administration Pitt had the destinies of the nation in his hand. Twice his Quixotic attachment to his friend Lord Temple had ruined his plans. He had always aimed at a broader basis of government than mere personal or party connection, and during his great administration had succeeded in acting independently. There was something therefore in common between him and the King, though no doubt their view of the destruction of party was different. To Pitt it meant the selection of able men of all political connections, under his own pre-eminent guidance, to form a ministry, which should work for the national good, and be responsible to the nation. To the King it meant the selection of efficient administrators, without any pre-eminent minister, and answerable to himself. There was apparently, however, enough in common between them to induce Pitt to accept the administration, and to break off his connection with Temple, who insisted, as a condition of his support, that the whole of the Rockingham party should be dismissed. Pitt, on the other hand, determined on a fusion with that party. Rockingham himself left the ministry, but his chief supporters remained under Pitt. Grafton was nominally Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, Conway and Shelburne were the Secretaries of State, Charles Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Northington became Lord President, and was succeeded as Chancellor by Pitt's friend Pratt, Lord Camden. Pitt himself surprised the world by taking a peerage as Lord Chatham and the small office of Privy Seal. In acting thus he no doubt miscalculated his strength; he felt himself unable from his growing infirmities to continue to lead the House of Commons, and believed, as he had indeed good right to believe, that his personal character and influence would enable him, in whatever position he might be, to blend the ministry from whatever party he chose them into an harmonious administration. The effect did not answer his expectations. His acceptance of a peerage was regarded as the acceptance of a bribe, especially as his avowed principle in the selection of his colleagues was the same as that rendered so unpopular by Bute and the King—the destruction of party. He thus lost his popularity; of party influence he had little or none; he was deficient in knowledge of party tactics, which during his great administration had been in the hands of Newcastle. His natural arrogance had grown on him, and was rendered worse by his irritable state of health. He tried to win the Bedford party, but

Pitt becomes Lord Chatham and Prime Minister. July 1766.

would not give them enough. He introduced a number of Tories and courtiers into the administration, and thus shocked the great Whig party; and when, as shortly happened, illness obscured for a time his intellect, the ministry lost all cohesion and fell to pieces.

But though thus failing as a tactician, it was impossible for Pitt to be in office without setting on foot magnificent and beneficial plans.

He immediately began the new foreign policy which he had so often sketched. Mr. Hans Stanley was despatched to the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg to cement an alliance against the house of Bourbon. But at Berlin he met but a cold reception. Frederick, whose character was as mean and selfish as his abilities were great, did not care in the least for the defence of Protestantism or for the safety of England, now that his own safety did not depend upon her friendship. Indeed, since Bute's withdrawal from the war he had hated England heartily, and alleged the want of continuity in English policy as a reason for engaging in no alliances. In truth, his mind was already fixed upon his wicked plan for the dismemberment of Poland. Pitt, now Lord Chatham, was thus foiled at the outset, and his foreign policy failed. Two other great schemes he was unable to bring to completion; one for the better government of Ireland, and the other for what he saw would speedily become a matter of the greatest importance—the regulation of our Indian conquests. He intended to do what we have but lately seen done,—assume for the Crown the sovereignty of India, and confine the Company to their proper and mercantile pursuits.

In the midst of these vast schemes, having given indications that he contemplated a Reform Bill, an India Bill, the pacification and better government of Ireland, alliances which would have forestalled the great alliances of his son, and a plan which might perhaps have retained America, Chatham fell ill at Bath, and the Government ceased to have a natural head.

While Chatham was thus absent from his post his reckless Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a scheme for again raising revenue from America. The sum was indeed a very small one—£40,000, and raised upon tea, glass, and paper, and therefore falling, it might be urged, under the head of those mercantile arrangements which the colonies admitted the right of Parliament to make; but in the present state of affairs in America it was a mere act of madness. The repeal of the Stamp Act had been made conditional on

Chatham's
comprehensive
plans.

Chatham's
illness and
mental failure.
Jan. 1767.

Townshend's
financial
measures.

the repayment of property injured in the riots. This the Assemblies had agreed to only with much grumbling, and the Assembly of New York had gone so far in its opposition to a requisition for supplying necessities to the troops that it had been suspended. While America was in this irritable condition Townshend's measure came to inflame the smouldering mass.

What Chatham had spoken of as the rotten part of the Constitution was, early in the year 1768, brought into full play. There was a general election, in which bribery and the purchase of seats were shamelessly employed. £4000 is said to have been the average price of a small borough. Oxford offered to re-elect its members for £7500, to be applied to the liquidation of a corporation debt; and to show how ridiculously inefficient the representation was, it may be mentioned that in a population of eight millions there were only a hundred and sixty thousand voters. The people were by this time beginning, though perhaps somewhat blindly, to feel that the representative body did not really represent them, and, as usual, they fixed upon one individual, and that not a very worthy one, as a representative of this feeling. Wilkes had already been a popular martyr and the victim of the vengeance both of King and Parliament. He now presented himself for election in London. He was there rejected, but immediately afterwards elected by a large majority in the county of Middlesex. His election produced riots in London, and the Government—contrary probably to their own judgment, and urged by the King—determined to interfere. Wilkes was apprehended as an outlaw, and riots ensued, which were suppressed only by the use of the troops. Twenty people were killed and wounded. The military were not only acquitted when tried upon the charge of murder, but were rewarded by Government. The anger of the people increased, and in the riots which ensued in various parts of England the point immediately at issue was complicated with other social questions, many depressed trades taking the opportunity of exhibiting their discontent. The Government which had to deal with this difficulty was the Duke of Grafton's—Chatham immediately upon his recovery had retired from it, and Lord Shelburne had also left it. Grafton, without views of his own, had become the mere tool in the hands of the King and his party. George was set with dogged obstinacy upon the suppression of insubordination in America and the destruction of Wilkes in England. Under such circumstances the war with the people was

Corruption of
Parliament.
1768.

Wilkes elected
for Middlesex.
1768.

carried to extremes. When a vacancy occurred in the representation for Middlesex there was a fresh contest, and Glynn, a partisan of Wilkes, was elected. In the attendant riots a life was lost; the pardon of two men who were convicted, though perhaps on insufficient evidence, for having caused the death, still further irritated the people. Wilkes's petitions were neglected, and on his publishing a severe letter against Lord Weymouth, Secretary of State, the House, instead of leaving the matter to the Law Courts, declared it a breach of privilege, and unable to pronounce a libel against a Peer a breach of the privileges of the Commons, they proceeded, perfectly illegally, to have Wilkes arrested and brought to the bar of the House, and there tried for libel. Wilkes avowed the letter, and Lord Barrington, Secretary of War, and one of the "King's friends," moved his expulsion. A new writ was issued for Middlesex, and Wilkes was re-elected almost unanimously. The House voted that he could not sit, and a fresh writ was issued, and Wilkes was again unanimously elected. Another election was ordered, and this time the Government contrived to get about three hundred votes for Colonel Luttrell against eleven hundred given for Wilkes. The House declared that Luttrell was the member. So iniquitous a decision raised Wilkes into the position of a great popular leader, and was not carried without many vigorous protests from the most influential members of the Liberal party. It tended much to lessen the power of the ministry; both great cities and great counties held meetings to express their want of confidence in the present representation and to ask for a dissolution.

Nor did the ministry strengthen itself by its dealings with America.

The difficulties in America. The new imposts of 1767 had been received with great indignation by the colonists, especially in Massachusetts. There the governor, Francis Barnard, seems to have been totally destitute of all power of conciliation. He was backed up by Lord Hillsborough, Colonial Secretary, scarcely more temperate than himself. The Assembly, in its quarrel with the governor, issued a circular letter to the other colonies, calling for their co-operation against the new taxes. They refused to retract this step at the command of Lord Hillsborough, and were dissolved. The difficulties of the crisis went on increasing. The customhouse commissioners were foolish enough to capture and detain an illicit trader; serious riots were the consequence; the commissioners were mobbed and their houses robbed. The spirit of resistance spread. The Society of Sons and Daughters of Liberty, who refused to use imported goods,

multiplied in other colonies. The view of the Government was not conciliation, but coercion. Troops and ships of war were crowded into Boston. In England the feeling was strongly against the Americans. Coercive measures were recommended and applauded; Francis Barnard was raised to the rank of a Baronet; the conduct of the people of Boston gravely censured in Parliament; and at length Bedford's section of the Whigs produced a motion which could hardly fail to excite resistance. The Duke moved, and the Parliament applauded his motion, that as it was probable that American juries would sympathize with their countrymen, the rioters might be withdrawn from their country, in accordance with an obsolete law of treason of the reign of Henry VIII. This measure, which seemed to deprive the colonists of their first rights as Englishmen, met with deserved execration both at home and in America. But to crown all, and to put the ministers quite in the wrong, some general action on their part was wanting. This want was supplied when the conciliatory efforts of Grafton were defeated in his own Cabinet. He suggested the removal of all taxation of America. English pride forbade the Council to accept a measure which they thought derogatory to the rights of an Imperial nation. Therefore, for the mere purpose of asserting the right, they agreed to the removal of all taxes but one, and insisted that the tax on tea should be kept. Thus the original principle of the right to tax was upheld, and the sting still left to rankle in the minds of the Americans.

The unpopularity which their conduct had brought on the ministry was increased by the vigorous and bitter assaults of Letters of Junius. This anonymous writer, probably Sir Philip Junius. Francis, lost no opportunity of attacking, with the greatest animosity, the Duke of Grafton and his supporters, not even sparing the King, and by his bold assaults, excellent style, and by the mystery which hung over him, drew upon himself much public attention, and directed men's minds to all the weaknesses of the administration.

The incompetency of the ministry was indeed becoming obvious. In the first place it was divided within itself. The Weakness of the ministry. Prime Minister, with the Chancellor and some others, were remnants of the Chatham ministry and admirers of Chatham's policy. The rest of the Cabinet were either men who represented Bedford's party, or members of that class whose views are sufficiently explained by their name, "the King's friends." Grafton, fonder of hunting and the turf than of politics, had by his indolence suffered himself to fall under the influence of the last-named party, and uncon-

stitutional action had been the result which had brought discontent in England to the verge of open outbreak. Hillsborough, under the same influence, was hurrying along the road which led to the loss of America. On this point the Prime Minister had found himself in a minority in his own Cabinet. France too, under Choiseul, in alliance with Spain, was beginning to think of revenge for the losses of the Seven Years' War. A crisis was evidently approaching, and the Opposition began to close their ranks. Chatham, yielding again to the necessities of party, made a public profession of friendship with Temple and George Grenville; and though there was no cordial connection, there was external alliance between the brothers and the old Whigs under Rockingham. In the first session of 1770 the storm broke. Notwithstanding the state of public affairs, the chief topic of the King's speech was the murrain among "horned beasts,"—a speech not of a king, but, said Junius, of "a ruined grazier." Chatham at once moved an amendment when the address in answer to this speech was proposed. He deplored the want of all European alliances, the fruit of our desertion of our allies at the Peace of Paris; he blamed the conduct of the ministry with regard to America, which, he thought, needed much gentle handling, inveighed strongly against the action of the Lower House in the case of Wilkes, and ended by moving that that action should at once be taken into consideration. At the sound of their old leader's voice his followers in the Cabinet could no longer be silent. Camden declared he had been a most unwilling party to the persecution of Wilkes, and though retaining the Seals, attacked and voted against the ministry. In the Lower House, Granby, one of the most popular men in England, followed the same course. James Grenville and Dunning, the Solicitor-General, also resigned. Chatham's motion was lost, but was followed up by

Camden,
Granby and
Grafton resign.

Rockingham, who asked for a night to consider the state of the nation. Grafton found it nearly impossible to prop up his falling ministry; the Great Seal went, as Lord Shelburne said, a-begging. Charles Yorke was indeed induced to take it in spite of his former political connections, but, overwhelmed apparently by the coldness of his former friends, he committed suicide. Grafton thus found himself in no state to meet the Opposition, and in his heart still admiring Chatham, and much disliking business, he suddenly and unexpectedly gave in his resignation the very day fixed for Rockingham's motion.

The Opposition seemed to have everything in their own hands, but there was no real cordiality between the two sections. The

Rockingham party despised the City friends of Chatham, who, under the leadership of Lord Mayor Beckford, had become prominent in the Wilkite riots, and since that time by a somewhat impertinent use of the right which the City possessed of directly approaching the King with petitions. They dreaded also the paramount influence the Grenville party were nearly sure to possess in any joint Government. On the other hand, Chatham despised the half measures and moderation constantly advocated by the Rockingham party. The King, with much quickness and decision, took advantage of this disunion. To him it was of paramount importance to retain his friends in office, and to avoid a new Parliament elected in the present excited state of the nation.

Want of cordial
alliance among
the Opposition.

There was only one of the late ministry capable of assuming the position of Prime Minister. This was Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to him the King immediately and successfully applied, so that while the different sections of the Opposition were still unable to decide on any united action, they were astonished to find the old ministry reconstituted and their opportunity gone. The new Prime Minister was a man whose unwieldy person and want of grace seemed little to fit him for the command of a popular assembly. His frame was bulky, his action very awkward, and his shortsighted, protruding eyes, swollen cheeks and over-large tongue, enabled Walpole to compare him to a blind trumpeter. But under this awkward exterior he had great capacity for business and administration, and much sound sense; he was a first-rate debater, and gifted with a wonderful sweetness of temper, which enabled him to listen unmoved, or even to sleep, during the most violent attacks upon himself, and to turn aside the bitterest invectives with a happy joke. With his accession to the Premiership the unstable character of the Government ceased. Resting on the King, making himself no more than an instrument of the King's will, and thus commanding the support of all royal influence, from whatever source derived, North was able to bid defiance to all enemies, till the ill effects of such a system of government and of the King's policy became so evident, that the clamour for a really responsible minister grew too loud to be disregarded.

The King sends
for Lord North
and avoids a
dissolution.

Thus is closed the great constitutional struggle of the early part of the reign—the struggle of the King, supported by the unrepresented masses, and the more liberal and independent of those who were represented, against the domination of the House of Commons. It was an attempt to break those trammels

Triumph of the
King's policy.

which, under the guise of liberty, the upper classes, the great lords and landed aristocracy, had succeeded after the Revolution in laying on both Crown and people. In that struggle the King had been victorious. But he did not recognize the alliance which had enabled him to succeed. He did not understand that the people had other objects much beyond his own. He saw that they felt thus far with him, that they disliked the comparative servitude in which he was placed, that they felt hurt at the coercion frequently brought to bear upon him by the dominant faction, that they were willing and anxious to assist him in breaking those ties of party, which were little else than the ties of faction and class. Seeing this, he did not recognize that the people were equally disinclined for the establishment of personal government, that they wanted to strengthen the Crown and to weaken the Whig party, chiefly as a means of attaining to a more complete system of self-government. He believed that his own power and his own skill had been chiefly instrumental in the success which had met his efforts. He had no intention of allowing any of the fruits of that success to fall to any but himself. Kind-hearted and well-meaning, he wished to govern for the good of his people, but he distinctly wished to govern for them and not to let them govern for themselves. It is thus that during the ministry of North, and of those who preceded him, the royal influence was constantly employed in repression,—repression of all popular movements at home, repression of all attempts at liberty in the colonies; and this principle Lord North, backed by a servile House of Commons, was able to uphold.

The House was indeed notoriously under ministerial influence, and one of the last acts of Grenville was to attempt a reform in one particular at least. Disputed elections had hitherto been referred to a Committee of the whole House, and had thus become the merest party questions, in which the right and wrong of the case was never thought of. Grenville's measure, which was carried against considerable opposition, gave the cognizance of such questions to a select Committee, with judicial powers, and themselves bound by oath. Even thus justice was not secured, and though the number of the Committee was subsequently again decreased and fresh measures taken to secure fair decisions, it has lately been found necessary to put the settlement of election petitions into the hands of some of the regular judges. This important measure closed the career of Grenville; before the year was out he died. Thus Lord North found himself relieved from an able

Grenville's
reform of elec-
tion petitions.
1770.

opponent, while the Opposition lost one of its chiefs, and became still more disorganized. About the same time the death of the Marquis of Granby, who by his popularity had formed a link between Chatham's party and the rest of the Opposition, still further weakened that body, and left North with comparatively easy work on his hands.

It was the American question which still pressed for solution. Profound anger had been aroused by Bedford's vindictive proposal, and by the maintenance even in a single instance of the right to tax. Hitherto the quarrel had been principally with the New Englanders, but a more general opposition was evidently approaching when the aristocratic province of Virginia came forward to take the lead. When a solemn demand in the House of Burgesses for the repeal of the obnoxious measures of the English Parliament had only produced a dissolution of the House by the Governor, Lord Botetourt, an organized opposition was formed by men who subsequently became the chief actors in the War of Independence. A declaration, signed by Washington, Patrick Henry, Randolph and Jefferson, was issued against importing British goods till the restrictions of 1767 had been withdrawn. In Massachusetts the cry against the troops and the King's ships was continued, and there too the legislative assembly was prorogued. The complaint made against the number of soldiers kept in the province, and the consequent danger of collision, was not groundless. On the 5th of March a riot took place; and though Captain Preston, who commanded the soldiers, gave no orders to fire, the troops were unable to command their temper, and some blood was shed. This "massacre," as it was called, did much still further to embitter the feelings of the people of Boston. It is pleasant to see that even amidst the wild political excitement Preston and his soldiers got a fair trial, and, being defended by John Adams (afterwards President), were acquitted. This fray happened the very day that Lord North in England announced his determination of clinging to the policy of Lord Hillsborough, and said he was ready to remove all taxes except that on tea. In vain was it pointed out to him that the value of the tax was little more than £300 a year, and that the Americans had now made up their minds on the principle, and did not care for the mere lessening of burdens. He persisted in his view, saying that the Americans deserved no indulgence, and his motion was supported in the House, by 204 against 142. For a brief space the American question seemed

Increased
irritation in
America.

Lord North
upholds Lord
Hillsborough's
policy.

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settled. Massachusetts and Virginia still continued loud in their expressions of discontent, but in most parts of the continent the question now seemed rather a small one, and the hostile measures against English trade were generally disregarded.

This period of quiet lasted about three years, during which the ministry of Lord North constantly acquired strength, though there were not wanting signs of the great faults which characterized its policy. In the affair of the Falkland Islands, indeed, in spite of the outcries of the Opposition, there seems to have been no real lack either of prudence or firmness. These desert islands had been occupied by the English as a point of importance in the South Seas.

*Affair of the
Falkland
Islands.*

Both French and Spaniards had turned their attention to them also, and a Spanish settlement, called Fort Soledad, had been formed on one of the islands. The English had, however, no idea that their neighbours intended to dispossess them, when, in June 1770, a force of Spaniards from Buenos Ayres arrived off Fort Egmont, and obliged the garrison to retire. This outrage in the midst of peace very nearly plunged the nation into war with Spain and France; for it was Choiseul who was the instigator of the difficulty, and the skill of Harris (afterwards Lord Malmesbury), Chargé d'affaires in Spain, would probably have failed to avert it had not Madame Dubarry, who had lately gained complete influence over Louis XV., seized the opportunity to overthrow the minister. On his fall Madame Dubarry's clique, D'Aiguillon, Terray, and Maupeou, became paramount in France, and, as might be expected under such circumstances, that country ceased for a time to have much influence in European politics.

The unpopular character of the Government had prevented even its energetic and successful demand for the restoration of Fort Egmont from passing without censure in London. Murmurs against the press warrants had been heard, and opposition to them had been overruled chiefly by Chatham's influence. But the feeling of discontent broke out in full force the following year. Great jealousy had always been felt in Parliament as to reports of the debates held there, and such meagre accounts as had been published, from the memory of hearers or other private sources, had habitually been brought out under some disguise and with an affectation of secrecy. In 1770 this habit had passed into disuse. The Commons, already angry with the House of Lords for having excluded strangers, and indignant that, while the Lords secured secrecy their own debates were

*The liberty
of reporting
Parliamentary
debates.*

publicly reported, resolved to enforce the existing orders against some of the printers of reports. Among others, one Miller was summoned to be reprimanded. He however refused to come, saying he was a livery-man of the City. A messenger sent to fetch him was himself apprehended and taken before the Lord Mayor, Brass Crosby, and Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes. These magistrates supported the arrest and held the messenger to bail. The House was very indignant. As the Mayor and Oliver were members, they justified in their places in Parliament what they had done, and were committed to the Tower. This was a sign for a renewal of the riots attending the Wilkite difficulties. Mobs filled the streets, and Lord North was ill used. The City took up the part of its members, who lived in prison at the public expense; and although the law courts held that the City was in the wrong, appearances became so threatening that the House let the matter quietly drop; and on the prorogation in May the prisoners were allowed to leave their confinement in triumphal procession, and the question was not again raised. This secured for ever the liberty of reporting.

In spite of this victory the popular party in the City was losing ground, and Wilkes was not the name of power it once had been; while within the walls of Parliament the ministry was constantly acquiring strength and the Opposition becoming more and more broken up. Grafton had again consented to return to office; Lord Sandwich, a follower of the Duke of Bedford, accepted the Admiralty. Lord Suffolk, the leader of what was left of Grenville's party, became Secretary of State. The Opposition was thus reduced to the party of Rockingham and such few followers as consistently clung to Lord Chatham, but these two sections could never work well together, and the three Whig propositions of the year were all lost by want of union. The want of harmony between the Parliament and the country, and the consequent need of some reform, had been shown by the late quarrels in the City. Chatham brought in a Bill with that object, embodying his old plan of increased county representation. This, as it seemed the only manner of securing an addition of independent members, and as there was not yet in existence an important manufacturing and industrial element unrepresented, was probably the best measure that could have been taken. But it did not find favour with the Rockingham party, and was put aside. The same fate attended an effort on the part of the Rockingham party to define the law of libel, and to give the jury in such cases the right of settling not only the fact of

*Lord North's
ministry
gathers
strength.*

publication, but the character of the libel. Chatham thought that measure should have been left for him, and a ridiculous struggle between the two Whig sections in the House was the result. On the third question, the dissolution of the present Parliament, which had been the favourite object of all the City opposition and addresses, Chatham found himself almost alone. While thus all effective opposition disappeared, Lord North found his chief parliamentary support in his law officers. Thurlow, his Attorney-General, and Wedderburn, his Solicitor, afterwards Lord Loughborough, brought—the one the weight of great legal knowledge, very strong sense, a wonderful power of invective, and a determination of character almost brutal; the other a time-serving readiness and facile elegant eloquence which was always at the service of his chief.

Excellent as the King's domestic life was, he did not escape the family discomforts which so constantly attended the house of Hanover. Two of his brothers gave him much displeasure by their marriages. The Duke of Cumberland,¹ a man of libertine life, after scandalizing the world by appearing as defendant in a case of criminal conversation, married Mrs. Horton, a sister of that Colonel Luttrell who had been forced upon the electors of Middlesex; while the Duke of Gloucester now declared his marriage with Lady Waldegrave, an illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole. To guard against such marriages in future, the Royal Marriage Bill was passed, which forbids any member of the Royal Family, unless children of princesses married abroad, to marry before the age of twenty-five without the King's consent. After that age they must give a twelvemonth's notice of their intended marriage, which may be completed unless it be petitioned against by both

Royal Marriage Law.
1772.

Houses of Parliament. A more real disgrace than these marriages was the fate of George's sister, Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark. Her husband was a disgusting and licentious sot, whose villanous conduct so changed her naturally good disposition, that it was not found difficult for her enemies to gain credence for a story which connected her name in a disreputable manner with a certain Struensee, at that time favourite and Prime Minister in Denmark. This man, a physician by profession, had acquired absolute control over the King's mind, and had speedily risen to power. His enemies were of course numerous, and the opportunity offered them by the Queen's conduct only too favourable. Struensee and the Queen were suddenly

¹ The old Duke of Cumberland had died in 1766.

apprehended by night, and the Queen, after some remonstrance from King George, allowed to retire to Zell, where she died after a few years, protesting her innocence. Struensee, however, was executed, and confessed the crime with which he and the Queen were charged.

From such comparatively trivial matters as royal marriages and misconduct it is necessary to turn to what forms one of the darkest passages in the political history of Europe. Division of Poland. England, under the guidance of a ministry bound to support the selfish policy of a King whose real aim was solely the aggrandizement of the Crown, had held selfishly aloof from foreign affairs. France had just disgraced the last capable and vigorous minister she possessed, and lay supine under the hands of the King's scandalous mistress. So these two great countries, to their eternal disgrace, looked calmly on while the Eastern powers, without reason or plea of reason, dismembered an old kingdom and reduced a noble people to slavery. The institutions of Poland were very different from those of the rest of Europe, and such as lent themselves easily to the plans of encroaching neighbours. Since the failure of the house of Jagellon (1572) the monarchy had been elective. So great a prize had naturally attracted the notice of foreign Constitution of Poland. powers, who sought to secure the advancement of their own interests by obtaining the election of some favourite candidate of their own. Faction within the country was the inevitable consequence, and the arrangements of the constitution made faction permanent. There was no middle class. The nation had not gone through the same processes as other Western people. Nobility was easily obtained, and each member of the nobility ranked as the peer of all its peculiar institutions. the rest. Below the ranks of the nobility came the serfs. Political power, and also most of the executive, was vested in this wide aristocratical democracy. Usually delegates of the nobles constituted a governing house. Sometimes the whole body could, and did, claim the right of legislating. In the delegates' house one veto could check the progress of any law. If to this is added that the nation was divided by fierce differences in religion, it will be seen that no fairer field for foreign intrigue can be conceived. Nor, in spite of their individual bravery, were the Poles in a position to withstand force; the nobility still clung to their old habit of fighting on horseback, so that, at a time when modern warfare had fairly begun, there was no infantry but such as consisted of serfs. The strength of the army still consisted in an irregular body of light horse. Well might

the Czarina Catherine say that anything might be had from Poland for the trouble of picking it up. She had made the experiment. On the death of Augustus of Saxony, in 1764, Russia had compelled the Poles to elect a late favourite of the Empress, Stanislas Poniatowsky, and from the time of his election had in fact treated Poland as her own property. It had been the hereditary policy of France to withstand Russian influence in Poland, and during Choiseul's ministry this policy was continued. The Turks were induced to make a war with Russia, which, though disastrous to them, no doubt somewhat lengthened the dying agonies of Poland. The confederates, who opposed in arms the reigning king and the Russian party, chiefly on the ground that they had insisted on the rights of the dissidents or dissenters in opposition to the orthodox Catholics, received constant though secret help from France. The conduct of Austria also was as yet ambiguous, and, judging by its natural interests, should have been opposed to that of Russia. On such hopes the confederates rested. Occasional success lured them on more rapidly to inevitable ruin. But France was too far away to give real help. Choiseul fell before the intrigues of the Dubarry party, and neither nation nor ministry was in a temper or position to pursue with energy a distant and unselfish policy. On the other hand, Austria speedily began to see more advantage in joining the prosperous and rising powers of Eastern Europe than in trying to prop up against them a falling cause. It became evident that Russia would soon be absolute master of the kingdom. Frederick of Prussia could not see such an accession to the power of his dangerous neighbour without taking some corresponding measures, and as a Prussian army entered and pillaged ruthlessly all the northern provinces, it became plain that there existed some understanding between Frederick and the Empress. The movement of Austrian troops, at first supposed to be friendly to the confederates, soon proved that Maria Theresa, however grandly she might write and speak, had joined in the conspiracy of robbers; and before the year 1772 was over the treaty made early in the year was declared; and the necessary concessions were wrung with much violence from the King and legislature, absolutely unable to assert any will of their own. The final ratification took place in May 1773. The kingdom was to be partitioned. Each of the three great neighbours was to receive a portion somewhat in proportion to its size. Russia got 87,500 square miles; Austria 62,500; Prussia only 9,465 square miles, but these containing the best and most industrious part

Treaty of
Partition.

of the nation. What remained was formed into an hereditary monarchy in the house of Stanislas. It is fair to say, as an excuse for the supineness with which England looked on at this vast national crime, that the best and wisest of her statesmen had systematically directed their attention to the depression of the house of Bourbon. In the system of balance of power, as then understood, nothing was regarded as so likely to prove a check on the power of that house as the increase of the influence of Russia. Any movement in favour of Poland must have been in union with France and in opposition to Russia, and would have tended at first to reverse that action, which was generally regarded as most consistent with the safety of English interests. In the face of recent facts (1871), it may be clearly evident that the dangers of Europe come from the East and not from the West; but it is not fair to blame statesmen or nations because they did not foresee the French Revolution and its consequences, nor to throw indiscriminate censure on the whole system of the balance of power because it has sometimes produced disasters. As long as the social constitution of Europe remains the same as it has been since the breaking up of the feudal system, as long as the feeling of nationality survives, in some form or other the balance of power is a necessary safeguard to national independence. The fictitious divisions into which Europe has by dynastic influences been forced, and the maintenance of which has been the chief cause of the disrepute into which the system of balance has fallen, have disappeared, or are disappearing, before more natural and truly national divisions; but until these in their turn give way to some wholly new industrial organization the undue preponderance of one nation must be an object of dread to all the rest, and their efforts must be directed, as events afford opportunity, to diminishing that preponderance.

It is fair also to say that the ministry had enough upon their hands already. Although there had been a comparative cessation of the troubles in America, there had been many signs that they were by no means over. The more advanced leaders, indeed, in Massachusetts were too determined in their views and too skilful as managers of agitation to let the friends of the English connection, though doubtless considerably the larger part of the population, carry the day through their inactivity. The discontent of the colonies had been sedulously kept alive by the skill and vigour of the leaders of the Opposition party. In the midst of constant quarrels with their governor, Hutchinson, an American by

American
affairs.
1773.

birth, the Massachusetts leaders appointed a committee of twenty-one for the purpose of organizing opposition to the Government. This step was followed by Virginia, where, in 1773, a corresponding committee of still wider scope was appointed; and at length two events occurred which entirely destroyed all hope of a peaceful accommodation. These incidents were the publication of some letters of Hutchinson, and an arrangement with the India Company which had in reality no connection with the quarrel. In June 1773, certain letters were laid before the House of Representatives of Massachusetts purporting to be written by Hutchinson, their governor, and his brother-in-law, Oliver, Lieutenant-Governor. These letters, written in 1767 and the two following years to Whately, the private secretary of Grenville, were of a private and friendly character. They took a view favourable to the Government, and stated the opinion of the writer, that a firm exhibition of authority would best tend to check the colonial discontent. The letters had been forwarded from England by Dr. Franklin, who was acting as agent for Massachusetts. As they were private letters, and Mr. Whately was dead, it is impossible that Franklin should not have known that they had come into his hands by unfair means. He had not the least right to use them. Indeed, on sending them to America he made a stipulation that they should not be published. Of course such a stipulation in the heat of a political quarrel was intended to be broken; and they were not only produced and read, and acknowledged by Hutchinson, but published. Their effect was very great; it seemed to the Americans as if the English Government had been urged to all its acts of severity by a party of traitors among themselves. The House of Representatives at once addressed the King, warmly demanding the removal of Hutchinson from his place as governor, since he had, they said, betrayed his trust, and given private, partial, and false information to Government. The petition was sent to Lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded Lord

Dunning's
petition
rejected.
1774.

Hillsborough as Colonial Secretary, by him it was laid before the King, who referred it to the Privy Council. The Council, consisting chiefly of "the King's friends," met in January 1774. Franklin, as Colonial agent, was present. The petitioners were represented by Dunning, the great Opposition advocate. The administration had unwisely given the affair the air of a Government question by naming Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, as Hutchinson's counsel. Dunning contented himself with saying that the petitioners had no impeachment to make, no facts to prove; they only appealed to the King's judgment. With most unwise

want of reticence, Wedderburn, feeling himself in the presence of a very favourable audience, gave vent to a furious diatribe against America, and more especially against Franklin—a man, he said, to be shunned by all honest men, from whom men would henceforth hide their papers; in short, a thief. The Council heard, laughed, and applauded. Franklin stood unmoved, no muscle showing how much he felt the insult, but it did not miss its mark. For him from that day no accommodation was possible, and the brown suit in which he stood was put by, to be worn again only when the treaty declaring America independent was signed. The petition, in which a people had expressed their earnest and passionate feelings, was declared frivolous and vexatious, and Franklin was removed at once from his office of Deputy Postmaster for the colonies.

Wedderburn had, no doubt, in his violent invective only expressed the feeling of most of the English nation; only a few weeks after the meeting of the Privy Council news had reached England which was not likely to render the bitterness between the two people less. In 1772 the India Company had come to Parliament demanding a loan. Much censure had been thrown on their officers and their manner of action, and alterations had been insisted on, which placed the Company very much at the mercy of Government. As a sort of compensation a Bill was brought in in their favour, by which they were enabled to export their teas from their London warehouses to the American colonies free from the English duties, and liable only to the much smaller duty to be levied in the colony. This measure would allow the India Company to get rid of a large surplus stock of tea then lying on hand, and would enable the colonists to buy their tea considerably cheaper. To the colonists however it bore another aspect. The whole plan seemed to them a scheme to surprise or bribe them into compliance with the very measure of taxation they were so strenuously opposing. This belief was supported by the fact, that all the consignees who were to receive the tea were warm partisans of England, and was fostered by the whole body of tea merchants and free traders, who saw themselves likely to be driven from the market by this direct tea trade. The opposition party took means to organize a resistance. The consignees were duly warned. The tea ships entered Boston harbour, but the captains were so fully convinced of the futility of their speculation, that they would willingly have again withdrawn. Some little customhouse formalities detained them; and meanwhile they were boarded by a body of men dressed as Mohawks, who tossed the

The India
Company's
difficulties
1772.

obnoxious tea into the sea. Similar steps, though less violent, were taken elsewhere, and none of the tea sent over under this disastrous law found its way into the market.

Such violence, and such contempt of authority, exasperated the minds of the English people. Lord North seems still to have inclined to conciliatory measures, but the remnant of the Bedford party, always particularly bitter against America, was too powerful for him, especially as the King's opinion, before which North always yielded with fatal weakness, was thrown into the scale on the side of severity. Two measures were devised to punish the refractory

The Boston
Port Bill.
1774.

colony. By the first, known as the Boston Port Bill, the customhouse, and consequently all the trade, was moved from Boston, and the port was declared closed; in fact the thriving town was rendered desolate. The warehouses stood empty, the docks and quays were deserted. Salem was chosen to take the place of Boston; but so strong was the feeling against the Bill, that the very merchants of Salem, though the benefit would have been all theirs, petitioned against it. The anger excited by the Bill was not confined to Boston; a feeling of indignation pervaded all the colonies. Their sympathy was soon increased by

Massachusetts
government
Bill.

fear for their own liberties; for a second Bill was introduced, abrogating the old charter of Massachusetts. Its popular constitution was to be destroyed, and the colony was to become in the strictest sense a Crown colony; the council was to be named by the Crown instead of by the people; and the judges, magistrates and sheriffs were to be nominated and removed by the governor without consulting the council. All the other colonies naturally felt their charters insecure.

In fact, all seemed to show that the critical time had come. Attempts were indeed made subsequently at reconciliation, but they were hollow, and the proposers of them knew that they were hollow. Henceforward an appeal to arms became almost certain, and the idea of claiming independence, as yet only existing in the minds of a few of the leaders, began to become prevalent. Virginia at once threw in her lot with Massachusetts. A fast was ordered on account of the Boston Port Act, and the governor dissolved the assembly. The leaders met at the Raleigh Tavern, and agreed upon a form of association against trade with England. Washington, hitherto hopeful of reconciliation, declared his readiness to raise 1000 men at his own cost for the support of the people of Massachusetts. In spite of all Government opposition, most of the colonies

Crisis of the
quarrel.

accepted the lead of Virginia, kept the fast, and agreed to the association, while, as a chief step in the direction of general revolt, a Congress was summoned at Philadelphia, and attended by representatives of the assemblies of twelve colonies, Georgia alone being absent. The English, too, understood that the two great Bills were little short of a declaration of war. Hutchinson was recalled, and General Gage was made Governor of Massachusetts, while Boston was filled with troops. Of course a quarrel between the new governor and the assembly was inevitable. The assembly was dissolved, and refusing to disperse, collected and sat at Concord, constituting thus in fact a rebel government, whose orders were implicitly obeyed. Gage had been obliged to fortify Boston Neck; as a counter measure the Concord assembly established a permanent committee of public safety, organized 12,000 militia, and enrolled *minute men*, or picked men from the militia bound to serve at a minute's notice. While things were thus drifting into war in Massachusetts, the General Congress issued a Declaration of Rights, setting forth the rights of the colonists as Englishmen, and declaring that the late Acts were infractions of these rights, and must be repealed before America would submit, and passed a resolution forbidding importation from England, the use of imported goods, and after the interval of a year exportation to England also.

Acts of the
General
Congress.

These, and other acts and papers of the Congress, acquired much weight by being to all appearance issued unanimously, an important advantage which was only gained after a trial of strength, in which the views of the advanced leaders were carried by a majority of one. When defeated on a scheme of reconciliation proposed by Mr. Galloway, and considered as a test question, the minority wisely accepted their position, and desisted from all protest, so that all the acts of Congress might have their full weight.

A general election in England in September of this year made it plain that the temper of the people was no less bitter and determined in the mother country than in the colonies. A large ministerial majority was returned ready to support any acts of coercion. The Opposition began by demanding papers in an amendment on the address, but the real struggle did not begin till January, when Chatham again expressed his opinion, moving the immediate repeal of the obnoxious statutes of the preceding year and the withdrawal of troops from Boston. The majority against him was overwhelming; none the less did he at once set to

General election.
Anti-American
feeling of the
nation.

Chatham's
motions for
reconciliation.
1775.

work, with Franklin's help, to prepare a scheme of reconciliation, though Franklin had probably neither much hope nor much wish that it should succeed. It was at first fairly received by Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Secretary, but again Lord Sandwich and the Bedford party overawed their more temperate colleague, and it was rejected with scorn. The wisdom of some step in the same direction

North's measure
for the same
purpose.

seems however to have been plain to Lord North, who in a short time produced a scheme of his own. This did not go further than to say, that so long as the colonies taxed themselves with the approbation of King and Parliament no other taxes ought to be laid on them. It was much too late for any such trumpety measure.

It was indeed too late for any schemes of reconciliation, and the appeal to arms began. General Gage, who in spite of his representations had been left without reinforcements during the winter, could not see the

Skirmish at
Lexington.
April 1775.

preparations made for arming and supplying the militia, carried on by the provincial Congress, without taking some measures to prevent them. In April he determined to destroy the stores at Concord. Some militiamen, who were being drilled at Lexington, only dispersed after firing upon the troops; and when the soldiers, after destroying such of the stores as had been left at Concord, began their homeward march, they found themselves assaulted from behind every hedge and cover, and were compelled to seek refuge in a very distressed condition with a body of troops who had been sent to support them. The English loss was 270, while the rebels lost less than 100 men. This slight success raised the spirits of the colonists; militiamen crowded in from all quarters, and General Gage was blockaded in Boston. The rebels even ventured to attempt an expedition against the neighbouring province of Canada. A Bill passed

Canada Bill

the preceding year in England had given a constitution to Canada. This colony, nearly wholly French, neither understood nor valued English institutions, and was firmly Roman Catholic in its religion. The constitution was wisely conceived in a more arbitrary spirit than would have suited Englishmen, and with great liberality established the Roman Catholic worship. The Americans, unable to see the wisdom of this, and Puritan in their own religious beliefs, fancied that Canada must be smarting under its wrongs, and that they should find hearty sympathy there. In this belief, and to open the road thither, two New Englanders raised troops on their own responsibility—Arnold, a horse dealer, and Ethan Allen—and advanced against the forts which held the valley of Lakes

George and Champlain, which, with the valley of the Hudson, forms the natural road from New York to Montreal. They speedily seized Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Fall of
Ticonderoga.
May.

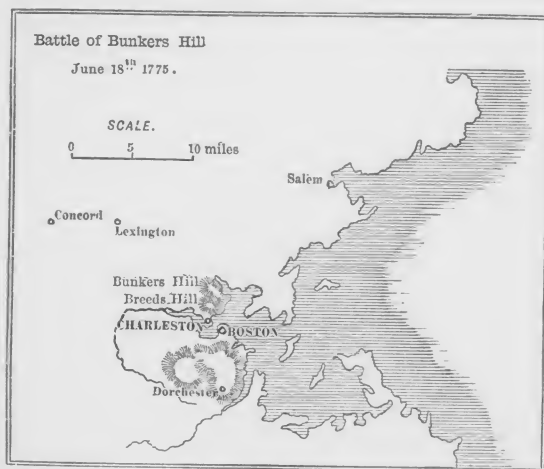
The first question which met the second General Congress was whether they should take upon themselves the responsibility of these actions or accept the conciliatory resolution of Lord North. There was no hesitation on the part of the Congress. Lord North's proposition was thrown aside at once; orders were issued against supplying any British force or officer; a national name was assumed—*The United Colonies*; coercive measures were decreed against any province which should refuse to recognize the authority of Congress; and on the flimsy excuse of a contemplated invasion from Canada, the actions of Allen and Arnold were acknowledged, and an attack on Canada organized. These were acts of rebellion and war, and the Congress, conscious that the die was cast, proceeded to appoint a commander-in-chief. Their choice fell upon Colonel Washington, a Virginian gentleman, and a member of the Congress, who had seen some service in the late frontier wars, and was much respected by his province. He was a powerful, somewhat silent man, of very strong sense, and great powers of self-control, possessing that commanding influence which is given by strong passion and enthusiasm habitually subdued, but just visible under a constant and calm exterior. His unquestioned honesty, his hatred of disorder, and his great simplicity of character, fitted him well to give dignity to a cause which ran the risk, if it fell into inferior hands, of degenerating into a selfish and riotous uproar.

Washington
chosen com-
mander-in-chief.

Washington at once hurried to the seat of war, but before he arrived another battle had been fought. A narrow channel separates Boston from another town of the name of Charlestown, behind which rise two masses of high ground, known as Breed's and Bunker's Hill, from which Boston is commanded. Breed's Hill is the nearer of the two to Boston. It was natural to suppose that General Gage, whose forces had been raised to 10,000 men by reinforcements under Generals Clinton, Howe and Burgoyne, would assume the offensive, and at all events try to secure these hills. The Americans attempted to forestall him, and some rude defences were thrown up on the ridge of Breed's Hill. About 2000 English were sent to dislodge them. The Americans fought well, more than once the English drew back before their fire, but

Battle of
Bunker's Hill.
June 17, 1775.

rallied by Clinton, they eventually took the position, driving the enemy, more than twice their number, in disorder along Charlestown Neck, where they were open to the fire of our ships. More than 800 of the English fell in the desperate struggle.



Although the insurgent troops were justly proud of the gallant stand they had made against disciplined forces, the army when Washington joined it was not such as a general would wish to command. Even in the late battle well authenticated cases of cowardice had occurred among the officers. The militia regiments of the various states regarded each other with jealous eyes; there was no sort of uniformity of dress, no trace of soldierly bearing; the soldiers showed little subordination to officers scarcely better than themselves; and, worse than all, there was a fearful deficiency of powder. It taxed the ability and temper of their new general to the full to bring the motley crowd into order. He exacted the sternest discipline, drew a sharp line between the officers and men, procured hunting shirts to supply the lack of uniform, and by unremitting toil gradually produced a tolerable army. Why General Gage looked quietly on while this process was being carried out it is difficult to say. Even setting aside the

Condition of
the American
army.

lack of ammunition, of which however he was fully informed, he had troops enough to have destroyed the enemy which were blockading him without difficulty, and might thus perhaps have ended the war at a blow.

The slowness which characterizes the English generals at the beginning of the war is probably to be traced to the prevalent idea that reconciliation was still possible, and that the terrible extremity of civil war might be avoided. Even at this very time the Congress was sending to the King a last appeal; but this document, known as the Olive Branch Petition, was not received in England. There was a technical objection to it which secured its rejection; it purported to come from the Congress—an illegal and unrecognized body. The Americans could scarcely indeed have expected that it would have produced any effect. It held out no hope of concession, but expressed only vague wishes for reconciliation. It probably served the turn of those who sent it by allowing them to throw the blame of the future war entirely on the English. It might have been wise on the part of the ministry, even thus late, to have accepted overtures of peace, but it would have been a stretch of wisdom which no man had a right to expect; for the Congress had undoubtedly by its action assumed a position of complete independence and hostility which a Government could scarcely be expected to overlook.

Even before the Olive Branch was sent the Congress had determined to take advantage of the successes of the preceding year, and had organized, under Generals Montgomery and Arnold, an attack upon Canada, which General Carleton was ill prepared to repel with less than 1000 British troops. While Montgomery crossed Lake Champlain and pushed on to Montreal, Arnold, with incredible labour, had made his way up the valley of the Kennebec, and so down the Chaudière, to Quebec. Unable to prevent the junction of the armies, Carleton hastened to throw himself into the capital, and upon the Heights of Abraham succeeded in checking their advance, with the loss of Montgomery their leader. Arnold could do no more than keep up a nominal blockade, so ably was the defence conducted, and the general who superseded him, meeting with no sympathy from the Canadians, was forced to withdraw in disorder beyond Lake Champlain.

Meanwhile the dilatory conduct of Gage, who had now been succeeded by General Howe, had lost Boston to the English. Washington had at length found himself strong enough to take and

Attack on
Canada.

fortify the Dorchester Heights, which commanded the English lines on Boston Neck. A general engagement, which could scarcely have ended otherwise than favourably to the English, would have still rendered the town tenable, and Howe was inclined to bring on a battle. But a continued course of bad weather frustrated his plans, and thinking that for military reasons New York, where the royal party was strong, would make a better base of operations, he determined to withdraw; he accordingly removed all his troops to Halifax, there to await promised reinforcements. So long were the fresh troops in coming that Howe had to leave Halifax without them. There was considerable difficulty in supplying him. The military arrangements of England have been constantly found inefficient at the opening of a war; it was only by purchasing troops at an exorbitant price from the Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse that the immediate want could be supplied. It was therefore only on a limited scale that Howe was enabled to carry out that plan for the arrangement of the troops which was afterwards continued during the war; and which consisted of making New York the centre of operations, to be supported by two subsidiary forces, the one acting in the Southern States, the other from Canada. In pursuance of this plan, he despatched a force against Charleston, in Carolina, under General Clinton, while he himself moved to Sandy Hook, thus threatening New York, whither Washington had hastened from Boston. He was there joined in July by his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, and found himself, with his reinforcements and with the troops which had been sent to Charleston and had returned upon the failure of the expedition, at the head of nearly 30,000 men.

Lord Howe brought with him full powers for himself and his brother the general, empowering them, in accordance with a late Act of Parliament, to receive the submission of any colony, and after such submission to grant pardon and redress. An Imperial nation, defied by its colonies and not yet beaten, could hardly offer more, and to those not thoroughly conversant with what was going on in America, it must have seemed that there was every chance of such terms being accepted. Never as yet had the chances of the insurgents seemed so small. It is true that the revolt had become universal; but the spirit of the commercial population of the Northern States was severely tried, and seemed to be yielding under the depression of trade caused by the war. The English army was for the time actually more numerous than that of

Howe retires
to Halifax.
March 1776.

Fresh offers of
conciliation
rejected.

Washington, whose troops, nominally but 27,000 strong, were diminished by illness or absence. Those who remained were in a miserable condition, and consisted chiefly of men enlisted for short periods, who could scarcely be properly drilled before they returned to their homes. But the state of feeling was no longer what it had been. It was no longer a question of pardon or redress. The more earnest and violent men had, as is usual in civil commotions, been coming more and more to the front. The idea of a total separation from England had been rapidly gaining ground; republican and democratic principles had made their appearance; the writings of Thomas Paine had been published, and so largely were his views received, that a declaration, issued by the aristocratic State of Virginia, served afterwards as the model for the Declaration of the Rights of Man issued by the revolutionists of France; and already, before the arrival of Howe with his offer of pardon, the extreme party had determined to check all lukewarmness and put an end to all chance of reconciliation by taking an irretrievable step. In June, Lee of Virginia proposed in Congress that the colonies should declare themselves independent. The numbers on division proved to be exactly equal, but Dickinson, the writer of the "Pennsylvanian Farmer's Letters," and the leader of the moderate party, consented to withdraw, and the motion for independence was thus carried by a majority of one. The document itself is not a very powerful one, but shows how abstract political views had become mingled with the original questions in dispute. It is based on the Declaration of Virginia, recapitulates all the real or fancied grievances of the colonies, and, with curious political dishonesty, attributes them all to the personal tyranny of the King. The Declaration of Independence, issued on July 4th, reached Washington's army just before Lord Howe's arrival; it of course rendered his pacific mission fruitless. The colonies had assumed the position of an independent nation, and claimed to be treated with all the respect due to such a position. Howe's letters to Washington were even returned unopened, because they were not addressed to him by his full military style and title.

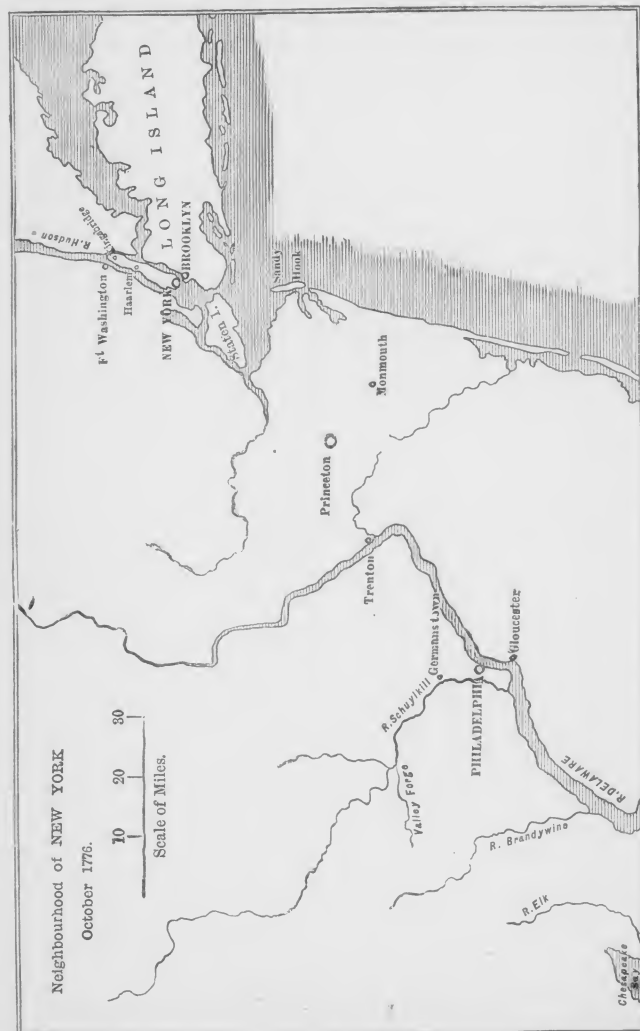
To the English nothing now remained but to take advantage of the superiority of their troops. An attack upon the lines of Brooklyn, at the end of Long Island, separated from New York only by a narrow channel, was ordered. The Americans, in about equal numbers, came out of their intrenchments, and for the first time during the war a battle was fought in the open

CON. MON.

Battle of
Brooklyn.
Aug. 27.

[S]

Declaration of
Independence.
July 4, 1776.



field. The victory of the English troops was immediate and complete. It was due only to Howe's want of vigour in pressing his success that Washington was able to withdraw his army to New York, whence, finding it impossible to hold his ground, he retired ultimately to the mainland, taking up a position at Kingsbridge, and leaving the city in the hands of the English. It was plain that the temporary militia of the colonists was useless against regular troops, and in spite of its republican dread of a standing army, the Congress at length listened to Washington's repeated representations, and authorized the enrolment of some regular troops. But for more than a year he was compelled to do his best with his old militia, and nothing but the continued and incomprehensible slowness of the English generals saved him from disaster. Step by step he was driven backwards, till he was compelled to cross the Delaware and leave the whole of the Jerseys in the hands of the English. The road to Philadelphia seemed open, and the Congress, in fear, withdrew to Baltimore. But the English, when they found that all the boats on the Delaware had been removed, quietly withdrew into winter quarters upon a very extended line, and waited in hopes of being able to cross the river on the ice. The time thus wasted lost them all the advantages they had won, and gave Washington an opportunity to recover. Eager to strike some blow which should raise the spirits of the colonists and enable him to fill the ranks of the army, he determined to take advantage of the weak and extended line of the English. On Christmas evening, trusting to the effects of the day's debauch, he crossed the river, and surprised and captured the garrison of Trenton. Cornwallis, who had the command of the advanced troops of the English, came to the rescue, but Washington by another night march swept round the English army, and captured or destroyed two regiments at Princeton. He was unable to secure, as he had intended, the supplies at Gloucester, but before long he succeeded in clearing New Jersey of the English, and confining them, as before, to New York and Rhode Island.

Washington
recovers New
Jersey.
Jan. 3, 1777.

Howe remained idle till June, thus allowing much time to the Americans, to whom time was everything. But in June preparations for a great joint movement were matured. Not only was the main army in New York again to resume the offensive, but advantage was to be taken of the possession of Canada, and an attack organized from that country. This branch of the combined movement was placed under the command of General

Threefold plan
of the English.

Burgoyne. The cleft made by the valley of the Hudson is continued northward by the Lakes George and Champlain, and a natural road thus formed from Canada to New York. Down this the Canadian army was to march, assisted by the co-operation of Clinton, who was to lead troops from New York to meet it. Thus the disaffected provinces of New England would be severed from the rest of America.

Howe's army, which was now comparatively powerful, was expected to make its way through the Jerseys, and to complete the project of last autumn by capturing Philadelphia; but, finding Washington ready to oppose his advance, he suddenly withdrew his troops and embarked them in the fleet.

He appeared for a moment off the mouth of the Delaware, but again, finding more obstacles than he had expected, took to the sea, and sailing all round the promontory between the Delaware and the Bay of Chesapeake, ultimately arrived at the top of that piece of water at the Head of Elk, nearly as far from Philadelphia as when he started. The time spent in making this long circuit enabled Washington to be fully prepared to cover Philadelphia. He took up his position in Brandywine Creek. He was there quite outmanœuvred. While one division of the English held the ground in front, another marched round and fell upon the rear and left flank, and completely routed his army. He still tried to hold the line of the Schuylkill, but it was passed by the English with little difficulty, and Philadelphia occupied. The capital was thus in the hands of the English, but the expeditionary character of the attack prevented it from being so effectual as a steady advance would have been, while it rendered the conquest nugatory by separating it entirely from New York, the real basis of operations. In some degree to correct this error, it became necessary to secure direct access by sea by the capture of the forts which held the mouth of the Delaware. For this purpose the English army was divided, one portion remained at Germantown to hold Philadelphia, and the rest were moved to the siege of the forts. Washington took advantage of the weakness of his immediate opponents and attacked the troops at Germanstown. At first he was successful, but a panic, such as not unfrequently seizes young and half-disciplined troops, changed his half-won victory to defeat. The forts of the Delaware were at length captured, and the operations of the English seemed to have been thoroughly successful.

Battle of
Germanstown.
Oct. 4.

It was indeed a moment of intense depression in the American

army; nothing but the extraordinary patience and steadfastness of Washington could have saved it. Half-disciplined troops, many of them inclined to desert, or to leave their standards as soon as their short time of enlistment was over, thousands without shoes, a commissariat ridiculously incompetent and notoriously fraudulent, a civil power inclined to meddle and complain of the military arrangements, such were some of the difficulties with which he had to contend. He managed in spite of all to keep his army together, and to induce his troops to go into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a wild but strong position among the hills on the Schuylkill river a little above Philadelphia. News from the North came to cheer him in his distressed condition.

Washington
reorganizes the
army.

Though successful in itself, the real object of Howe's expedition had not been obtained, it had not enabled the army of New York to go to the assistance of Burgoyne, and that general had been compelled to surrender with all his army on the 17th of October. In June he had advanced along the west side of Lake Champlain, and had taken the fortress of Ticonderoga, Fort Anne, and Fort Edward on the Hudson. Hearing that the Americans had supplies but slightly guarded at Bennington, on the road to the Connecticut river, he sent a small detachment to secure them. This was the beginning of his misfortunes; the difficulties proved greater than was expected, the expedition failed and had to retire in haste, with the loss of all its artillery. However, trusting to the co-operation of the army from New York, and of a force which was to make its way from the great lakes by Fort Stanwix down the upper Hudson and join him before Albany, Burgoyne continued to advance. He collected thirty days' supplies and crossed the Hudson, thus cutting himself off from Canada, and relying for safety upon his power of opening communication with New York. The militia of the neighbouring district at once rose behind him, thus completely severing his communications. His Indian auxiliaries had left him; he could not rely much on his Canadian troops, and now found himself in face of General Schuyler with 16,000 men. The help on which he had calculated did not come, Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger failed before Fort Stanwix, and Clinton was unable to leave New York. Burgoyne attempted an assault on the American position before Behm's Heights, north of Stillwater, but failed. To advance seemed impossible, he therefore ordered a retreat, though this was scarcely less difficult. He had told Clinton that he could hold out till the 12th of October, and when that day came he was still close to

Burgoyne's
disasters.

Saratoga, and now neither retreat nor advance was possible. His boats upon the lake, which afforded him his sole means of procuring supplies or of transport, had been destroyed; he had no choice but to make some sort of surrender. On the 17th of October a convention was signed by which he surrendered his whole force to General Gates, who had assumed the chief command of the American troops. His army was allowed to march out of camp with the honours of war to the bank of the river, there to lay down their arms, and to be forwarded to England, under promise not to serve again during the war. Though the reception of the prisoners by both generals and men was most generous, and though Burgoyne lived as a guest in General Schuyler's house, the terms of the convention were not honestly fulfilled; Burgoyne, indeed, was allowed to return to England, but the main part of the army was detained in America for several years. The blame of this breach of treaty is held to attach to Congress only, and not to Washington.

The autumn session of 1776 had been opened with a speech full of the successes of the English arms. The battle of Brooklyn, the fall of New York, the expulsion of the invaders from Canada, were all topics of congratulation. The feeling of the nation went with the Government, and the opposition in Parliament dwindled to a very small minority; but in spite of their weakness they continued to urge conciliatory measures, and at the beginning of the session, both in the Upper and Lower House, amendments in that sense were moved to the address. So plain was it, however, that such efforts were wholly useless, that Lord Rockingham's party ostentatiously retired from all public questions, attending the House only during private business. Fox indeed, who had left the ministry in 1774, and had become the foremost champion of the American cause, remained in his place, but the rest of the party did not reappear, till, finding their step worse than useless, they took the opportunity of a debate upon the Civil List to return to public life.

This debate arose on a demand for an increase to the Civil List of £100,000 a year, and £600,000 to pay off the debts already owing.

Effect of American affairs on the Parliament. Oct. 1776.

Under the existing circumstances the necessity for the measure was obvious, for the King's ordinary tradesmen were unpaid, and his servants' wages in arrears. The Civil List already amounted to £800,000 a year, and the known personal frugality of the King and Queen rendered the disappearance of so large a sum the more scandalous. In fact, nearly £800,000 had been spent

since 1769 in secret service. It was easy to explain the insufficiency of the Civil List and the permanence of the ministerial majority in Parliament; not only had the Pension List been largely increased, but there were a swarm of sinecure officers about the Court, from grand falconers in the House of Peers to turnspits of the kitchen who sat in the House of Commons. The Civil List was increased, but the grant was accompanied by a strong expression, on the part of Sir Fletcher Norton, of the feeling of the House, that under the existing pressure of taxation such extravagant use of public money was much to be blamed,—words which were subsequently formally accepted by the House as their own.

The session closed with another effort on the part of the Opposition. On this occasion it was Lord Chatham who led the attack. He returned, after two years of illness, and still swathed in flannel, to move an address, urging the King to arrest the misfortunes in America. The measures he advised were unconditional redress of grievances, and repeal of all penal statutes; in other words, he would have granted all the demands of the Americans with the exception of their independence. But, while urging moderate counsels with regard to America, he blazed out at the idea of an alliance of the colonists with the French, and demanded instant war. His motion was of course lost. His fears of an alliance with France were not however unfounded; already, before the Declaration of Independence, Silas Deane had

Chatham's motion. May 30, 1777.

been sent over to Europe to try and make some arrangement. If the confession of the culprit is to be believed, Deane's handiwork was to be seen in the nefarious plans of a man called John the Painter, who in the December of the preceding year (1776) had attempted to fire the dockyards of Portsmouth. Again, immediately after the Declaration of Independence, Adams and Franklin had been sent over as accredited agents to make a commercial and defensive alliance with France. But though they had been well received both by the ministry and by the salons of Paris, where for the time Franklin was the fashion, their representations were mistrusted, and no real help was given. The French had no wish to engage in a failing cause, and continued to keep up an appearance of friendship with England, even, at the instigation of our ambassador, issuing, though probably intentionally too late, a *lettre de cachet* to stop the Marquis of Lafayette from sailing to join the colonists. He had no difficulty in avoiding it, and was present with Washington during the Philadelphia campaign. But the Court of France was in fact only watching

American intrigues with France.

the turn of events. The news of the defeat of Burgoyne had scarcely reached Europe before the independence of America was acknowledged and a commercial treaty made. In case of France becoming involved in the war with England, this treaty was to be extended into one by which France engaged to supply military assistance on the sole condition that America should never acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain.

Already, by the time of the meeting of Parliament for the autumn session, rumours of Burgoyne's difficulties had reached England, though no news of his final disaster had arrived. The danger of war with France, to which Chatham had alluded in the spring, seemed to increase, and men's thoughts began to turn towards the great statesman who had before saved England in similar difficulties. Nor did Chatham refuse to respond to the general expectation; not for many years had he shown such activity as in this session. In moving an amendment on the address, he demanded the withdrawal of all troops from America, stigmatized with due severity the employment of savage Indians in the war, and strove to rouse the national spirit against France. But the energy and eloquence he exhibited throughout the session were unavailing. He consistently upheld the view that conquest of America was quite impossible, that it was worse than useless to carry on the war, and that all the demands of the colonists should be granted with the exception of independence. This, he said in the strongest words, it was impossible for England to grant. He relied, no doubt, on the natural hostility between the colonists and France, and it is possible that, had he been placed in office, his policy might have been successful. He was loved and trusted by the Americans; concessions from his hands might have been received. He was feared by France; his plan of removing the troops from America would have left the resources of England free for a foreign war; his threats and his name might have deterred the French from war. But certainly no other man could carry out such a policy, and so it was generally felt; North himself acknowledged the impossibility, and was anxious to resign; Lord George Germaine (Sackville), who, disgraced at Minden as a military man, had become as member of the Government the chief supporter of repressive measures in America, was also preparing to give up his post. The ministry seemed on the point of giving way, and indeed the necessity for such a step was increasing rapidly. Early in December came the terrible news of Saratoga.

France acknow-
ledges the
independence
of America,
Dec. 1777.

Chatham's
energy in
Parliament,
Nov. 20, 1777

and three weeks later the preliminaries of the treaty between France and the colonies were agreed upon, though the French ministry had not scrupled to cover their intentions by false statements on the matter.

The Opposition began to feel triumphant. Though still quite outvoted in the House, they knew that the majority turned with the ministry, whatever it might be; but they did not sufficiently reckon on the King's obstinacy. He had been right in his boast at the beginning of his reign; he was thoroughly English; he reflected and sympathized with the most vulgar feelings and prejudices of the people. The disasters in America had called out considerable enthusiasm in England; money had been largely subscribed for keeping up more troops, and the temper of the nation was evidently for pressing the war with energy, regardless of consequences. In vain did Lord North express his desire to resign, and declare the necessity of conciliatory measures. The King, strong in the popular feeling, reproached him for intending to desert him, as he called it. On further pressure he gave him leave to apply to Chatham and the Whigs, but only on the absurd condition, that they should join the present ministry, serve under Lord North, and carry out the same policy as the existing Government. He would not hear of the ministry being put frankly into Chatham's hands. As usual, Lord North yielded, and consented to stay in office. He even consented to bring in bills absolutely reversing all his own policy, and which could have come with good grace only from the Opposition. His Conciliation Bill, now in the hands of the ministry, was carried without difficulty, and all American demands, short of independence, were granted; all officers appointed by Congress acknowledged, and commissioners, with the most ample powers to discuss and arrange all points of quarrel, appointed. North still wished that, as this was in fact the Opposition policy, the Opposition should have the duty of putting it into effect; but the King and the course of events were too strong for him. The Conciliation Bill had hardly passed when an open rupture with France took place. The treaty concluded on the 6th of February was notified in insulting terms to the English Court. Such a treaty was followed by the inevitable withdrawal of ambassadors, and war with France was in fact upon us.

To the Opposition it seemed as if the play had been played out. They were inclined for immediate submission. If England could not

The King
insists on Lord
North retaining
office.

Lord North's
Conciliator
Bill.

Rupture with
France.

conquer America alone, what hope was there of conquering America joined with France with the whole house of Bourbon in its wake? They urged the immediate recognition of the independence of the colonies. Such, as has been before explained, were not the views of Chatham; his spirit rose with the idea of war with his old enemy, and he relied on his own ability, not indeed to conquer, but to conciliate America while he crushed France. His plan was never put to the test. On the 7th of April the Duke of Richmond moved in the House of Lords that all troops should at once be withdrawn from America, and a peace concluded, which of course implied the independence of the contracting parties. Chatham, very weak and ill, and against the advice of his friends, went down on purpose to oppose the motion. Scarcely able to walk, his feeble steps were supported by his son William and his son-in-law Lord Mahon. After hearing the Duke of Richmond's motion, he rose with difficulty, and resting on his crutch, and with his eyes looking unnaturally vivid in his shrunk face and under his great wig, he proceeded to make a vigorous reply. His voice was very low, and at times his memory failed, but here and there his eloquence rose to its old pitch, and he again thrilled his hearers as he recounted the dangers which England had outlived, and demanded whether the country which but seventeen years ago was the terror of the world "was to stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, Take all we have, only give us peace." The Duke replied in a weak speech; and Chatham rose again, eager to answer him, but before he could speak he was seen to gasp, to lay his hand upon his heart, and to sink back, apparently dying. The death of this greatest of English statesmen put an end to all hope of a new policy. Unless the Americans received the conciliatory measures of Lord North well—which was most unlikely—the war must be fought out. Every honour was paid to the memory of Chatham. He was voted a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, and a monument, which is placed over the door at the west end of the Abbey, and represents him with his arm raised in the act of speaking. His debts were paid and a large pension settled on his family. Four Lords protested against these honours and the ministerial people kept chiefly aloof from his funeral. But the feeling of regret and admiration was universal. The Duke of Richmond's motion was of course negatived, and it remained to be seen what the Commissioners could do.

Before that question could be answered a subject was brought before the notice of Parliament and nation which was destined to

Death of Lord
Chatham.
May 11, 1778.

play an important part and to take the place of the American contest as a party test. This was the question of Catholic relief. The laws still existing against the members of the Roman Catholic religion were most severe in character. They had been enacted chiefly in the reign of William III., when England was still in mortal terror of the restoration of the malign influence of the Stuarts and their religion, and they bore the marks of their origin; many of them were indeed, as Dunning said in seconding the motion for their repeal, a disgrace to humanity. Sir George Savile, member for Yorkshire and a great Whig leader, moved the repeal of some of them; he had no intention, he said, of touching the whole penal code against Catholics, and was willing to substitute a test; but he moved the repeal of some of the most obnoxious laws. These were the law which punished the celebration of Catholic worship as felony in a foreigner, as high treason in a native, and the laws by which the estates of Popish heirs educated abroad passed to the next Protestant heir, by which a Protestant heir could take possession of his father's or other relative's estate during the lifetime of the real proprietor, and by which Papists could acquire property only by descent. The first law was so monstrous, and the others so evidently tended to foster the worst forms of family division and public informing, that their repeal met with little opposition. Dundas, Lord Advocate, promised a similar Bill for Scotland. This was the beginning of opposition. The Scotch were indignant at any sign of toleration, and organized a resistance which speedily spread into England. The Protestants found a mouthpiece in Lord George Gordon, a young man of slender intellect, and nearly mad on religious topics; although his principles were so unsettled that he died a Jew, he now threw himself with frenzied vehemence into the Protestant movement. The King, with his usual power of sympathizing with the narrower views of his people, took up the same side, and during the remainder of the reign Catholic emancipation served as a test by which to try whether his ministers would be subservient or not.

Meanwhile the Commissioners under the Conciliatory Bills had reached America (May 1778). It was at once plain that they were too late. The French alliance had been made known, and the Americans were as yet full of enthusiasm for their allies. For a time the influence of Washington had been shaken. His toilsome but inglorious work of reconstituting the army of Valley Forge had been unfavourably contrasted with the brilliant success of Saratoga; Gates, a man in every way his inferior,

Laws against
Roman Catholics
repealed.

America rejects
conciliatory
offers.

had been set up as his rival, and placed at the head of a war committee, which overruled Washington's advice and wishes. But the ridiculous failure of a plan which, in the interests of the French, the committee had suggested for attacking Canada had brought the Congress to reason, and their trust in Washington had been restored. The division of interests which had threatened the rising republic was thus healed, and the Commissioners found a unanimous feeling against entertaining their suggestions. Nor had the success of the English been such as to assist their views. After a winter idly spent in Philadelphia, Sir William Howe had been succeeded by Clinton, who had found it necessary to withdraw his army to New York, which with Rhode Island were the sole possessions left to England. The answer which the Commissioners received was therefore very decided. No such questions as were raised could be considered till the fleets and armies of England were withdrawn or the independence of the colonies acknowledged. The Commissioners could only retire, leaving behind them a manifesto threatening the utmost severities of war.

But, in spite of the confidence which the French alliance aroused in the minds of the Americans, the immediate effect of the treaty was not advantageous to them. A joint attack upon Rhode Island brought to light the dislike and jealousy between the new allies which Chatham had foreseen. The timely arrival of the English fleet compelled the French admiral, d'Estaing, to leave the coast. The Americans thought themselves deserted and gave up the siege. Their general, Sullivan, published an indignant general order, and addressed to d'Estaing a sharp remonstrance. In deep dudgeon, he ceased for the rest of the year to assist the Americans, and acted wholly for French interests, trying to excite a national sympathy in Canada, and finally sailing away to the West Indies. For the time the French were almost as unpopular with the colonists as the English. In other respects the year's campaign was rather in favour of England. Georgia was occupied by an expedition sent from New York, and the Island of St. Lucia was captured from the French. But the object of the alliance was really obtained, for the war was no longer confined to America.

Resting on the support of the King, and backed in its American policy by the general feeling of the nation, North's ministry, in spite of the poor success which had attended our arms in America, had hitherto had an appearance of strength. It was now, after a struggle of a few years, to succumb to a succession of difficulties which brought to light its inherent in-

Effect of the
alliance
between
America and
France.

Weakness
of North's
ministry.

efficiency. The extension of the sphere of the war brought the first danger. A powerful fleet had been sent into the Channel under Keppel, which at the mere rumour of the approach of a superior fleet of the French retired. When strongly reinforced, it brought the enemy to action off Ushant, but after some hours' fighting the two fleets withdrew, without the slightest advantage on either side; not one ship of either nation had struck. To shield himself from the natural indignation felt at so ridiculous a result, Keppel tried to throw the blame on Pallisser, his second in command. As Keppel was in opposition, and Pallisser a Lord of the Admiralty, the recriminations of the admirals were taken up by their respective parties, and a vehement parliamentary war arose. At length Keppel succeeded in obtaining a court martial, but the people as well as the Parliament had joined in the quarrel; there were violent demonstrations in his favour, and the case being in fact prejudged, the trial ended in his triumphant acquittal. A far less complete and unqualified sentence of approval awaited Pallisser when he in turn was tried. Already it was evident that the hold of North's ministry was shaken; it had now to face a direct attack in Parliament. Burgoyne and Howe, both members of the House of Commons, were eager to throw all the blame of the recent miscarriages upon the shoulders of the Government; and an attack on the Admiralty was so successful, that Lord Sandwich was only rescued by a narrow majority from censure by the declaration of Lord North that he would resign were the censure carried. In his difficulties Lord North made some overtures to the Whigs, but all negotiations were rendered abortive by the restrictions placed on them by the King, who would indeed allow new ministers to be introduced, but would hear of no new measures. With the fatal facility which marred his character, North yielded to the King's stronger will, and remained in office against his own convictions, a mere official to carry out the policy of his master. His difficulties were further increased when Spain followed in the wake of France and also declared war; and the united fleets of the two countries assembled, apparently with the intention of invading England. In spite of a considerable exhibition of national spirit, it was all Sir Charles Hardy, who had command of the Channel fleet, could do to cover the coast of England and postpone a general engagement. Fortunately, though the allies were vastly superior in numbers, their ships were ill supplied and scarcely seaworthy, and they found it necessary to withdraw to their respective countries, leaving the Channel free.

But it was not only from abroad that dangers were gathering round England. The Irish, whom the people and Government of England have always regarded as a colony, and treated in the same spirit of jealous selfishness that had alienated the Americans, began to think of following the example of these colonists. Their trade had always been avowedly governed and confined to suit, not Irish, but English interests. In addition to the usual restrictions, they had been suffering from an embargo on their provision trade with America, and their other industries were sinking in the general depression. When they saw Lord North proposing conciliatory measures, and promising relaxation of trade restrictions to America, they not unnaturally began to raise their claims to similar indulgences. Their requests were so reasonable that some small relief was given, but Lord North was afraid to carry out to the full a policy of free trade in face of the vigorous opposition of the great trading cities of England, where, with true commercial selfishness, any chance of a new competitor was regarded with vehement dislike. Burke was brave enough to speak heartily in favour of the Irish, in spite of instructions from his Bristol constituents; his bravery cost him his seat at the next election. With their fair claims thus trifled with, the Irish again learnt a lesson from America. What could not be got by asking might be yielded to an armed nation. On the pretext of an intended attack by the French on Belfast, soldiers were demanded. But Ireland had been denuded of troops for the American war; no troops could be sent. The inhabitants had now their excuse for arming themselves. Quite without disturbance, and with loyal protestations, volunteer corps sprang up all over the country; by the end of the year, in spite of the influence of Government, they numbered 50,000 men. In the presence of this army, with the Dublin companies in arms before the doors, the Irish Parliament of 1779 met. The national cause had found an energetic and eloquent leader in Henry Grattan. He moved an amendment to the address, demanding free trade as the national right of Ireland. The amendment passed unopposed, and was carried by the volunteers in triumph to the castle. Encouraged by this success, backed by the armed force around them, and by the populace of the city, the Parliament proceeded to the strong measure of granting supplies for six months only. Such events at once attracted attention in England, and votes of censure were moved by the Opposition on the Irish policy of the Government. But Lord North had also learnt wisdom from American affairs, and early

Difficulties in
Ireland.

in 1780 he passed Bills acknowledging the commercial equality of Ireland and a free export of their chief commodities.

But even Ireland was by no means the last of Lord North's troubles. The feeling against government by influence had been steadily on the increase. With characteristic selfishness, the mass of the people had sympathized with the war, which seemed to some rebellion against the natural supremacy of Englishmen, and which others saw clearly was a revolt against that commercial system which they regarded as the chief safeguard of their own interests. But want of success, increased taxation, and a diminution of trade, began to change the current of opinion, and men observed with jealousy the impossibility of carrying any measure against the influence of the Court. The King had completely triumphed, and by means of his friends, his pensioners, contractors, and sinecurists, could at all times command a large majority in Parliament. The Whigs, finding that influence which they had so long wielded thus transferred to other hands, began to see the enormity of such a system, and the great leaders of the party, whose territorial power was very great, put themselves at the head of a reform movement which soon became important. In the autumn of 1779 motions for economical reform were brought into the House of Lords. They were rejected; but in December the general feeling, and the determination of the Whigs to create an organization outside the House, were shown by a great meeting in York, attended by a large majority of the freeholders of the county. This influential meeting was followed by others of the same sort in many counties, and the organizers of the party went so far as to establish committees of correspondence on the model of the committees in America. Twenty-three counties and many large towns, in spite of the constant opposition of the Government, sent up petitions like the one agreed to in Yorkshire, demanding a reduction in exorbitant emoluments and the abolition of sinecures. Sir George Savile presented the Yorkshire petition on the 8th of February, and three days afterwards Burke introduced a great measure for economical reform of which he had already given notice. Lord North found it so impossible to oppose him, that the Bill passed almost unanimously into Committee. It there, however, encountered a most vigorous resistance, and was finally destroyed piecemeal. But the movement, once started, continued its course. Mr. Crewe introduced a Bill to deprive revenue officers of their votes, and Sir Philip Clerke another for the exclusion of contractors from the

Difficulties from
the reform
spirit in
England.

House. Outside the House the pressure became heavier and heavier, till at length, on the 6th of April, after a great meeting of the people of Westminster, where Fox had harangued, and which was thought sufficiently dangerous to demand the presence of troops, Dunning rose in the House, and after blaming the ministry for their underhand obstruction to Burke's Bill, produced the startling resolution, that "it is the opinion of this Committee that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." This resolution, with a very slight alteration, he was enabled to carry against Government by a majority of eighteen. It was followed by two other resolutions in the same direction, one declaring the right of the House to reform the Civil List, the other that the abuses complained of should be immediately redressed. Both were carried. But when the House again met, and he proceeded to more detailed motions, Dunning found that the corrupt body he addressed, though willing enough to affirm abstract resolutions, had no real liking for reform. His majorities rapidly diminished, and finally no action was taken upon the resolutions which he had carried.

Scarcely had the ministry managed to escape from Dunning's resolutions when a new danger came upon them. This time they did not stand alone. All parties in the House had to join to repel a common enemy. It has been mentioned that a measure of Sir George Savile's for the alleviation of the penal laws against Roman Catholics had been carried, and that the motion of introducing a similar measure for Scotland had caused much displeasure in that country. The feeling spread, and Protestant associations formed themselves throughout England, and fixed upon the crackbrained Lord George Gordon for their chief and representative. The agitation had been kept up during the last year, and now Lord George wanted a great demonstration and petition to be got up. He declined to present the petition unless accompanied by 20,000 followers, who were to meet in St. George's Fields, adorned with blue cockades. Instead of 20,000, some 60,000 men were present, and proceeded to march across London Bridge to the Parliament House. There, in Palace Yard, they held their position unmolested, while they attacked and ill used any obnoxious Peers, or broke into the lobby of the Lower House, and, with their excitement kept alive by addresses which Lord George delivered from the staircase above, demanded that their petition should be at once attended to. Lord George was brought to some reason by a threat of personal violence if he continued his foolish behaviour, and the military at

The Lord George
Gordon riots.
June 1780.

length arriving, the immediate precincts of the Parliament House were cleared. But though foiled in their wish to intimidate the House, the mob were by no means satisfied, and the unaccountable and timorous delay on the part of the executive, whether ministry or magistrates, allowed the riot to reach such a height that it could be with difficulty controlled. That night the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian embassies were burnt, and after a day of comparative quiet, the mob, finding itself unopposed, proceeded to renewed acts of violence. For four days London was in its hands. The prisons were broken open, Catholic chapels burnt and sacked, the shops of Catholic tradesmen pillaged, and the houses of those who were known to be favourable to the Catholic claims either destroyed, as those of Lord Mansfield and Sir George Savile, or kept in a state of siege. Johnson tells us how he saw the mob, quietly and undisturbed, destroying the sessions house in the Old Bailey. Horace Walpole found Lord Hertford's house barricaded and the lord himself and his sons loading their muskets in expectation of an assault. On the 7th the tumult rose to its height. This was the fifth day of the riots. The town was so intimidated that blue flags and strips of blue were shown on most houses, and few came out without the blue cockade. The rioters had long since passed from under the control of their religious leaders, and were guided by leaders of their own. On this day more than one attack was made on the Bank, headed by a fellow mounted on a brewer's horse, with a harness of the chains of Newgate jingling about him. More chapels were sacked, more prisons opened. No less than thirty-six fires were blazing at once. The most fearful scene was in Holborn, where Mr. Langdale's distillery was broken open and set on fire. There, amid the flames fed by constant supplies of spirit, the wretched rioters flew upon the liquor, drinking the gin from pails, or lying grovelling and lapping it from the kennel; many died of actual drunkenness, many more perished helplessly in the flames. It was time that something should be done, yet the ministry and magistrates alike shrank from doing anything. There was a notion abroad that the military might not act till an hour after the Riot Act had been read by a magistrate, and courageous magistrates could not be found; nor was it forgotten that on previous occasions soldiers had been harshly treated by juries for over zeal. The emergency was one which well suited the dogged and courageous character of the King. On the 7th he summoned a Privy Council, and put to it the question whether the soldiers might be employed without the machinery of the Riot Act. None

CON. MON.

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of the members of the Council would take the responsibility of recommending such a course, and the Council had almost separated without doing anything, when George called upon Wedderburn, who was present as legal assessor, to state the view of the common law. He unhesitatingly said that a soldier did not cease to be a citizen, and might, and should, interfere to prevent acts of felony. This was all the King required. There were 10,000 troops in London, and he now felt he might act energetically. Orders were sent to Lord Amherst, the commander-in-chief, to that effect, and that evening and during the night such vigorous measures were taken that the mob was at once crushed and the crisis over. The numbers killed and wounded by the military were not less than 500, and probably very many more, as many were carried off privately. Undoubtedly the King's decision on this occasion saved London. Of the prisoners some twenty-nine were executed. The Lord Mayor was tried and convicted of criminal negligence. Lord George Gordon was arrested and foolishly tried for high treason. Wedderburn had meanwhile become Lord Chief Justice, and before him he was tried. The Judge's address was more like the pleading of an advocate than the charge of a judge, and people felt it so; the turn of feeling also had a little changed, and Lord George was acquitted. He died, a Jew, in 1793 of gaol distemper caught in Newgate, where he had been confined for libelling the Queen of France. When the House of Commons again assembled the gigantic Protestant petition was considered. It was met by five resolutions, the joint work of the political enemies Burke and North, which declared the continual approval of the Commons of the late Act of Toleration.

In the midst of these difficulties at home there had been some rays of comfort from the success of both fleet and army abroad. Early in the year Rodney had been placed in command of a fleet which was to act in the West Indies. On his way out he had instructions to relieve Gibraltar, which had been closely invested since the beginning of the war with Spain. While carrying out these orders he met the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent and gained over it a complete victory. Four line of battle-ships were taken, four destroyed, only four made their escape. Gibraltar was then relieved, and Minorca also, so that Rodney could write home that the English were masters of the Mediterranean. He thence proceeded on his way to the West Indies, where De Guichen, with the French and Spanish fleets, could not be brought to an engagement, and where for the time nothing was done. Though Rodney's successes and

Gleams of
success.

Rodney's
victory.

those of Admiral Digby in the Bay of Biscay were somewhat neutralized by the capture of our West and East India merchant fleets, ably planned and carried out by the Spaniards off the Azores, they raised the spirits of the Government, coupled as they were with cheering news from the army. Just as the Gordon riots were suppressed, information arrived that Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, had fallen into our hands. On several occasions during the war the eyes of the commanders had been turned southward. The feeling of loyalty was less shaken there than in the more northern provinces, and it seemed desirable that the efforts of England should not be confined to one little spot along the whole of the enormous seaboard of America. Savannah in Georgia had already been taken, and in pursuance of a general plan for acting on a more extended basis, Clinton moved with the bulk of his army from New York and besieged Charleston. The siege was carried on with vigour and skill, and General Lincoln found himself obliged to surrender. Clinton set actively to work to reduce the Carolinas. Virginia, one of the centres of disaffection, would thus be between two fires, and something more tangible might be effected than had yet been done by the army at New York. In fact, the interest of the war was now transferred to the South, for though Washington and the main American army still lay about New York, its effect there was only to neutralize the English army opposed to it, while the active operations which led to the end of the war were carried on at Carolina and Virginia.

Capture of
Charleston.

The interest of
the war passes
to the South.

Before describing the final struggle, it will be well to see the difficulties under which the English laboured. The war had become a world-wide one. Not only had the two maritime powers France and Spain engaged in it, but it was plain that our old rivals the Dutch were soon going to do so also. Before the end of the year an unusually strong instance of our determination to insist on the right of searching neutral ships, when a convoy was searched and captured under the guns of the convoying ships of war, had raised the anger of the Dutch to a high pitch. The capture of a vessel containing Mr. Laurens, late President of the American Congress, and proofs that he was engaged in making an alliance with the States of Holland, rendered it impossible to avoid a declaration of war, and Holland was added to our armed opponents. Nor was this all. The same odious rigour of search nearly brought all the nations of the North upon us. The Empress of Russia had suffered from it at the hands of the Spaniards. She

England alone
against all
Europe.

War with the
Dutch.

therefore, acting probably at the instigation of the King of Prussia, constituted herself the champion of neutral rights, and succeeded in uniting the nations of the North in an armed neutrality in support of the doctrine that neutral ships made neutral cargoes, and that nothing was contraband of war except what had been definitely made so by treaty. In other words, she claimed for neutrals the right of carrying the property of belligerents unmolested, a right which virtually told against the English only, whose main hope lay in keeping dominion of the sea and stopping the trade and supplies of its enemies. The Armed Neutrality also upheld the now generally received principle that a blockade to be respected must be efficient, that is, that there must be sufficient force before a blockaded port to prevent the entrance of trading vessels. The whole maritime power of Europe was thus arrayed against England, and yet it was only by keeping the upper hand at sea that she could hope to carry out successfully her attempts on land. It was impossible to pour large armies into America and to subdue a continent without some easily accessible base of operations. This base the sea afforded. It will be seen in the sequel that the loss of naval supremacy was the immediate cause of the disaster of Yorktown.

But as yet the arms of England continued to be successful. Clinton, leaving Cornwallis to command in the South, had hastened back from Carolina to New York, that he might be ready to oppose the French fleet, whose arrival had been threatened. In June the expected armament arrived, consisting of seven line of battle-ships and 6000 men under the Count de Rochambeau. The rapidity with which Rhode Island was at once occupied and placed in a state of defence thwarted the efforts of the English to regain it, but the British fleet was so much stronger than that of the enemy that a blockade was maintained around the seaboard of the province, which paralyzed all action on the part of the French for the rest of the year. This forced inactivity of Rochambeau gave rise to one of the best known episodes of the war. Washington left his headquarters to

Arnold's
treachery.

meet the French general and concert measures for action if possible. His absence was used for the purpose of carrying out a piece of treachery which had long been hatching. General Arnold was in command at West Point on the Hudson, a position of great importance, as it prevented the occupation of the valley which affords direct communication between New York and Canada. Married to a royalist wife, with a feeling that his un-

doubted genius was not sufficiently valued, and smarting under a public reprimand for some dishonest practices into which he had been led by his poverty and love of ostentation, Arnold had for some time been in secret correspondence with Clinton, making arrangements for changing sides, and handing over to the English the important post of which he had charge. The correspondence had been carried on through Major André, a young and very promising officer, now Adjutant-General of Clinton's army. Washington's departure seemed to offer an opportunity for carrying out the plan. To complete the negotiation a personal interview was required, and Major André, with instructions from Clinton not to enter the lines of the enemy and to wear uniform, repaired to the neighbourhood of West Point. When day dawned the interview was not over, and André was induced to continue it in a house within the American lines. On leaving he was also imprudent enough to dress as a civilian. He had already passed the lines on his homeward journey, when he was accidentally met and stopped by some militiamen; he avowed himself an English officer, but presented a pass from Arnold; the pass was disregarded, he was searched, and papers found in his boot. Under these circumstances there were about him all the outward marks of a spy, and as such he was treated. Much to the anger of the English, Washington, refusing to hear any representations in his favour, brought him to trial before a court of American officers, by whom he was condemned. He even rejected the last prayer of the enthusiastic soldier, that he might be saved from a felon's death, and had him hanged, with all the usual attendant circumstances of disgrace—a piece of stern but perhaps necessary justice, and, in spite of the outcry raised at the time, apparently in strict accordance with the laws of war. Timely information of André's capture enabled Arnold to escape from his house, where Washington was momentarily expected, and to obtain shelter on board the English man-of-war which had conveyed André to the ill-fated meeting. Washington was surprised on reaching Arnold's house to find no host, but it was not till he had paid a visit to West Point, and found the commander absent there also, that he discovered the real state of the case.

Trial and death
of Major
André.

While things were thus at a standstill round New York, the war had been actively prosecuted in Carolina. Alarmed by the fall of Charleston, the Americans had sent General Gates to take the command there; they regarded him as their ablest general, and he figured in some degree as a rival to Washington.

Campaign in
Carolina.

He found the English in possession of a line of country extending from Pedee river to Fort 96. The main body of the English, under the command of Lord Rawdon, lay in the neighbourhood of Camden, towards the centre of this line. Against this position Gates advanced; his march was a very difficult one; he had to make his way through a rough uncultivated country, where provisions were not to be obtained; for several days his troops had to subsist on the peaches which are there almost indigenous. He was able, in spite of these difficulties, to bring into the field a force numerically double that of the English, who were no more than 2000 strong. His troops, however, were unable to withstand the attack of a well-disciplined force. On the left and centre they at once threw down their arms and took to flight. The troops from Maryland and Delaware upon the right showed, it is true, more firmness, but the victory of the English was complete, and Lord Cornwallis, who had hurried up to assume the command, improved it to the utmost. Colonel Tarleton, an officer of indefatigable energy, pushed rapidly forward, and succeeded in surprising Colonel Sumter, a partisan officer, on the Catawba, and the whole army moved steadily forward to Charlotte, with the intention of invading North Carolina. A slight check sustained by a body of loyal militia, however, alarmed Cornwallis, and, together with the smallness of the number of troops at his command, induced him to postpone his forward movement till the following year. In the interval he and Lord Rawdon, his second in command, were guilty of acts of most impolitic severity. Such prisoners as could be proved to be deserters from the royal army, or to have once accepted the royal Government and to have subsequently joined Gates, were hanged. Some of the disaffected residents of Charleston were deported to Saint Augustin, while the property of others was sequestrated. Rawdon in fact went even further, and ventured to set a price on the head of every rebel. Such acts went far to alienate the people, and by weakening the security of the communications increased the difficulties of the following year, and tended to neutralize the effects of a very promising campaign.

The same success which had attended the English arms in Carolina followed the efforts of the fleet in the early part of the next year; Rodney captured from the Dutch, who had joined the coalition against England, the enormously wealthy island of St. Eustatia. Much of the property collected there belonged however to English owners, and a vast clamour arose when the admiral declared it all prize of war. He asserted, and it

St. Eustatia
captured.
1781.

subsequently became plain, that the island was used as an entrepôt for the collection of goods which were afterwards to be supplied to the enemy. Other charges brought against him, accusing him of hasty and over rigorous action, afterwards proved to be equally ill founded, for fortunately both military and naval commanders were members of Parliament, and had full opportunity of vindicating themselves before the House, and of stripping the charges against them of the exaggerations which surrounded them. Thus General Vaughan was charged with forcible removal of all Jews from the island, but was able to produce a written document from the Jews themselves thanking him for his considerate treatment of them.

These successes soon proved to be delusive. The coalition against England was becoming too powerful to be withstood. Already a great drawn battle with the Dutch had been fought off the Doggerbank, and Sir Hyde Parker had been compelled to withdraw his shattered fleet into English quarters; and it soon became evident that we had for the present lost our supremacy of the sea, or at least were unable to keep a commanding superiority in all parts of the world at once, for to such dimensions had the war grown. Thus the French made an attack upon Jersey, which was only saved, when it had already fallen into their hands, by the intrepidity of Major Pierson, a young soldier of twenty-five, who himself lost his life by almost the last shot fired; another and more successful expedition under the Duke of Crillon assaulted Minorca; while a great armament setting out from France parted midway across the Atlantic, thus becoming two fleets, one of which, under Bailli de Suffren, was able to give us full employment in the Indian waters, while the other, under De Grasse, raised the naval power in the West Indies above our own. Rodney found himself unable to save the Island of Tobago, and, broken by the climate, was compelled to return to England. Nor was his successor Sir Samuel Hood more fortunate; a detached squadron was found sufficient to counterbalance the English fleet in the West Indies, while De Grasse sailed with the bulk of his fleet to the American coast, where his arrival at once turned the balance against us, and deprived us of that command of the sea which was absolutely necessary for our success. The fatal effects of this loss were soon to be apparent.

The first warlike event of the year was an expedition under General Arnold (who had obtained a command from his new masters) directed against Virginia, in the hope that such a diversion

Delusive
character of
these early
successes.

might assist Cornwallis in what was intended to be the main effort of the year. It produced however no great effects beyond the destruction of a considerable amount of property, and when Cornwallis set himself in motion, he found himself faced by a more formidable opponent than General Gates. At the instigation of Washington, Nathaniel Greene, a self-made general, who had risen from a blacksmith's forge, had been given command in the South. He proved himself a man of great vigour and tenacity, and though invariably beaten when opposed to any large body of English troops, he contrived to recover so quickly, that the barren name of victory was usually all that was left to the English. The campaign opened by the defeat of Colonel Tarleton, who had rashly attacked the Americans under Morgan at Cowpens; nor could Cornwallis succeed in getting between the victorious general and Greene's army; their united forces were compelled however to fall back before Cornwallis' advance till they had evacuated the whole of North Carolina. Political necessities checked the English advance, and Cornwallis attempted, without much success, to consolidate the royal influence in

Battle of
Guilford
Courthouse.
March 15.

the province; but, by the middle of March, Greene found himself again in a position to re-enter Carolina and to give battle to Cornwallis in the neighbourhood of Guilford. He occupied a position at Guilford Courthouse; as usual the English were victorious, as usual they reaped nothing from their victory, for Cornwallis, finding his troops much diminished in numbers and not meeting with the assistance he expected from the inhabitants, was compelled to fall back upon Wilmington. Greene did not long pursue him, for by thus withdrawing to the coast he had laid open the road into South Carolina, where Rawdon had been left with a small detachment. Greene saw his opportunity, and pushing boldly southward, again approached the English post at Camden. Afraid to attack Rawdon without reinforcements, he occupied a strong position upon Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from Camden. There Rawdon thought it prudent to attack him, and he was driven from his position. The ludicrous insufficiency of the

Hobkirk's Hill.
April 25, 1781.

English troops (there were but 900 engaged in the battle) again prevented them from using their victory, and Greene was enabled, without risking another engagement, to compel Rawdon to withdraw his troops to the immediate defence of Charleston.

Meanwhile two courses had been open to Cornwallis at Wilmington; he might either hurry in pursuit of Greene and assist the

hard pressed army of Rawdon, or push northward and effect a junction with the Virginian expedition, which has already been mentioned, under Arnold and Phillips. To pursue the first course was to give up all his previous successes, to relinquish all hope of striking a decisive blow; for independent action his own army, numbering only 1500, was too small: he decided therefore to march northward, and in May formed a junction with the expedition, by which the number of his troops was raised to 7000. He left Wilmington on the day on which the battle of Hobkirk's Hill was fought. Till the heat of summer compelled a cessation of active fighting, Cornwallis was always superior to his enemy; but as the autumn advanced, the Americans, who had been constantly reinforced, were again a match for him. The three English armies were then acting—
 the main body, 10,000 strong, under Clinton at New York—Cornwallis' army, about 7000 strong, on the coast of Virginia—Rawdon's handful of men, now under the command of Colonel Stewart, a little in advance of Charleston. Before the close of the year the whole of South Carolina and Georgia were lost, with the exception of Charleston and Savannah; for Greene, coming down from his summer position on the Santee Hills, had succeeded, after a very severe struggle at the Eutaw Springs, in obliging
 Colonel Stewart to retire to Charleston Neck, leaving
 the whole open country to be overrun by the Americans.

Position of the
English armies.

Battle of Eutaw.
Sept. 8.

The position of Cornwallis was also becoming critical. Cut off from support on the south, his only hope was to fight his way northwards to join Clinton, or to receive large reinforcements from this general by sea; but it was not likely that Washington would allow his army to be neutralized by the English troops in New York. It was almost certain that he would turn his attention southward, join General Wayne in Virginia, and render a northward movement
 of the English impossible. The only real hope was from
 the sea, but the sea was no longer a secure basis of operations. The English fleet, now under the command of Admiral Graves, who had succeeded Arbuthnot, tried its strength against De Grasse in September. The action was indecisive, but it became evident that, when all the fleets were joined, the French could muster thirty-six sail of the line in the Bay of Chesapeake, while the English force was no more than twenty-five. But as yet the English did not acknowledge the naval superiority of their enemies, and Cornwallis, acting as he believed, though apparently erroneously, on instructions from Clinton, took possession of Yorktown, a village on the high southern bank of York

Cornwallis in
Virginia.

river, and there awaited assistance. The defensive position thus taken up by the English army and the want of energy shown is explained by the news which had reached Clinton, that the French were thinking of withdrawing if the war should last beyond the current year. He believed that, could he contrive to weather the difficulties which surrounded him, the opposition of the Americans, unable to stand alone, would on the loss of their allies disappear without further effort on his part. His hope was not unfounded; it was in truth a critical moment for the Americans. At a meeting between the American generals and De Grasse, the Admiral had declared that he had orders not to remain longer than November; the nation was on the verge of bankruptcy; the New England States, with the selfishness which had marked them throughout, were ready to give in. It was thus absolutely necessary for Washington to act quickly and to win some striking success. What Clinton therefore ought to have foreseen happened; Washington turned his attention towards Virginia, and undeterred by an assault on the New England States which Clinton attempted as a diversion, the mass of the American army began steadily to gather round Cornwallis. The position which he occupied was not a happy one, it was in fact untenable without command of the sea, which, as has been mentioned, had already been lost. He occupied the southern bank of the York river, there about a mile wide, and on the northern side the little village of Gloucester. The fortifications were of no great value, and the advanced posts were at once withdrawn upon the receipt of a despatch from Clinton, stating that there was every hope that the fleet, with 5000 men, would attempt to relieve the army, and would leave New York for that purpose in about ten days' time. This was a fatal error, as it gave the enemy positions commanding the works. The besiegers numbered 18,000, their large and powerful artillery being in part supplied by the French ships. The first parallel was completed on the 9th of October; the fire from it was overwhelming: on the 11th the second parallel was opened, nor could the bravery of the besieged prevent the capture of two advanced redoubts on the 14th, which were at once included in it. It now became evident to the besieged that the expected reinforcements had failed them, and after a brilliant sally, during which many of the enemy's guns were spiked, Cornwallis, finding all his guns silenced and his ammunition drawing to a close, felt that he had to choose between surrender and an effort to withdraw his troops from their untenable position. He determined to attempt the latter plan; his

American
armies close
round
Yorktown.

scheme was a desperate one; his troops were to be transported in open boats to Gloucester, they were there to break through the enemy's lines, which were not strong in that direction, to seize the horses of the besiegers and of the neighbouring country people, and make their way to New York. The boats with their loads had already crossed once when a storm arose which rendered the further prosecution of the plan impossible, and when morning dawned Cornwallis had no alternative but to make terms. He agreed to surrender all his troops as prisoners of war, and on the 19th of October, 4000 British soldiers who remained fit for work marched out with the honours of war between the long lines of the French and American army and laid down their arms. It is worth mentioning, as a strange little piece of professional arrogance, that when marching between the lines of French on the one side and Americans on the other, the English officers saluted punctiliously all the French officers as belonging to a regular army, but refused any acknowledgment to the Americans. This was virtually the close of the war. The infant Hercules had strangled its second serpent, as was afterwards portrayed on Franklin's medal.

Cornwallis
compelled to
surrender.
Oct. 19, 1781.

The close of the war under such circumstances of failure could not but bring with it the fall of the ministry. The news arrived at a striking time, but two days before the opening of the session. With such a weapon in their hand, and with the stored-up rancour of ten years of opposition, the leaders of the Whigs pressed motion after motion against the Government. Fox and Burke vied with each other in their bitter assaults, and the young Pitt, who had come into Parliament as member for Appleby, on the nomination of Sir James Lowther, rapidly assumed a high position on the same side. The Budget was in itself a proof that Lord North was yielding; the estimates were so small, that he had to explain that he intended to give up all notion of a war on a "continental plan by sending armies to march through the provinces from South to North;" he would henceforth content himself with holding some important harbours on the American coast. Outside Parliament, in the metropolitan counties, vigorous opposition meetings were held, and the public anger was raised to its climax by a succession of misfortunes which befell our arms. Admiral Kempenfeldt found himself completely outnumbered in the West Indies, and the whole of the Windward Islands, except Barbadoes and Antigua, were lost. Minorca, which was regarded as of even more importance than Gibraltar,

New session of
Parliament.
Nov. 27.

Tottering
condition of the
Government.

and the key to the Mediterranean, surrendered after a gallant defence. The Bailli de Suffren thwarted an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. At the same time at home the Irish difficulties, which will be treated of more at length afterwards, were becoming most threatening. Under these circumstances, a motion by General Conway, that

Defeat of the
ministry on
Conway's
motion.

the war on the continent of America should be discontinued was lost by one vote only, and a repetition of the same motion a week later was carried by a majority of 234 against 215. Lord George Germaine, who was pledged to the continuance of the war, withdrew from the Government, and finally a direct vote of no confidence on the 15th of March was only lost by a scanty majority of nine. North saw that further struggle was hopeless, and on the 20th compelled the King to allow him to declare the administration at an end. He went out of office with his usual tact and good humour. A great attack had been arranged for that evening, which was to be led by Lord Surrey; he and North rose at the same moment, and the cries from the rival parties could not be quelled till Fox rose and proposed a formal motion that Lord

Lord North's
resignation.

Surrey be first heard. With admirable presence of mind, North rose and said that he would speak to that motion, and prove its inutility by declaring his government at an end. There is a well-known anecdote of his persistent good humour; expecting a long debate, the Opposition members had sent away their carriages, and as they stood awaiting them shivering in the drizzling rain, Lord North passed through them to get into his. "Gentlemen," he said, "you see the advantage of being in the secret," and drove off.

North's resignation was the complete defeat for the time of the King's plans; but George III. was a man of the most obstinate and determined character, and he by no means intended as yet to give up the fight. The Opposition which had formed the alliance to drive North from office consisted of two sections. First, the old or Revolution Whigs, as they liked to call themselves, who, true to their aristocratic principle, had chosen for their leader the wealthiest but by no means the ablest man among them, Lord Rockingham, an agriculturist, a sporting man, of respectable talents and much honesty, though without any of the gifts of oratory which are necessary for the management of a public body; and secondly, those Whigs who had owned the leadership of Chatham, and who now followed the Earl of Shelburne; a party less tied by aristocratic connections, and representing, as far as could then be represented, the real liberal interests of the country.

Shelburne
refuses the
Premiership.

To avoid the necessity of putting himself into the hands of his particular enemies, the Whig families, it was to this section that the King at once applied. But, as Chatham had always found, it was of itself far too weak a party in Parliament to form a satisfactory ministry. Moreover, the eagerness with which Burke and Dunning had of late years demanded financial reform, and the share they had taken in driving North from office, made it impossible for their claims to be ignored. Shelburne therefore refused the King's request. The King's discomfiture seemed quite complete when Rockingham accepted office. The ministry consisted of equal numbers of the two sections of the Liberals. Rockingham, Keppel, Lord John Cavendish, the Duke of Richmond, and Mr. Fox, of the one party; Lord Shelburne, Camden, General Conway, Lord Ashburton (Dunning), and the Duke of Grafton of the other. Strangely enough, the balance between them was held by the Tory Lord Thurlow, the King's personal friend, who remained in the position of Lord Chancellor. Pitt haughtily refused to accept any subordinate office.

New Whig
Government.

Three great questions at once presented themselves to the new administration,—to pacify the clamours of Ireland, to complete the economical reforms to which they were pledged, and by means of which they hoped to regain some of the power of which the successful policy of the King had robbed them, and to bring to conclusion as honourably as possible the American War.

The three
questions which
met it.

In Ireland the agitation had been constantly on the increase since the conciliatory measures of Lord North in 1780. Free trade had been granted, but this step towards independence had opened the way to still further demands; if they had followed the Americans thus far, why not follow them a step further and demand legislative independence also? The legislative superiority of England rested mainly upon two Statutes, Poynings' Law, or the Statute of Drogheda of the reign of Henry VII., by which all Bills brought forward in the Irish Parliament, except such as regarded money, were subject to revision or suppression by the English Privy Council, and the Statute 6 George I., which asserted the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland. No sooner had Grattan succeeded in his first agitation, than he proceeded, in spite even of the wishes of his friends Lord Charlemont and Burke, to set to work the same machinery for the purpose of obtaining the reversal of these statutes. As early as April 1780 he had

The agitation
in Ireland.

produced, though unsuccessfully, a motion in the Irish Parliament declaratory of Irish independence. Since that time his position had become stronger, disputes in Parliament had excited the national feeling, the volunteers had completed their organization, and appointed Lord Charlemont their commander-in-chief. A great meeting of deputies from the volunteers had been held at Dungannon, which had accepted to the full Grattan's propositions. With this great armed power behind him, and reinforced by the influence of the Roman Catholics, whose interests he had lately espoused, Grattan was enabled on the 16th of April to bring forward a final and successful address declaring the perfect legislative independence of Ireland. It was carried unanimously through both Houses. In face of this pressure, though not blind to the almost inevitable evils of a dual Government, Fox and Shelburne yielded the point, and the two obnoxious Statutes were unconditionally repealed.

The ministry had entered upon office supported by a vast agitation throughout the country, by county meetings, societies and corresponding associations, and these allies outside the walls of Parliament were eager for very sweeping measures of reform in all directions, especially financial reform, limitation of the influence of the Crown, the purity of the House, and reform of the representation. All these measures had a political as well as an economical side. They all formed portions of the avowed politics of the Whigs for breaking the power of the Crown. Both revenue officers and contractors assisted to uphold Government influence; the votes of the revenue officers were said to command no less than seventy boroughs, and contracts, given not because advantageous to the public, but for political purposes, were but so many indirect bribes. But the voice of the statesman is apt to be singularly tempered by his accession to office, and the Government Bills which Burke introduced in June proved but a weak reflection of his former measure. Certain obvious abuses were removed, secret service money was diminished, and a smaller share of it allowed to the Treasury; the Pension List was cut down to £90,000, and £300 fixed as the outside limit for a single pension; the Lords of Trade and some other unnecessary officials were abolished; but the expenses of the Principality of Wales and the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, together with many useless offices of the Household and public offices, were untouched, and the whole saving effected was only about £72,000 a year. Burke in thus limiting his propositions was doubtless acting under pressure from his colleagues. His own sincerity was proved by the limitation

Economical
reforms.

which he set to the inordinate emolument which as Paymaster he derived from his own office. But the honesty of the ministry as a whole was somewhat compromised when they forestalled the action of their own Bill, and hurriedly granted large pensions, varying from £2600 to £3200, to Lord Grantham, to the Chancellor, and to Colonel Barré. Still further proof that a limitation of the royal power and not real reform was the object in view, was given by the reception accorded to a measure for parliamentary reform introduced by William Pitt. Chatham had always seen and asserted that some measure of parliamentary reform was necessary if influence was to give way to any true national representation. But though constantly inveighing against Government influence when in the hands of their opponents, the Whig oligarchs, to whom parliamentary influence was as necessary as it was to the King himself, had no idea of lessening their own power, and Pitt's measure for increasing the representation of the counties, then the chief homes of independence, though ably supported, was defeated by a majority of twenty, swelled by the open opposition of some of the ministry and the lukewarmness of others. Fox and the Duke of Richmond however supported him. Divisions in the Cabinet upon so important a question, scandals such as the Barré pension and the unsatisfactory carrying out of promises of economical reform, tended to lessen the popularity of the ministry. But it was the management of the great question of all, the completion, namely, of an honourable peace, which displayed chiefly the weakness of the administration.

As far as America itself was concerned the fall of Yorktown had virtually put an end to hostilities, and the declared policy of England reached no further than the retention of certain posts and harbours. It may be a question whether this was wise, for it is certain that the condition of the Americans was very deplorable. Bankrupt and impoverished, the Congress was in no condition to support the army in a state of efficiency, and from its factions and intrigues had so lost public confidence, that Washington was earnestly intreated to make himself dictator, and take the management of the country into his own hands. But it was impossible for the Whigs, after the language they had used in Parliament, where they had not scrupled to rejoice at American successes, and to speak of the American armies as *our* armies, to think of anything but peace at once and on any terms. But though the war with America thus died out, that with the allied powers of Europe was by no means ended. Spain and France had joined the Americans with the cry of

Conclusion of
the American
War.

independence, absurd enough from such monarchies, but with the real object of destroying the power of England, and reversing the humiliating terms forced upon them by the Treaty of 1763. The Dutch had joined the coalition for commercial objects of its own; they were desirous of destroying the English Navigation Act and of restoring the freedom of the sea. The moment seemed to have arrived when all these wishes could be gratified, and negotiations for a general peace were therefore of a twofold character and by no means easy to complete, as America was pledged not to conclude a treaty without her allies. A further complication arose from the peculiar arrangements of the English ministry, by which American affairs fell to the lot of Shelburne as Home Secretary, while Fox, his rival in the ministry, in his capacity of Foreign Minister had the duty of negotiating with the European powers. As Dr. Franklin, the most important American diplomatist, was at this time in Paris, that city became the centre of negotiations, and thither both ministers sent agents. Mr. Oswald, on the part of Lord Shelburne, began to open the business with Franklin, while Mr. Thomas Grenville was accredited as plenipotentiary from Fox to arrange matters with M. Vergennes, the French minister. With singular ingratitude, the Americans, though bound not to conclude a treaty without their allies, thought it right to complete all the arrangements except the actual conclusion secretly and separately with the English, although they had not thought it beneath them to let their allies undertake all the more arduous parts of the war. Although there was some difference of opinion as to the exact manner of granting the independence of America, all parties in England were agreed that it should be granted, and as this was the sole point at issue between the countries, there was little to be done but the arrangement of boundaries and some minor details.

Exorbitant
demands of
France.

Very different was the case with the French; when the basis of the Treaty of 1763 was proposed it was absolutely refused. It was plainly asserted that the very object of the war had been to annihilate that treaty, and hints were thrown out that England would be expected to surrender even a large part of her East Indian dominions. "Your arms are too long," said M. de Vergennes, "why not be satisfied with Bengal?" Before the year was over events happened which caused the French to lower their tone. The fall of Yorktown and the subsequent failure of the arms of England had made them believe that her power was gone, and they confidently looked forward to the success of two great enterprises then on foot to complete her discomfiture. De Grasse, with a large

fleet, was to join the Spanish fleet in the West Indies, take troops on board, and seize Jamaica. The fall of Minorca had set De Crillon free to complete the fall of Gibraltar, with a vast armament which he had been engaged in organizing. To Rodney was intrusted the duty of protecting Jamaica; he determined to prevent the junction of the enemy's fleets. A line of frigates within signal distance extended from St. Lucia to the French position at Martinique, and the enemy had not been two hours at sea before he was in pursuit. After some ineffectual efforts he succeeded in getting to the windward of the enemy, and on the 12th of April brought the French fleet to action. The number of the fleets was exactly equal. The superiority in number of men and weight of metal was in favour of the French. The battle is famous for the introduction into naval tactics of the manœuvre called breaking the line. Before this time it was usual to meet the enemy in line, to close up ship to ship, and win the battle chiefly by hard fighting. The new manœuvre consisted in advancing in column against the enemy's line, passing through it, thus breaking it in half, and enveloping one of the halves with the whole fleet. On the present occasion its use resulted in a complete victory. The English took or destroyed eight ships; the loss of the French was very great, being much increased by the crowded state of their vessels, which had on board the soldiers intended for the Jamaica expedition.

In spite of this great success, the ministry continued its efforts at peace, but so long as there was any hope of securing better terms by the capture of Gibraltar the French would not come to the point. Nor did the change of ministry caused by the death of Rockingham change the aspect of affairs. Gibraltar had now been three years besieged. British fleets had twice forced the blockade and relieved the garrison. General Elliot's defence was vigorous, and inspired his troops with confidence. In the last November a great sally had destroyed the greater part of the enemy's works, but now a final effort of the united house of Bourbon was to be made. De Crillon, fresh from his success at Minorca, took the command, and neglecting the attack from the land side, set his hopes on a terrific bombardment to be conducted from the sea. He constructed ten huge floating batteries, with walls of wood and iron seven feet thick, shot proof and bomb proof; a fleet of more than forty first-rates was in the harbour, and a fire from 400 pieces of artillery, in answer to which the English could produce but 100, was to annihilate the fortress. Elliot was not disheartened; trusting to the natural strength of the place in other directions, he con-

Siege of
Gibraltar.
Sept. 13.

CON. MON.

[v]

centrated the whole of his fire upon the terrible batteries. For a long while they seemed absolutely impenetrable, but at length the constant stream of red hot shot took effect, and at mid-day their fire slackened. Before midnight the largest of them burst into flames, and eight out of the ten were on fire during the night. The siege was over, and the fleet, which still waited in the hope of meeting Lord Howe on his arrival with a relieving squadron, was driven from the harbour by the weather before he came, so that he was able to enter and relieve the garrison unmolested.

This great success, following so close upon the West Indian victory, made it plain to the allies that England was by no means so prostrate as they had imagined, and there was no longer much difficulty in settling the preliminaries of a peace. France accepted readily the offers which had been rejected in the earlier part of the year. The partial cession, under the Treaty of Paris, 1763, of the small islands St. Pierre and Miquelon off the mouth of the St. Lawrence was completed, and the fishing round Newfoundland regulated. Tobago in the West Indies, and the establishments of Senegal and Goree in Africa, were ceded to France. In the East Indies the French were permitted to retain their commercial establishments, but without military occupation. The treaty for the destruction of Dunkirk was formally given up. With these slight concessions France had to be satisfied. Spain kept

Changed tone of French demands.
Terms of peace. Jan 20, 1783.

Minorca; and the Floridas were given up to her—better terms than she had a right to expect. England received in exchange the Bahamas, which she had already reconquered, and the right of cutting logwood in Honduras. Holland, with whom the English Government had in vain attempted a separate treaty, gained nothing by her rejection of those overtures, but was obliged to agree to a mutual restoration of conquests, with the exception of the seaport town of Negapatam, which remained to the English. A provisional treaty had already been made with America, by which the independence of the States was formally declared, boundaries settled, and commercial relations re-established. The only difficulty was the claim for compensation for loss of property raised by the American loyalists. This however was waived.

The duty of concluding these treaties had not fallen to the same ministry as had begun them. The composition of the Rockingham ministry had not been such as to secure its stability; it consisted, as has been said, of two distinct and equally balanced parties. A rivalry between the leaders of

Death of Rockingham. Division of the Whigs.

these parties was inevitable, especially when one of them was a man so self-asserting and so conscious of his claims as Fox. United for a moment under the nominal leadership of Rockingham, a man of great influence though of slender ability, their union was at once dissolved at the death of that nobleman. Fox refused to serve under Shelburne, to whom the King at once offered the Premiership, and though several of the old ministers retained their places, the greater part followed their leader, and a split, which proved to be final, arose between the two sections of the Whigs. The new ministry included, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Pitt, as yet but twenty-three years of age. Already his oratorical power and his aspiring genius had made him one of the first men of the House, and he was regarded as a worthy successor of Chatham. Till this period he and Fox had been on friendly terms, and usually on the same side on political questions, but he had his father's hatred of faction, or the introduction of personal motives into politics, and bitterly reproached Fox for his conduct in leaving the Government. Henceforward they were avowed opponents. Fox's own explanation of his conduct was as follows. He said that he had written by the King's orders to Mr. Grenville, then at Paris, to authorize him to offer to the American agents "to recognize the independence of the United States in the first instance, and not to reserve it as a condition of peace." At the same time an official letter, for the same purpose, was sent by the Earl of Shelburne to Sir Guy Carleton in America. Mr. Fox, suspecting that this measure though consented to in the Cabinet, had not the entire approbation of some of his colleagues, had, in order to prevent any misconception, purposely chosen the most forcible expressions that the English language could supply; and he confessed that his joy was so great on finding that the Earl of Shelburne, in the letter to Sir Guy Carleton, had repeated his very words, that he carried it immediately to the Marquis of Rockingham, and told him that their distrust and suspicions of that noble lord's intentions had been groundless, and were now done away. "Judge then," said he, "of my grief and astonishment when, during the illness of my noble friend, another language was heard in the Cabinet, and the noble Earl and his friends began to consider the above letter as containing offers only of a conditional nature, to be recalled if not accepted as the price of peace. Finding myself thus ensnared and betrayed, and all confidence destroyed, I quitted a situation in which I found I could not remain either with honour or safety."

The Shelburne ministry. July 1782.

The Whig love of office had not been satiated by a four months' tenure of it, nor had Lord North's party taken kindly to their loss of power, and in their greedy desire for personal aggrandizement, Fox and North, who a few months before were speaking of each other as the most corrupt of the human species, found it consistent with their dignity to combine to eject Lord Shelburne's Government. They chose as their test question the terms of the peace. Lord North, probably, conscientiously believed that they might have been more favourable. Fox had himself offered much larger concessions to Holland, and had not disapproved either of the American or French terms, nor did he now offer the smallest suggestion as to what better terms might have been procured. In parliamentary influence, however, the coalition was quite irresistible, and at the opening of the session in the spring Lord Shelburne found himself in a minority upon resolutions which had been moved condemnatory of the peace. He at once resigned. After a few ineffectual struggles the King had to accept the coalition ministry. Nothing could have been more distasteful to him; he found himself suddenly robbed of the whole advantage of twenty years of political scheming; he had triumphed on the fall of the Chatham administration, and for years had been served, as he would wish to be served, by a very able, popular, upright, but obsequious minister, only now to be thrown back, apparently bound hand and foot, into the hands of the hated Whig oligarchy. His policy had produced a disastrous war, an enormous augmentation of the National Debt, and an all but universal cry for a better system of economical government and national representation; while the Whigs, taking advantage of the opportunity which the ill success of royal Government gave them, had succeeded in regaining, as it appeared, an unassailable superiority. In parliamentary influence they were overwhelming; they numbered among their party Fox and North, the two ablest debaters in the House, and Burke, the greatest orator. They had also the long official experience of Lord North's party. Against them were the few remaining members of the old Chatham party, with no influence on which to rely, and upheld almost solely by the brilliant promise of young Pitt. The nominal head of the new Government was the Duke of Portland, for, as usual with coalitions, a man of no great ability was elected as the nominal chief. Fox and North were equal Secretaries of State, Lord John Cavendish was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Cabinet was completed by Lords Keppel, Carlisle, and Stormont. The great strength of the new

The coalition
ministry under
Portland,
April 1783.

ministry was speedily shown; a second Bill for parliamentary reform was rejected by the large majority of 144.

This ministry, which seemed so irresistible, was doomed to be of short duration, and the factious movement, which seemed to have thwarted for ever the policy of the King, proved in the sequel the means of establishing his policy for the rest of the reign. The cause of this sudden change of fortune was the necessity for some legislation with regard to the affairs of India, but before relating the final struggle it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the course of events in that country.

For this purpose the history can be broken conveniently into two periods. There are two classes of difficulties which the English have had to overcome. First, the rivalry with other European nations, and secondly, the opposition to their gradual encroachment offered by the native chiefs and native tribes. The first of these periods may be held to close at the Peace of 1763, and includes the formation and establishment by the English of the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, and the practical destruction of all other European influence.

Sketch of the
history of
India.

The India Company sprang into existence in the first year of the seventeenth century. In December 1600, the Indian Adventurers were formed into a chartered company, their monopoly being at first granted for fifteen years, and subsequently in 1609 rendered perpetual, but revocable at three years' notice from the Government. It was the intention of the Company to dispute the trade of the East with two nations who had already made good their position there. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1497 by the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama, had been followed by nearly a century during which Portugal showed extreme energy both in arms, in literature, and in mercantile pursuits. The western coast of India, from Goa northwards to Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, was more or less completely conquered by the Portuguese from the native rajahs. In 1580, Portugal was conquered by the Spaniards; its greatness was at an end. The Dutch had already established important factories both in India itself and in the Spice Islands, and had with success contested with the Portuguese their monopoly of the Indian trade. It was in emulation of the Dutch, and taking advantage of the depression of Portugal, and in pursuance also of their systematic opposition to Spain, that the English Company was formed.

Foundation of
the India
Company.
1600.

At first this trade was small but very lucrative. The attention of the Company was chiefly directed to the exclusion of interlopers, or free traders, who interfered with their monopoly. Their chief factories were Surat, near Bombay, which brought them into immediate conflict with the Portuguese, against whom they assisted the native princes, and Bantam, in Java, which placed them in conflict with the Dutch, at whose hands, in 1623, they suffered the famous outrage known as the Massacre of Amboyna, where ten Englishmen were put to death upon their confession of conspiracy against the Dutch extorted by torture. Both these positions were obviously inconvenient, and tended to permanent hostilities. Some more secure situation was desirable, and in 1640 the Rajah of the Carnatic allowed the Company to purchase ground close to the deserted Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé; and the Fort of St. George and the town of Madras rapidly rose to importance. This town took the place of Bantam. The marriage-treaty of Charles II. with Catherine of Braganza gave the town and island of Bombay to the English, and it took the place of Surat. In Bengal all three rival powers had factories upon the Hooghly, a branch of the Ganges. Not long after the transference of their business from Surat to Bombay the English became involved in some petty hostilities in Bengal, and were compelled to resign their factory, and found a home lower down the river at a village called Chutternuttee. They were in fact in great danger of being driven from the country, but they managed to mollify the anger of Aurungzebe, who was at that time on the throne of the Moguls, and in 1698 obtained a lease of the village, there built Fort William, and founded the town of Calcutta. The Revolution in England threatened for a time to destroy the India Company. A great rival company, called the New India Company, was formed, and was supported by the majority of the Commons. But finally, in 1708, the quarrels were adjusted, and the Companies coalesced to prevent the destruction of both, which threatened to follow their eager competition. Their whole capital was made to consist of £3,200,000, lent to Government at five per cent.; and they had the right of borrowing one million and a half more. Repeated prolongations of their privileges were made; in 1712 to 1736, in 1730 to 1769, in 1743 to 1783. Their three settlements formed separate presidencies or seats of government, unconnected one with the other, each governed by a president and council. Events in Europe had practically destroyed the rivalry of Portugal, which had lost its energy, and moreover, in its dislike of Spain, had become the close

Foundation
of Madras,
Bombay, and
Calcutta.

Decline of
Portuguese
and Dutch
competition.

ally of the English. The stress even of the Dutch competition was very greatly slackened. That country also, in its dread of France, was generally friendly to England, and from the position of its settlements its commercial importance was rather in the islands than in the mainland of India.

Aurangzebe had died in 1707, after a very long and glorious reign. He was the most successful of that line of Indian Emperors generally spoken of as Great Moguls, and the inheritor of a vast empire founded by Baber, a descendant of Timor the Tartar, who died in 1530, but whose work was carried on by his successors, notably by the great Emperor Akbar, whose reign ended in 1605. Aurungzebe carried the arms of this victorious empire, now stationed at Delhi, over nearly all the mainland and peninsula of India. His chief opponent was Sivajee, the founder of the Mahratta dynasty. This chief, who was never conquered, died young in 1680. On his death for a time the glories of the Mahratta dynasty declined. The head of this people, the Rajah of Satara, like other Eastern monarchs, became merely a nominal ruler, his Peishwa or Prime Minister, whose abode was Poona, became the real head of the race, but like by far the greater part of the Hindoo rulers of India, the Peishwa acknowledged the supremacy of the Mogul Empire. Wherever the Mahomedan arms had been really victorious, the provinces were in the charge of Subahdars, or Viceroy of the Emperor; the great bulk of the Peninsula, known as the Deccan, being in the hands of the greatest of their Viceroys, called the Nizam. The death of Aurungzebe was the signal for the dissolution of this great power.

Decline of the
Mogul Empire.
1707.

In the midst of the prevalent dissolution a new and most dangerous rival of the English Company arose. This was the French Company which had been established under Louis XIV., and which, like the English and Dutch, had an establishment upon the Hooghly called Chandernagore; a settlement eighty miles south of Madras called Pondicherry; and to represent our settlement on the Malabar coast, the two islands of the Mauritius or Isle of France, and the Isle of Bourbon, won respectively from the Dutch and Portuguese. In 1744, when the Companies first came into active competition, two men of great genius were at the head of the French Presidencies; Labourdonnais at the Mauritius, and Dupleix at Pondicherry. The dissolution of the Mogul Empire has been not inaptly compared to the break-up of the Western Empire of Charles the Great. All the provincial governors who were at all in a position

Competition
with the French
Company.

to do so, while keeping up for a time their nominal dependence upon the central court of Delhi, rendered themselves practically independent. It was of this state of dissolution that Dupleix, with singular ability, took advantage. As he gazed upon the shattered fragments of the decaying empire, on the rising independence of Hindoo rajah, mogul and nabob, and observed the constantly increasing power of the Mahrattas from the Western Ghauts, Dupleix formed the opinion that India was not for the natives, but for European conquerors, and as Dutch enterprise had sought another direction, and Portugal was a failing power, the only countries that could compete for the high position were France and England. Having settled upon his opponents, he settled also upon his means of offence. The French Company and its officers must become at once the nominal feudatories of the Mogul Empire, and without present conquest must so mingle in all the affairs of the native princes, and so assist them by means of native levies drilled in the European fashion, as virtually to master them all. In other words, he invented that system by the application of which the English power has subsequently been formed. The war of the Austrian Succession, which broke out in 1744, supplied him with his opportunity. A network of alliances was formed around the English settlement, and kept together by the skill of Dupleix and of his wife, a woman of Portuguese extraction and of extraordinary talents. But Dupleix's activity was crossed by the equal energy of Labourdonnais, who, with a fleet hastily gathered, captured Madras. The English inhabitants surrendered upon terms, the town was to be repurchased for £440,000. This was in strict accordance with the views of the French Government, but not in accordance with the views of Dupleix, who wished to drive the English from the Peninsula. A hot dispute arose between the two governors. Dupleix induced Labourdonnais to withdraw upon a false promise of surrendering Madras; and Labourdonnais returning to France, was there, with the ingratitude the French always showed to their colonial governors, subjected to several years of imprisonment and a trial, which was the immediate cause of his death. Retaining Madras, and with the aid of the Nabob of Arcot, Dupleix was proceeding, in 1747, to complete his conquest by the capture of Fort St. David. The approach of the English fleet saved the fortress, and even enabled the English to make a counter attack upon Pondicherry. It failed, and the fame of Dupleix and the French was at its height among the natives when the Peace of 1748 compelled the restitution of conquests. But the

Grandeur of
Dupleix's
schemes.

Success of
Dupleix.

plans of Dupleix were such that no war between the nations was necessary to enable him to carry them on. It was native quarrels he desired, and such quarrels arose at the death of the old Nizam El Mulk of the Deccan. His throne was disputed by his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Mirzapha Jung. At the same time Chunda Sahib appeared as a claimant for the viceroyalty of the Carnatic. Both the pretenders found their cause adopted by Dupleix, who understood well how secure his position would be did he succeed in establishing by his own power a Nizam of the Deccan and a Nabob of the Carnatic. Aided by the Marquis de Bussy, as great as a soldier as Dupleix was as a diplomatist, in 1749 the pretenders and the French won a victory at Amboor, in which the reigning nabob was killed. His son, Mahomet Ali, took the title of Nabob of Arcot, but was obliged to retire to Trichinopoly, while the whole country was in the hands of his rival. Thus successful in arms in the Carnatic, Dupleix was equally so by intrigue in the Deccan. In 1750, as the French approached Nazir Jung's army, a conspiracy which Dupleix had hatched broke out, and Nazir was murdered. Mirzapha acknowledged his debt of gratitude to the French, and it was at Pondicherry that he entered upon his rank, rewarding his European allies with the government of the whole country from Cape Comorin to the Kistna. Dupleix appeared to have gained his object. The Company of which he was the governor was accepted as a ruling power in India; the great princes of the neighbourhood both owed him their crowns. The only place still holding out against his authority was Trichinopoly, and thither he directed all his efforts.

It was then that England at last found a champion in Robert Clive. Unable to summon troops sufficient to relieve ^{Defeated} Trichinopoly, he determined to attack Arcot as a diver- ^{by Clive.} sion. The plan succeeded. Arcot fell almost without a struggle. 10,000 men were detached from the armies of Dupleix and Chunda Sahib at Pondicherry, but their attempt to recapture Arcot was a signal failure; and when Clive secured the assistance of a band of Mahratta horse under Morari Row, the siege was raised, and was followed by a victory over Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib. Taking the Pagoda of Conjeveram on the way, Clive, in 1752, turned towards Fort St. David, but was recalled to fight Rajah Sahib, whom he again conquered in the battle of Coverpauk. He was then at leisure, in conjunction with Major Lawrence, who had come to assume the command, to raise the siege of Trichinopoly; and when the besiegers were themselves besieged in the islands of Seringham

in the river Cauvery, and when Chunda Sahib was there killed, the failure of Dupleix's measures was complete. The war indeed continued some time longer. Bussy upheld the French nominee, Salabat Jung, in the Deccan; Dupleix still kept up hostilities in the Carnatic. But as his fortunes failed, his employers deserted him. In 1754 he was recalled. A treaty was made between the Companies, and Dupleix died in poverty and misery a few years afterwards in Paris.

In 1753 ill health had compelled Clive to go to England. In 1755 he returned to India as Governor of Fort St. David, of which he took possession on the 20th June 1756, having on his way assisted in the destruction of Gheriah, the sea-girt stronghold of the pirate Angria, who had long been the terror of the Bombay merchants. On the very day of Clive's arrival at Madras, Surajah Dowlah, the Nabob of Bengal, a young man of about nineteen years of age, cruel, effeminate, and debauched, had captured Fort William and Calcutta. Shelter afforded to a defaulting revenue officer of his, and the increase of the fortifications of Fort William, roused a quarrel between him and the English. He advanced upon Calcutta and captured it, and the

The Black Hole
of Calcutta.
June 1756.

world was horrified by the tragedy of the Black Hole. The prisoners, 146 in number, were thrust into a narrow chamber some twenty feet square, whence, after a night of unspeakable horrors, but twenty-three wretched survivors were dragged the following morning before Surajah Dowlah and sent as prisoners to his capital at Moorshedabad. The horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta were beyond expression terrible; the heat of the night was intense, and as the agonies of thirst and suffocation came upon them, the prisoners struggled to the windows for a mouthful of fresh air, careless that they trod to death their fallen comrades; they insulted the guards in hopes that they would fire upon them; many died in raving madness. Mr. Holwell, the chief of those who survived, was so broken that he was unable to walk from the prison. When the news of this fearful event reached Madras, it was at once determined to take vengeance upon the Nabob. After some difficulties Clive was appointed to the command, and though four months were wasted, partly by contrary winds, partly by the jealousy of the various English commanders, by the middle of January 1757 Calcutta was regained. This success and a night attack upon his army excited in the mind of the Nabob such a dread of the English that he consented to enter into an alliance with them. The temporary cessation of hostilities with the natives and the arrival of reinforcements gave Clive an opportunity to destroy the French settlement of

Chandernagore, although the Nabob, to whom the presence of the French as a counterpoise to the English was of great importance, had taken it under his protection. This act of open contempt for his authority excited Surajah Dowlah's anger anew, and afraid to oppose the English openly he entered into secret negotiations with the French, and intreated M. Bussy to march from the Deccan to his assistance. His intrigues became known, and were met by counter intrigues: it was determined to depose him, and to place Meer Jaffier, his general, on the throne; and in order to deceive one of his agents named Omichund, who threatened to betray the conspiracy unless bribed by an enormous sum of money, Clive was guilty of forging the name of Admiral Watson. The treaty to which the false signature was appended promised the bribe, but was a sham treaty. On the real treaty which Admiral Watson had signed Omichund received nothing. The plot being ripe, Clive openly advanced towards Moorshedabad, the Nabob's capital, and on the 23rd June 1757 won with his troops, numbering in all some 3000 men, the great victory of Plassey over 30,000 of the Nabob's troops. That battle secured the power of England in Bengal. Surajah Dowlah fled; Meer Jaffier was placed upon the throne. A sum of nearly £3,000,000 was paid to the Company, to which was given the entire property of Calcutta itself as far as 600 yards beyond the Mahratta ditch, and the zemindary or feudal tenure on payment of rent of all the country between Calcutta and the sea. The English thus had firm footing in Bengal, and before 1760, when Clive was again compelled to seek England, he had made two other steps in advance. In support of Meer Jaffier, he had advanced against and conquered Shah Allum, the Great Mogul, and for ever freed himself from competition of the Dutch by capturing the whole of a large squadron which they had sent to the assistance of their factory at Chinsurah in opposing the advance of the English.

The following year saw the final fall of the French power in India. While Clive was securing Bengal, the breaking out of the Seven Years' War had renewed the hostilities in the Carnatic. On this occasion Lally was the champion of the French. But able and vigorous as a soldier, his ill-usage of the natives, his eager temper and satirical tongue, surrounded him with disaffection both among the Indians and his own troops. At first his advent was marked with success. In the course of 1758 he captured and destroyed Fort St. David and retook

Clive's treaty
with Meer
Jaffier.

Battle of
Plassey.
June 23, 1757.

Final overthrow
of the French
power in India.
1761.

Arcoot. But, early in the following year, the disaffection of his troops and the arrival of Admiral Pocock prevented him from bringing to a successful issue an assault on Madras, and from this time onwards the English retained constant superiority. Colonel Coote, a soldier of Clive's training, took the command; and on the morning of the 22nd January 1760, won over the French the great battle of Wandewash. The European troops alone were engaged. It differed from other Indian battles in this respect, and was a national victory won upon Indian soil. Coote's sepoy, on congratulating him on his victory, thanked him for having shown them a battle such as they had never yet seen. The battle of Wandewash did for Madras what Plassey did for Bengal. The troops of the English and their allies gradually closed in round Pondicherry, and in spite of a firm and splendid resistance, that sole remaining stronghold of the French power surrendered in January 1761; and Lally, like his predecessors, returned to France only to meet with persecution from his employers, and finally death upon the scaffold. The Portuguese, Dutch, and French had thus all disappeared from the political world of India, though they still kept up trading stations at Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Chinsurah. England had secured a sovereign position in its three Presidencies.

The further growth of the Empire was at the expense of native tribes, and carried on in the midst of strange domestic mismanagement. The English Government at Calcutta, left without the guiding hand of Clive, soon drifted into fresh quarrels with the natives. Mr. Vansittart was left as governor, and already, in 1760, he had thought it desirable to remove Meer Jaffier, the Company's creature, from the throne of Moorshedabad, and replace him by Meer Cossim, his son-in-law. The step was an unwise one. The new viceroy was of less malleable materials than his predecessor, and speedily came to look with great anger at the constant breaches of the revenue laws perpetrated by the English traders. He quarrelled especially with a gentleman who occupied the advanced factory of Patna high up the Ganges. To be out of the influence of Calcutta, he withdrew his capital from Moorshedabad to Monghir, and all seemed tending towards war. It was in vain that Mr. Vansittart went himself to Monghir, arranged for the payment of inland duties, and received as a sign of peace a present of £70,000. An embassy sent from Calcutta to complete the pacification was fallen on and murdered at Moorshedabad, and under the circumstances war became inevitable. The advance of the

Contest with
native states.

English was rapid and triumphant; Moorshedabad fell, and after a nine days' siege Monghir itself was taken. The Nabob found it necessary to fly, but before he fled, with the assistance of a renegade Frenchman called Sombre, he committed a crime similar to that of the Black Hole of Calcutta. On the 5th October 1763 the whole of the English residents of the Patna factory (150 in number), enclosed within their prison walls, were shot down or cut to pieces, and their mangled remains thrown into two wells. One alone escaped. The Rajah and his instrument Sombre fled into the district of a neighbouring nabob, Sujah Dowlah of Oude, at whose court was tarrying, in a condition between exile and prisoner, the Mogul Shah Allum, who had been driven from his throne at Delhi by the advance of the Mahrattas. Sujah Dowlah had been appointed vizier, and virtually wielded all the power that was left to the descendants of the Moguls. With these allies Sujah Dowlah advanced to meet the English, and suffered, on the 23rd of October, at Buxar, higher up the river than Patna, a terrible defeat at the hands of Major Munro. The fruit of the victory was the person of Shah Allum himself, and backed now by his authority, the English pressing on in their victorious course, the following year entered Allahabad, the chief city of Oude.

Massacre
of Patna.
1763.

Battle of
Buxar.
Oct. 1764.

Victory in war and increased dominion had only increased the maladministration of the India Company, which reached such a pitch, that in 1765 it became necessary again to despatch Clive to the scene of action. This was not done without the most vigorous opposition. Two great parties had long divided the India House in London. Mr. Sullivan had for some time exercised a paramount authority there. Clive had appeared as his rival. Both parties lavished their wealth in creating votes, and a factious struggle arose in the heart of the Company. At length the general voice seemed to declare that Clive alone could restore order in the mismanaged Presidency. Clive saw his opportunity. He publicly refused to go out as long as Sullivan occupied the place of chairman of the Court of Directors. The proprietors were so frightened by this threat, that when the day of election of directors arrived, Sullivan found himself unable to carry more than half of his list of directors, and Clive's friends were triumphant. He was sent out with full powers, and authorized to override the opinion of the Council, although usually the governor was entitled to only one vote. The struggle for bribes

Maladminis-
tration of the
Company.

Clive returns
to India.
May 1765.

and ill-gotten gain was carried on to the moment of his arrival. Only a few days before he landed the viceroyalty of Bengal had been sold, contrary to all justice, to the illegitimate son of Meer Jaffier for £140,000. But the scene was speedily changed. In two days Clive and the Committee who accompanied him had mastered the state of affairs and declared their dictatorial authority. At the dread of his name alone Sujah Dowlah sought peace. He compelled Meer Cossim and his agent Sombre, who had organized the massacre of Patna, to leave his dominions, and a treaty was made in accordance with Clive's view, that for the present it was better to strengthen than increase our dominions. By this treaty Sujah Dowlah retained his provinces, surrendering only the districts of Corah and Allahabad, which were given as an imperial dominion to Shah Allum. In return the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar, were granted for all administrative purposes to the Company, who thus became nominal as well as real princes of India. The Nabob of Bengal was pensioned with a yearly income. This was the beginning of a system which played a great part in our Indian history. By this means the Company were secured a revenue of two millions. But even yet Clive thought it imprudent to place the administration in European hands, and selected as native Prime Minister a Mahomedan, Mahomed Reza Khan. This choice was made deliberately, in spite of the claims of Nuncomar, the chief of the Bengal Brahmins. The rivalry between these two chiefs bore notable fruit afterwards. Having settled our difficulties with the natives, Clive turned to domestic reforms; he deprived the military of a large allowance, called "double batta," which they had received from Meer Jaffier, and quelled, with incomparable vigour and sagacity, a mutiny which arose in consequence; he forbade civilians to receive presents from the native princes, and restrained officials from engaging in private trading, while he himself set an admirable example of disinterestedness. Unfortunately he was unable to superintend the execution of his plans, but was compelled by ill health to return to England (Jan. 1767).

While the events that have been mentioned were going on in Bengal, the southern Presidency had had its own difficulties to contend with. Immediately above the plains of the Carnatic lies the hill country of Mysore, and there a new power had been established by the ablest opponent we ever met in India, Hyder Ali. A Mahomedan of low birth, a freebooter, a rebel, and commander-in-chief of the Mysore army, he succeeded at last in establishing himself on the throne of the Hindoo Rajah.

Affairs in
Madras; rise
of Hyder Ali.

Sometimes in confederation with the Nizam of the Deccan, sometimes with the Mahrattas of the Western Ghauts, Hyder kept up a continual war with the English. His army of 100,000 men was organized in the European fashion. Though unable to write, his retentive memory enabled him to be a most dangerous diplomatist, and though beaten in the field, his activity kept the English army in constant movement and exhausted the Company's resources. To such an extent was this the case, that Clive's reforms were counter-balanced, and in 1769 Indian stock fell sixty per cent.

Such threatening appearances in the commercial career of the Company, the constant scandal of their factious struggle in London, and the anomaly becoming every day more striking of a body of merchants exercising, and exercising very badly, sovereign rights over large conquered districts, excited the attention of Parliament. Chatham, as has been mentioned, intended to have enforced the rights of the Crown; and the Company only escaped some interference of the kind by offering to establish supervisors of its own and to pay the English Government £400,000 a year. But in 1773 matters had become much worse; a fearful famine had devastated Bengal, corpses choked and infected the Ganges, the fish and fowl became uneatable, more than half the population are said to have been swept away. It was felt that no properly conducted Government could have permitted such an evil; and when in 1772 the united effects of the Madras wars and the Bengal famine reduced

Famine in
Bengal.
1770.

the funds of the Company to so low an ebb that they had to demand of Parliament a loan of a million sterling, legislation became inevitable. At the beginning of the year a Committee of inquiry had reported, and again in the autumn another secret committee had been named; upon their report Lord North formed what is known as the Regulating Act. By this he granted the Company their loan, relieved them of their annual tribute to the State, and allowed them to export their bonded tea, with what disastrous effects in America has been already seen. In exchange he confined their interest to six per cent. till the loan was paid, and afterwards to eight per cent.; and, proceeding to the organization of their government, he established a supreme court upon the English model, made the Governor of Bengal Governor-General of India, and appointed by name in Parliament a new Council. Warren Hastings, already Governor of Bengal, was made the first Governor-General; Barwell, a member of the existing Council, was continued in his office; General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis, were named

Regulating Act,
1773.

as the new members. During the discussions relative to this Act much blame had been thrown on Clive, and though a formal vote of censure was mollified by the words, that "Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country," the trouble he underwent preyed upon a morbid mind and a body weakened by disease so much that he committed suicide (Nov. 1774).

The interest which has hitherto centred upon Clive is now transferred to the career of Warren Hastings. An Indian statesman by profession, and thoroughly acquainted with the wants both of native and European populations, he had entered upon the duties of the Government of Bengal in 1772. The post was not a light one: in India a people in the last stages of distress, a Government full of abuses, a small dominant population who believed their sole duty was to acquire wealth rapidly; in England a factious and fluctuating body of governors whose chief object was high dividends. Such

were the conditions under which Hastings had to act. A change in the management of the land tax produced a larger revenue with less oppression; the country, freed from marauders, was in a better condition to pay taxes; but this was little. Rumours were afloat that Reza Khan, the finance minister, was peculating largely. On the accusation of Nuncomar, his old rival, he was apprehended by Hastings, who either believed the charges or acted in obedience to the Company's orders. On examination he was acquitted, but not replaced in his office, nor was Nuncomar appointed to succeed him; the administration was kept in English hands. The Viceroy, an infant, was deprived of half his allowance, and a quarrel having arisen between our old ally Shah Allum, who had made friends with the Mahrattas, and the English, Allahabad and Corah were resumed and sold to the Vizier of Oude for fifty lacs of rupees. More than that, for a further sum of forty lacs English troops were basely let to that prince to destroy his enemies, the neighbouring Afghan conquerers of Rohilcund. All these measures seem to have been dictated primarily by a desire for an increased revenue. It was at this crisis that the Regulating Act took effect, and the new councillors arrived in the Hooghly. The man of the most importance and activity among them was Philip Francis, who is now generally accepted as being the author of "Junius' Letters." The other two always voted with him, and all three came out with strong prejudices and a determination to oppose Hastings. The new Governor-General

Hastings
Governor-
General.

therefore found himself at once in a permanent minority, for, as before, he had but one vote in the Council. Barwell, the Indian member of the new Council, always voted with him. There arose therefore a fierce struggle for power, and the new councillors made haste to seek on all sides grounds for attacking Hastings. It was understood that they were willing to receive any charges against him. Nuncomar, who had been heavily disappointed at not receiving the vacant place of Reza Khan, charged him with having been bribed to pardon that great official; and Francis and his partisans determined to confront Nuncomar with Hastings at the council board. The Governor-General rightly refused to preside at what was virtually his own trial; but upon his dissolving the Council the three new members declared it not dissolved, and continued the inquiry. Fortune placed in the hands of Hastings the means of freeing himself from this awkward dilemma. A private charge of forgery was brought against Nuncomar, and he was tried before the new supreme court. It is impossible to say how far this charge was fostered by Hastings, he himself asserted upon oath that he had nothing whatever to do with it; at all events it was carried to its conclusion, and Sir Elijah Impey and his colleagues found the charge proved, and condemned Nuncomar to death. Impey, an old school-fellow of Hastings, whose career showed him not to be above suspicion, is by many held to have acted corruptly; but his colleagues entirely agreed with him, nor does it seem that he did anything worse than import into India the habits and feelings of Europe when he suffered the sentence of death to be carried out. No doubt this was a shock to the moral feelings of the Hindoos, to whom forgery was not the grave offence that it is to us. However this may be, the death of Nuncomar secured the supremacy of Hastings. There was no one brave enough to bring charges either true or false against one whose vengeance seemed to have struck down the head of their religion. His supremacy was soon still further secured; by the death of Monson he found himself, by means of his own casting vote, master of the Council. One more violent struggle took place, after which he was able to act according to his own judgment, although constantly thwarted by Francis. In the height of his difficulties he had lodged a conditional resignation with his agent in London, and his agent, alarmed by the news from India, had presented it. Suddenly, in the midst of his triumph in Calcutta, a ship arrived with a new member of the Council and the news that the Governor-General had resigned. Hastings positively refused to ratify the act of his agent,

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which he declared was unauthorized by him. The bitter contest which arose from this subject was brought before the Supreme Court of Justice for arbitration. Sir Elijah Impey again settled the question in Hastings' favour.

Hastings could now turn his thoughts to what was his constant object, the aggrandizement of our power in India, and his view seems to have been to enter into close alliances with the great Mahomedan Princes, the Nabob-Vizier of Oude and the Nizam of the Deccan, to render them dependent on the English by means of large subsidies, and by their assistance oppose an effectual barrier to the great and increasing power of the Mahrattas, whom he regarded as the most dangerous rivals to the English. Affairs in the dependent Presidency of Madras gave him an opportunity for carrying out this policy. Mismanagement and speculation had been as rife there as in Bengal. The Rajah of Tanjore, a Mahratta prince, had been dispossessed in favour of the Nabob of Arcot, an old ally of the English. This measure was disallowed by the directors at home. Lord Pigot was sent out as governor to re-establish the Rajah. The same struggle between the Governor and his Council as had been seen in Calcutta took place in Madras, but proceeded to even greater extremities. The Council arrested Lord Pigot, who died a prisoner in their hands. Thus the policy of restitution was crushed, and the claims of the Mahratta Rajah of Tanjore were neglected. In Bombay, too, constant disputes had arisen with the Mahratta chiefs of Poonah, so that the whole of that great confederacy was ready for war. To appreciate the importance of such a war, it must be remembered that the Mahrattas had spread over much of India. The descendants of Sivajee, like the descendants of most Indian conquerors, had sunk into *rois fainéants* at Satara, delegating their real power to their viceroy, called the Peishwa of Poonah, whose office was hereditary. Dependent offshoots of this power had established themselves in the hills of the Malwa under the great princes Sindia and Holkar; in Berar under a prince called the Bonselah, in Gujerat under the Guicowar, and in the extreme south in Tanjore; while bands of Mahratta horsemen had, as we have seen, seized upon Delhi, and expelled for a time Shah Allum, the Great Mogul, who had however made terms with them, and was now again seated upon his ancestral throne. With this vast power, already on bad terms with both the southern Presidencies, it was discovered that the French were intriguing. With his usual vigour Hastings was determined to forestall war, which he saw was inevitable. For this purpose,

His opposition
to the
Mahrattas.

in spite of the opposition of his Council, an army was at once despatched southward to act through Bundelcund. The command was given to Colonel Goddard. But Hastings, who seldom acted a straightforward part, intrigued at the same time with the Bonselah and with Rajonaut Rao, a deposed Peishwa, now a refugee in Bombay. Upon the news that France and England had declared war, still further energy was infused into military affairs; and Chandernagore, near Calcutta, and Pondicherry, just south of Madras, two French settlements, were captured. The Mahratta war was not without its reverses. The Bombay army was surrounded near Poonah, and escaped only on ignominious terms; but Goddard upheld the honour of the English arms, and defeated Sindia and Holkar, while Captain Popham took the almost impregnable castle of Gwalior. The war was regarded as of sufficient importance to require the presence of the veteran General Sir Eyre Coote, who was despatched from England to take the command.

But all prospect of carrying out the ambitious schemes of Hastings for subjugating the Mahrattas was suddenly clouded. Hastings' policy thwarted by Hyder Ali's advance. News arrived in 1780 that Hyder Ali, who had long been watching his opportunity, had pounced upon Madras. He saw the English engaged in a vast Indian war, he knew that their arms were not successful in America, he expected the speedy arrival of a large French force, his time had come at last, and he flung himself in irresistible numbers upon the Carnatic. The English were virtually taken by surprise; one army under Colonel Baylie was destroyed, a second under Sir Hector Munro saved itself by rapid flight. In a moment Hastings comprehended the new situation of affairs; the news reached Calcutta on the 23rd of September, on the 25th he was ready with a complete new plan of operations. He offered peace and alliance to the Mahrattas; he embarked all available troops for Madras; in virtue of the supremacy of Bengal, he ventured to suspend Whitewell, the incompetent Governor of Madras; he gave the command to Sir Eyre Coote, and sent also vast sums of money thither. It was to sustain this great effort, without if possible diminishing the gains of the Company, that Hastings committed the rest of those (acts of oppression) which were afterwards alleged against him. To supply the greed of his employers he had sold British troops to destroy the Rohillas; in his great struggle for power he had strained the law in the case of Nuncomar; to support his Mahratta and Mysore wars he stooped to actions of

Conclusion of
the Mysore
war.

injustice and cruelty. The return of Sir Eyre Coote re-established affairs at Madras, he won a great victory at Porta Novo and a second at Pollilore. The general peace in 1783 put a conclusion to the war, which had been continued by Tippoo upon the death of his father Hyder Ali. Hastings had succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Mahrattas, and had his hands free for carrying on with energy operations against Mysore, the Dutch, and the French fleet under De Suffren. All the Dutch settlements had been captured; five great indecisive battles had been fought between De Suffren and Sir Edward Hughes; but no striking advantages had been won over Tippoo, who had even met with some successes on the Malabar coast. With the European nations terms had been arranged in France; with Tippoo a peace was made on the conditions of the mutual restorations of conquest.

To return to the conduct of Hastings. On the first alarm of war with Hyder Ali, he had demanded troops from Cheyte Singh, the Rajah of Benares, as from a feudatory of the Empire. This demand was annually renewed, together with the customary tribute of £50,000. Upon this being delayed it was raised to £500,000. This was still unpaid when Hastings determined to make a personal visit to Benares. He entered the city with an absurdly inadequate guard, and put Cheyte Singh under arrest; an insurrection was the consequence, and Hastings was for a time confined to his house by the populace and in imminent danger of his life. Perfectly calm and unmoved in the midst of his dangers, he yielded not one step; he succeeded in letting the neighbouring troops hear of his danger; Major Popham came to his rescue, and routed the people of Benares; Cheyte Singh was driven from his country, a new rajah, with a much enlarged tribute, was put in his place; his fortress at Bidzegur and all his property was seized. Hastings at once proceeded to similar acts in Oude. He entered into a nefarious compact with the Nabob to rob his mother and grandmother of their money. These two ladies lived at Fyzabad, the ancient capital of Sujah

Robbery of the Begums of Oude. Dowlah; his son, the reigning Nabob Asaph Ul Dowlah, had withdrawn to the new city of Lucknow. The Begums possessed large landed property and Sujah Dowlah's treasure; it was agreed between Hastings and Asaph Ul Dowlah that this should be taken from them, the landed property going to the Nabob, the money being received as payment for heavy arrears due from the Nabob to the English. A lengthened siege and partial famine did not effect the purpose of the plunderers; it was

found necessary to seize, to imprison, to starve, and torture two aged eunuchs, the princesses' chief friends and ministers, before treasure to the amount of about a million could be wrung from them; the excuse alleged for such unmitigated wickedness was that the Begums had intrigued for an insurrection in Oude. Again Sir Elijah Impey was on the spot to give his voice in favour of Hastings when the rumours on which these charges were based were submitted to him.

Whatever excuses might be found for such actions, in the difficulties of Hastings' position and the peculiarity of Indian ^{displeasure in} habits, it was certain that the condition and rights of England.

a Company which had become a sovereign ruler, and was at once under the necessity of demanding a loan to avoid bankruptcy, and guilty of what could not but sound to English ears as acts of the cruellest oppression, must form a chief topic of parliamentary discussion. Accordingly, in 1781, two com- ^{Parliamentary inquiry, 1781.} mittees had been formed to inquire into the affairs of

India. Their reports were strongly condemnatory of the Company's government, and the Secretary of State for the time being accordingly demanded Hastings' recall. To this the directors, as by law they had a right to do, refused to listen, but the matter could not be dropped, and immediately after the formation of the ^{Dundas's Bill, 1783.} coalition ministry Mr. Dundas produced a Bill for the

regulation of India. His view was that the Governor-General's power should be increased, and the office given to some great independent nobleman such as Lord Cornwallis. Not only was this Bill regarded as a party measure, and by no means of sufficient breadth for its object, but also it was felt that the subject was one which should be handled by Government itself. In pursuance of this view, in the autumn session of the same year ^{Fox's India Bill, Nov.} Fox brought forward his great India Bill. The faults

to be remedied were sufficiently obvious; a trading company had by a strange turn of fortune become a governor of large provinces, and had again and again engaged in extensive wars. It was plain that the functions of the merchant and the governor were not only distinct but antagonistic. The claims of the proprietors for large dividends, and the duty of the directors to work for the financial benefit of their employers, was certain to blind them to acts of injustice which had a tendency to fill their coffers. The main principle of any great India Bill must have been the resumption by the Crown of its inherent Imperial rights, which it had suffered accidentally to fall into disuse. Accordingly, Fox proposed that all

the authority which the Company had exercised should be transferred to a body of seven commissioners, nominated in Parliament and capable of holding office for four years, after which the vacancies occurring in that body were to be filled up by the Crown. To them, as trustees, was to be transferred also the whole property of the Company. But the management of this property and the commerce of the Company was placed in the hands of a subordinate council of directors, proprietors each of them of £2000 stock, acting under and subject to the orders of the superior council. The vacancies in the subordinate council were to be filled by the Court of proprietors. There were additional stipulations for the purpose of checking monopolies, the acceptance of presents, the hiring out of British forces, and changes in the tenure of land, regulations in fact attempting to remove the principal known abuses of the Indian Government. The Bill was a thorough and great Bill, and the magnitude of the subject, and the freedom which the Government enjoyed from any party pledges in the matter, should have raised it out of the sphere of party politics, but it was at once furiously assaulted. There were

Objections to it. raised against it two objections, corresponding to the two councils which it proposed to erect. First, it was urged that it was incompatible with the dignity of the Crown that patronage so enormous as that of India should be vested even for a time in any hands but those of the King himself.¹ As Lord Thurlow said, when the Bill was before the House of Lords, "the King will in fact take the diadem with his own hands and place it on the head of Mr. Fox." What rendered this defect more glaring was, that the new committee was named in the Act, and that all seven members of it were strenuous supporters of the present administration, so that a fresh and overwhelming source of influence was secured to Mr. Fox's friends. It was urged, secondly, that even granting the necessity and wisdom of such a transference of political power, the establishment of the second council for the management of the commerce of the Company was a violent and unnecessary infraction of chartered rights. Bad financial management, as apart from their political conduct, could not be alleged against the Company, nor did it seem probable that commerce would be better managed under the direction of a parliamentary Committee, even though working through a subordinate council of merchants, than if left exclusively

¹ The patronage was worth more than £300,000 a year: besides the governor and the councils, there was one place of £25,000 a year, one of £15,000, five of £10,000, five of £9000, one of £7500, three of £2000, and so on.

in mercantile hands; besides, no later than 1780, the charter of the Company had been renewed, and to deprive it of the superintendence of its own trade was a manifest breach of that charter. Such were the objections raised by the Opposition, and they were largely echoed in the country, where the coalition, as is generally the case in England, was highly unpopular. The feeling out of doors is shown by a well-known caricature which represents the triumphal procession of Carlo Fox Khan, crowned and riding on a state elephant. However, the Bill was triumphantly passed through the House of Commons, where the coalition majority was overwhelming.

But the King, who hated his ministers, and whose pride was touched in its tenderest point by this Bill, was determined that it should never become law; rather than suffer such indignity he would refuse his assent to the Bill, exerting a prerogative which had lain dormant since the reign of William III., or take refuge, as he was fond of threatening, in Hanover. He was saved from either alternative by a plan suggested to him by Lords Thurlow and Temple, which, although open to the charge of being unconstitutional, prevented the Bill from passing the Upper House. These two noblemen, using the hereditary right of British Peers to advise their sovereign, drew up and laid before George a strong memorandum against the Bill, which they called "a plan to take more than half the royal power, and by that means disable his Majesty for the rest of his reign;" and Temple suggested that the Bill might be stopped in the House of Lords if the King would authorize him to express his wishes. The King upon this supplied him with a paper to show to any Lord he pleased. The purport of it was, that "his Majesty allowed Earl Temple to say that whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy, and if those words were not strong enough, Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger and more to the purpose." The effect of this intimation, acting upon the minds of waverers and of those who prided themselves in the name of King's friends, was to secure a majority against the Bill. On the 17th of December it was lost by nineteen votes, Lord Stormont, a member of the ministry, voting against it. The King thus assumed the strange position of the opponent of his own responsible ministers. In fact, he felt the power of the hated Whigs closing around him, and thought any measure justifiable which would free him from their grasp and enable him to assume that position which had

The King
procures its
rejection.

His conduct un-
constitutional.

been the constant aim of his policy. Moreover, he no doubt relied somewhat on the unpopularity excited by the coalition, and on the apparently unprincipled and factious conduct of the united leaders. That his conduct is incompatible with constitutional monarchy there can be no doubt. If he disliked his ministers' measures he had one straightforward course open to him;—he should have dismissed them; if their majority was overwhelming, he should have dissolved Parliament; if he could not command a majority in the new Parliament, he was bound to submit. An underhand opposition to ministers, who are alone responsible to the nation, is entirely destructive of that confidence which is necessary to the very existence of a constitutional monarchy. Of course the uproar raised in the House of Commons was great. Motion after motion condemnatory of the action of the King in the House of Lords was carried by great majorities. The ministry determined that the responsibility of removing them should be left to the King, who, perceiving the necessary consequence of his late step, on the 18th of December, sent the under secretaries to tell the ministers they were dismissed, refusing even to see them personally.

Ministers
dismissed.

The great Whig party and the great following of Lord North being thus removed from office, it became a question where a ministry was to be sought. The only party remaining was the little section of Chatham's followers, headed by the young Pitt, and reinforced by a portion of the Tories, with whom they may now be considered as incorporated, although for several years Pitt's policy was decidedly Liberal. To this youth of twenty-four the King appealed for assistance, and, relying on his own genius, he had the audacity to accept the struggle, though conscious that he must be defeated on every division. There followed a scene

Pitt accepts the
Premiership.
1783.

unparalleled in parliamentary history. The Cabinet had to be drawn almost exclusively from the Upper House; Lord Thurlow became Chancellor, Earl Gower President of the Council, Duke of Rutland Privy Seal, Lord Carmarthen and Lord Sydney Secretaries of State, and Lord Howe First Lord of the Admiralty, and this, with Mr. Pitt himself, was the whole Cabinet. In the House of Commons he could rely only on Dundas and his cousin William Grenville. When the writ was moved for a new election for Appleby on Pitt's taking office, it was received with shouts of laughter; no pity or favour was extended to the new minister; Dundas could hardly get a hearing on ministerial business, motions of great importance were pressed on even though Pitt had not yet taken his seat, and so certain

did Fox feel of restoration to office, that he wrote to a friend in Dublin that he would not dismiss one member of his household till after the 12th of January. On that day Pitt was to make his appearance as Prime Minister. An address had been delivered to the King praying against either an adjournment or dissolution, for this was the step which Fox's party chiefly feared. On a favourable reply to this address, short Christmas holidays had been allowed, and the House had to meet again on the 12th. In those few days Pitt had got ready an India Bill, but before he was allowed to produce it Fox had succeeded in carrying no less than five motions against the Government, one of them pointing to "unconstitutional abuse of his Majesty's sacred name." In spite of this Pitt produced his Bill, which was similar in character to the Bill he afterwards carried; on its first reading there was no division, on the second reading, although it was thrown out, the hostile majority, which had been already diminishing, was no more than eight.

Factional
violence of the
Opposition.
1784.

Things began to look a little more encouraging for the minister. He determined with great wisdom to give the Opposition firmness and sagacity of Pitt. rope, and urged them to constant violence by an obstinate refusal to say whether he meant to dissolve or not. The language of the Opposition had been so violent that the reaction was becoming strongly marked in the country. "It was a contest," said Dr. Johnson, "whether the nation should be ruled by the sceptre of George III. or by the tongue of Fox." All attempts at mediation failed, although many independent members attempted to effect it. Fox's hope was, that if Pitt continued to avoid dissolution the 25th of March would arrive without a new Parliament. On that day the Mutiny Bill expired, and he hoped by refusing to renew it to compel his rival to resign. But the tide had now fairly begun to turn; Pitt's bravery was exciting the sympathy of the people, while the unmeasured virulence of Fox and his party was constantly damaging them. Pitt, too, had won great admiration by refusing for himself, although his private means amounted to scarcely £300 a year, a rich sinecure called the Clerkship of the Pells. This, with a somewhat ironical pride, he had given to Colonel Barré in exchange for the pension which the Rockingham ministry had so scandalously given him. The threats that supplies should be stopped seemed to many moderate people factious and improper, and numerous addresses poured in from the Corporation of London and other towns. On the 8th of March Fox played what may be called his last card; he brought in a paper under the threatening title of "Representation to

Firmness and
sagacity of Pitt.

the King;" after many hours of debate it was passed by a majority of one only. It was plain that the victory of Pitt was secure and that the Opposition had ruined themselves.

Pitt's victory.

Accordingly, when on the next day the Mutiny Bill came on there was no opposition, and having by firmness and moderation fairly weathered the storm, Pitt on the 25th recommended the King to dissolve the

Parliament. The elections made it evident that the feeling of the nation was entirely with Pitt; no less than 160 of Fox's friends lost their seats—"Fox's martyrs" they were jocosely called. Several great contests took place, the most notorious of which was that for Yorkshire, where Wilberforce was brought in triumphantly in opposition to the great territorial houses, and that for Westminster, where Fox himself stood against Lord Hood and his old colleague Wray, who had become a ministerialist. The poll was kept open forty days, amid scenes of indescribable excitement. For twenty-three days Fox was at the bottom of the poll, but at length the strenuous canvassing of his friends, added to the charms of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and other lady politicians, succeeded in placing him second on the list. As more votes however were registered than there were voters, obviously some fraud had been committed, and a scrutiny was granted. Meanwhile, as the Whigs held illegally, no return was made, Westminster was unrepresented, and room had to be made for Fox in the close borough of Kirkwall. It was not till the following session that Pitt, who, with some want of liberality, upheld the conduct of the High Bailiff in refusing the return, was defeated in the House on the subject. The representatives took their seats, and Fox got £2000 damages from the Bailiff.

Dissolution of Parliament and defeat of Whigs. 1784.

The great party struggle of the last year, which had terminated in the utter discomfiture of the Whigs and the establishment of the new Tory party under Pitt, had not left much time for the real requirements of the State. India, Ireland, the finances, parliamentary reform, were all matters which pressed for immediate attention. Firm in his parliamentary majority and in the support of the King, Pitt proceeded to handle them. The finances were naturally in a bad condition at the close of an unsuccessful war. The funds were standing only at 56 or 57, the unfunded debt was upwards of £12,000,000, and there was a considerable deficiency in the Civil List. One of the principal sources of the revenue was destroyed by systematic smuggling of tea. Men of otherwise respectable character and consider-

Pressing measures.

Pitt's Budget.

able capital were embarked in this trade. Large vessels brought their tea, and lay off at some distance, distributing their cargoes to small vessels, which landed them here and there on the coast. Regular receiving-houses were established and lines of carriers which brought the tea to the towns. It was estimated that the smuggled tea was at least as much as that which paid duty. Pitt lowered the duty both for this article and for spirits, the other great smuggled commodity, so as to withdraw the temptation from the smugglers. The deficit was made up by a house and window tax; this is known as the Commutation Tax. An Act called the Hovering Act was also passed, which extended the limits of the authority of the revenue officers to four leagues from the coast. Half the unfunded debt Pitt funded, and made up the deficit, which he considered a little below a million, by taxes on various commodities. These arrangements though they show no great novelty, were much applauded at the time.

Having thus cleared the way for general legislation, Pitt proceeded to bring in his India Bill. It was very like the one which had been defeated the preceding year, and was probably chiefly the work of Dundas. The fate of Fox's Bills had shown the strength of the India House, while the necessity for some Government control was acknowledged by all parties. The present measure was therefore one of compromise. A new ministerial department was established which should exercise the whole political control of the Company; this was to be called the Board of Control. By it was laid the foundation of that system of double government which continued in force till 1858. (All business was to be carried on in the name of the Company, which retained the whole patronage except the appointment of the commander-in-chief, and other higher functionaries, whose appointment was subject to the veto of the Crown; but the Board of Control absolutely dictated the political conduct of the Government.) Thus the chartered rights of the Company were left untouched; the balance of influence was not upset by a sudden change of patronage; the Board of Control, being ministerial, passed in or out of office with the ministry, but India was secured against mercantile views of policy by its political management being withdrawn from the hands of a merchant company. It was certainly a less complete Bill than its predecessor, it could not be a permanent arrangement, but tided over the present difficulty, and was carried without serious opposition.

Pitt's India Bill. 1784.

Much more difficult was the settlement of Ireland. The rational

and patriotic demands of the volunteers, which had led to the legislation of 1780 and 1782, had been satisfied by those measures, but had been followed, as is always the case in Ireland, by agitation of a more revolutionary character. The leadership of the movement had passed from Grattan to Flood, rather a demagogue than a statesman, and the volunteers, a national and patriotic body, gradually dwindled to nothing, and in their place arose a clamorous and revolutionary democracy. The cry put forward was for parliamentary reform, the urgent necessity for which was indeed obvious. In a Parliament of 300, 116 seats were held by nominees of no more than 25 proprietors. The Government commanded 186 votes, pledged to them in exchange for the possession or hope of offices or pensions, 12 members were regarded as honest supporters of the Government, the regular Opposition was about 82, 30 Whig nominees, and 52 members of the popular party. To this Parliament Flood introduced a sweeping measure of reform. A scene of wild uproar was the consequence, the Bill was thrown out by a large majority; no better success attended its re-introduction in a more moderate form. The mob rose in wild disorder, and acts of ferocious cruelty were perpetrated. The leader of this movement outside Parliament was Napper Tandy, an ironmonger, who did not scruple to intrigue with the Court of France. Some of the lower priests were also engaged on the popular side, but as Flood refused the franchise to the Catholics in his proposition, the main body held aloof from the movement. This state of disorder Pitt intended to improve by reforming the Parliament in a more practical and moderate manner and by commercial arrangements. All attempts at parliamentary reform had however to be abandoned; but the minister felt that before any vigorous measures could be adopted it was necessary to grant justice to the people. He determined therefore to complete the work of 1780, and to establish real commercial equality between England and Ireland. At the same time he strongly held that equality of privilege implied equality of burdens. In accordance with this view eleven resolutions were brought into the Irish Parliament and accepted without much opposition. By these the restrictions of trade, which had already been removed as far as regarded Europe and the West Indies, would be removed in like manner with regard to the rest of the world; and with regard to imports, England and Ireland would become one nation, so that goods landed in Ireland could be re-imported into England without further duty. In exchange for this,

Condition of
Ireland.

Flood's
democratic
measure of
reform.

Pitt's policy
for Ireland.

all the hereditary income of the Crown, which was derived chiefly from customs, beyond the sum of £656,000 was to be applied to the support of the Imperial navy. Thus the money paid would bear a direct proportion to the advantages gained by Ireland by the extension of her trade. Pitt, sure of the economical-soundness of the principles on which this Bill was based, only courted full discussion. He underrated the selfishness of the commercial interest. On the resolutions being introduced to the English Parliament, the strongest opposition was raised by merchants and manufacturers, afraid of a fresh competitor; and Fox and Burke, the first of whom was confessedly ignorant of the laws of political economy, turned the opposition to their party purposes. The Bill had to be altered considerably, restrictions with regard to the Asiatic trade had to be continued, thus seriously diminishing the advantage granted to Ireland, while Pitt laid himself open to the charge of encroaching upon the newly-earned independence of that country by trying to establish the commercial superiority of England, since all this commercial legislation was to emanate from the English Parliament. The Whigs took immediate advantage of this error, and, unable to stop the Bill in the English Parliament, used all their eloquence to inflame the patriotic feeling of the Irish. The Bill in its changed form was therefore rejected in Dublin (August), and Pitt began to feel the necessity for that great measure which he completed eighteen years afterwards. If either true parliamentary reform was to be brought about or commercial equality to be established, not only legislative equality, but legislative union, it was plain, would be necessary.

Selfish
commercial
opposition.

Pitt recognizes
the necessity
for a union.

This was not the only defeat which the ministry suffered. It was no more successful in its efforts at parliamentary reform in England. In fact, the interest felt in the question had begun to flag; it had been raised to its utmost by the separation between the representatives of the people and the people they represented, which had been so obvious during the administration of Grenville, and by the long and disastrous triumph of royal influence under Lord North. But Pitt's success rested entirely upon the will of the constituencies after the late dissolution, and the people were on the whole satisfied with their representation. But with Pitt, as with his father, the reform of Parliament had always been a favourite object; he now produced a Bill by which he hoped to win all parties to his side, but its very timidity weakened its popularity. He proposed to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs,

Failure of Pitt's
Reform Bill.

and to give the seventy-two seats thus gained to the counties and to London and Westminster. Thus far he was true to his old plan, but afraid of the opposition of borough proprietors, he consented to recognize as a part of the Constitution their rights of proprietorship, and designed to set apart a fund of £1,000,000 to satisfy the claims of the possessors of the boroughs which he wished to destroy. Such as it was the Bill was rejected by a majority of seventy, and Pitt regarded the question henceforward as settled against him. It is to be observed that all these measures, whether successful or not, were such as we should now speak of as Liberal measures.

The success of the Government in its financial schemes, on the other hand, was marked, although the arrangement which at this time excited most admiration has since been recognized as based upon an absurd fallacy. Alarmed at the great increase of the National Debt, and inspired with an honest wish to reduce it, Pitt produced his plan for a sinking fund. His taxes had been so successful, and the financial recovery of the nation at peace and under a firm Government had been such, that he found himself possessed of a surplus closely bordering on a million, and suggested that this million should annually be set aside and vested in commissioners to accumulate at compound interest. It was to be beyond the control of Government, and this fund with its accumulations was to be applied, as circumstances permitted, to the reduction of the debt. The principle is obviously sound as far as it goes, that is to say, what a nation saves it can clearly apply to the purpose of reducing its liabilities, but there the matter ends; there is and can be no peculiar and mysterious power in a sinking fund. But this was not seen by Pitt, or by those who approved of his plan, and when times of difficulty arose, the million went on year by year being religiously set aside, although not only one million, but many millions were yearly borrowed for the purpose of covering the current expenses of the year. Interest, and often much higher interest, was thus paid out on the one side in order that a less interest might be gained on the other. It was not till the year 1828 that this fallacy was finally exposed by Lord Grenville, who, strangely enough, had been the chairman of the committee who first recommended its adoption. It had however been virtually abandoned in 1807. Although he fell into this error, Pitt's financial views were generally broad; thus about this time he entered into a commercial treaty with France, by which, with some very few

His financial
success.

Commercial
treaty with
France.
Sept. 1786.

exceptions, prohibitory duties between the countries were repealed, a moderate tariff was established, and the famous Methuen Treaty with Portugal, which had almost excluded French wines, and changed the habits of the English nation, giving them a taste for the hot wines of the Peninsula, was abrogated. He also greatly simplified the custom duties, supplying their place in some instances with excise or customs levied inland, a most beneficial measure, but formerly so unpopular that it had almost proved fatal to the ministry of Walpole, the only great financial minister England had had during the century.

These measures, important as they were, excited little attention in comparison with the threatened impeachment of Warren Hastings. Though, as we have seen, censured, and almost recalled in 1781, the Governor-General had latterly retained his post unmolested, and came home in June 1785 on the natural expiration of his office. At home he was well received, but he had two vindictive enemies in the House of Commons, one, Edmund Burke, whose imagination had always been strongly drawn towards the majestic history of Hindostan, and whose hatred of oppression had been strongly fired by the accounts which had lately been received from India; the other, Philip Francis, the rancorous and defeated rival of the late Governor-General; and Hastings had scarcely arrived in England before Burke gave notice that he should call attention to his conduct. The feeling in England that Hastings had on the whole done a great work was so strong, that, although the ministry had shown him many marks of favour, it is possible that even Burke might have left him untouched had not his injudicious and wearisome agent, Major Scott, challenged inquiry. Burke accepted the challenge, and in April produced specific charges against him, based principally on his war with the Rohillas and on his conduct to Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oude. Hastings, who was always unable to understand the feeling of the House of Commons, insisted on being personally heard at the bar, and wearied the House by reading a written document of enormous length, which occupied a day and a half in reading. On the first charge, however, with regard to the Rohilla war, a considerable majority was in his favour; it will be remembered that this belonged to the first period of his administration, and it was upon this that he had been already censured; but as Dundas, the original mover of the vote of censure, urged, with much show of right, the fault was an old one, and had been condoned by the subsequent appointment of Hastings as Governor-General.

Charges against
Warren
Hastings.

Hastings and his friends believed that his cause had gained the support of Government and was now secure. Great was their dismay when, upon the second charge with regard to Cheyte Singh, which Pitt supports them. was brought forward by Fox, Pitt rose and declared, that although he regarded Cheyte Singh as the vassal of the Bengal Empire, and liable to be called on for assistance, he could not but regard the infliction of a fine of £500,000 for the non-payment of £50,000 as ridiculously and shamefully exorbitant. On these grounds, he said, he should support the charge, all his friends voted with him, and Fox's resolution passed by a majority of forty. This entirely changed the aspect of affairs, but the lateness of the season (June 1786) rendered it necessary that the completion of the charges should be postponed till the next year. In the February of that year Sheridan, in a speech occupying five hours and forty minutes, produced the charge with regard to the Begums of Oude. So striking was this piece of oratory that it was deemed necessary to adjourn the House lest the excitement produced by it should prevent cool judgment of the matter. Again, and with the same result as before, Pitt both spoke and voted in favour of the charge. On these and other charges Burke, in May, founded a resolution of impeachment, and proceeding to the Upper House, impeached the late Governor-General, who was taken into custody and admitted to bail. The trial did not actually begin till February 1788.

Another question which now arose, and which was in the next year to be of the greatest importance, was the conduct and character of the Prince of Wales. True to the traditions and customs of his family, he had allied himself to the enemies of his father, and not only in his political but in his domestic life had much outraged the King's feelings. From the respectable and somewhat repellent family life of the Court, the princes, one and all, took refuge in a disorderly and licentious life. The stern propriety of the father, and the somewhat unlovely rigidity of the mother, undid the work which their thoroughly domestic character should have done. The Prince of Wales had everything in his favour upon his entrance into life. Good-looking, of pleasant manners, of considerable ability, and views at all events nominally liberal, there was nothing to prevent his great popularity. Unfortunately the profligacy of his life, which the world might have pardoned, was the mark of a thoroughly depraved character, which led him into breaches of honour. This fault became very obvious in the year

Consequent
impeachment.
1787.

Conduct of
the Prince of
Wales.

1787. For some time he had been clamouring for the payment of his debts, and on the King's refusal to discharge them, he had in a huff reduced his establishment and pretended to live like a private gentleman. Meanwhile he had been entangled in an awkward love affair. Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic lady, had attracted his attention, and refused to listen to his advances unless he would marry her. This he did. Now, by the Act of Settlement, marriage with a Roman Catholic invalidated all claims to the throne, but by a second statute, the Royal Marriage Act, any marriage contracted without the royal consent was null. By pleading the second, the Prince could therefore avoid the action of the first, but by so doing was virtually taking away the character of his wife, and obviously evading the law. With this slur upon his character, he came to the Parliament for the payment of his debts. The charge against him was raised by Rolle, the member for Devonshire, and Fox, completely duped by his royal friend, was induced to give the fact a flat denial. The Prince completed his treachery by afterwards disavowing his instructions to Fox. Such conduct naturally produced a temporary coolness between them. After so strong a denial, however, it was impossible to refuse the Prince's demand, and his debts were paid, to the amount of £160,000.

The work of the last year was completed by the commencement, in February, of the trial of Warren Hastings. The trial took place in Westminster Hall, the Peers sitting as judges, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, and the accusations being supported by the managers appointed by the House of Commons, assisted by the most eloquent men in England, among their number, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and Wyndham. The very talents of the accusers, together with the exaggerated and unlawyer-like style of Burke, tended to the safety of the accused. The trial became a mere exhibition of rhetoric; people crowded to hear the speeches, but withdrew as the legal points were argued, or the evidence produced, while Burke's language was so intemperate that the Lord Chancellor and even the House of Commons censured him. At the same time, in 1789, the gradual change of popular feeling was shown in the trial of Stockdale for libel against the promoters of Hastings' trial. He was prosecuted at the demand of the Commons, at the Government expense, but was acquitted. Three years afterwards Burke himself renounced sixteen of his charges, and all interest in the end of the trial gradually disappeared.

The year was marked not only by the completion of old questions,

CON. MON.

Trial of Warren
Hastings.
Feb. 1788.

but by the appearance of a new one. Pitt called attention to the slave trade. The horrors of this trade had for many years been before the public, and the opposition to slavery had so far been organized, that it had been determined to assault—what it was believed might be overthrown without much difficulty—the actual trade in slaves, and leave the abolition of slavery itself for a future occasion. The horrors of the trade could scarcely be exaggerated. Ships built for the purpose were employed, in which the allowance of room for a slave was five feet and a half in length by one foot four inches in breadth. The extreme height between decks was five feet eight inches, but this was occupied by shelves, upon which the slaves were packed. Sixteen hours a day they remained below, chained to the deck, fed upon a pint of water and two feeds of horse beans. Such conditions of life, for weeks together, in the tropics, not being conducive to health, they were brought up and forced to jump upon the deck, under the influence of the whip, for the sake of exercise. If any difficulty arose, they were tossed overboard without scruple, and English law courts held underwriters answerable for such loss, as arising from the natural perils of the sea. No charge of murder, or even manslaughter, was ever dreamt of. These facts were substantiated by a Committee, presided over by Whitbread, to which a motion of Sir W. Dolben for regulating the trade had been referred, though the witnesses had previously enlarged on the excellence of the ships and the merry dancing of the slaves. But before any real action could be taken, an event occurred which for a moment threatened the stability of the ministry.

In November, after some months of illness, the King was declared incapable of carrying on the business of the country. His illness assumed the form of insanity, and even if he should survive, as was thought doubtful, it seemed plain that a regency would be inevitable. The King's physicians, following the ignorant practice with regard to lunatics which obtained at that time, prescribed the strictest and most galling constraints, separated the King from his wife, refused him the use of knife and fork and razor, and intrusted him to coarse and cruel servants. Having by this means intensified the symptoms, they proceeded to pronounce them incurable. Fortunately for the King, Lady Harcourt was bold enough to recommend Dr. Willis, who, originally a clergyman, had for nearly thirty years been managing a private asylum for lunatics, where he had met with much success. On being summoned, he at once declared he could cure the King, and the Queen and Pitt placed

The King's
illness.
Nov. 1788.

him in his hands with implicit confidence. Thus when, after some prorogation, Parliament assembled in December, a committee which had examined the medical evidence expressed a hope of the King's recovery. Armed with this report, Pitt moved for an examination of precedents before arranging the regency, while Fox, forgetful of the Prince's late duplicity, and clutching eagerly at the power which seemed just within his grasp, asserted that precedents were useless, as "the heir-apparent had an inherent right to assume the reins of government." As Pitt immediately pointed out, this was to rob the Parliament of all power in the matter, although it had twice been regarded as competent to change the succession to the throne. The vehemence of the Whig party in fact overreached itself, and enabled Pitt, who firmly believed that he was on the point of being driven from office, with a somewhat ostentatious show of carelessness as to the favour of the future King or Regent, to produce a Bill nominating indeed the heir-apparent as the Regent, but under strict limitations. The principle he laid down was that, as the King would in all probability recover, he should, on resuming his functions, find things as little altered as possible. He therefore refused to the Prince of Wales the right of making Peers, or granting places, in reversion or for any term except during his Majesty's pleasure, while the care of the King's person and household was left in the Queen's power. Nothing, probably, but the feeling that the Prince was thoroughly immoral could have allowed Pitt to produce so stringent a Bill. It was not indeed passed, for the necessity of passing it was prevented by the recovery of the King. This had been the work of Dr. Willis, who, by mingled kindness and firmness, the removal of all the ridiculous restraints the King's doctors had laid upon him, had succeeded in restoring his self-respect and bringing him back almost to his usual state of sanity, although for some weeks longer he persistently believed, while showing the tenderest affection for the Queen, that he was deeply in love with one of the ladies of the Court.

Pitt's faithful adherence to George during his illness, and the firmness with which he had insisted on keeping things unchanged, though at the risk of total loss of favour for himself, bound the King to him more closely than ever, and for many years to come his position was quite unassailable. Up to this time Pitt's policy had been enlarged and liberal in all directions. He had contrived to realize his father's plan, and resting on the authority of the Crown, but independent as a minister, had destroyed the monopoly of power so long held by the great Whig factions.

The Regency
Bill.

Pre-eminence
of Pitt.

This he had done without subserviency and without deserting the Liberal principles in which he had been trained, but he could not but feel that he rested primarily on the royal support, and insensibly his policy had become the royal policy, and he was pledged to support the influence of the Crown. This gradual and almost unobserved change was called into active exhibition by the events which were happening in Europe.

GEORGE III.—CONTINUED.

1789—1820.

First Lords of the Treasury.

Dec. 1783 Pitt.
 March 1801 Addington.
 May 1804 Pitt.
 Jan 1806 Grenville.
 April 1807 Portland.
 Oct. 1809 Perceval.
 June 1812 Liverpool.

Chancellors of the Exchequer.

Dec. 1783 Pitt.
 March 1801 Addington.
 May 1804 Pitt.
 Jan. 1806 Petty.
 April 1807 Perceval.
 June 1812 Vansittart.

Secretaries of State.

June 1789 { Carmarthen.
 { W. Grenville.
 June 1791 { Dundas.
 { W. Grenville.
 July 1794 { Portland.
 { W. Grenville.
 March 1801 { Pelham.
 { Hawkesbury.
 May 1804 { Harrowby.
 { Hawkesbury.

Jan. 1806 { Spencer.
 { Fox.
 Sept. 1806 { Spencer.
 { Howick.
 April 1807 { Canning.
 { Hawkesbury.
 Oct. 1809 { Wellesley.
 { Ryder.
 Feb. 1812 { Castlereagh.
 { Ryder.

June 1812 { Castlereagh.
 { Sidmouth.

THE year which followed the King's recovery saw the opening of the Great Revolution in France. This event produced ultimately an entire alteration in the character of Pitt's policy, and a split between Burke and Fox which virtually annihilated for the time the Whig party, and rendered Pitt absolutely pre-eminent; but it was not till more than a year had passed that its full effect was felt in England, although from its first outbreak it had a tendency to exaggerate party differences, and brought into more striking contrast the principles of those who, like Pitt, desired the maintenance of a strong royal power, of those who, like Burke, looked no further than the establishment of an aristocratic constitution, and of those who saw with pleasure every advance towards the realization of those dreams of class equality which for more than a century had been stirring in Europe. When at length the influence of the Revolution became irresistible, England was in a position abroad to take a leading part in the European opposition to its principles, and at home social changes had occurred which rendered such a course of policy inevitable.

Although Pitt was probably aware that he was not a great war minister, or fitted, as his father had been, to inspire the nation with

enthusiasm in the midst of danger, he by no means forgot to uphold the dignity of his country; and his management of foreign affairs certainly raised England from the depression into which she had sunk after the loss of her colonies, and the disadvantageous peace contracted with France and Spain at the close of the war.

One of the first instances in which this reviving spirit was shown was the affair of Nootka Sound. Spain, raising the arrogant claim that to her belonged the whole west coast of America, seized an English ship in Nootka Sound, in Vancouver's Island, and destroyed our settlement there. Upon this, Pitt, drawing closer his alliance with Prussia and Holland, and going so far as to increase largely the number of men in the navy, managed to exact from Spain a withdrawal of this claim and a restoration of English property, granting in exchange an assurance that illicit trade with the Spanish colonies should be checked.

But far more important than this single exhibition of determination against a country so decayed as Spain was the successful policy which Pitt pursued with regard to the general policy of Eastern Europe. The first opening which occurred was in Holland.

In that country there existed, as usual, a constant strife between two great parties, the party of the Republicans and the party of the Prince of Orange. Of old the republican party had meant the party of the aristocratic and wealthy merchants of the country. The party of the Prince of Orange had almost without exception been favoured by the bulk of the people. But ideas had been rapidly growing; republicanism had assumed a somewhat different meaning. The war between ruler and aristocracy had been changing to a rivalry between the ruler, supported by the lovers of order and fixed authority, and those whose views were of a more democratic stamp. But the democrats of Holland still regarded themselves as the legitimate descendants of the republican party, and inherited the foreign policy of their predecessors. Like them, they sought the support and assistance of France, while the Stadtholder and his friends regarded England as their chief support. The agitation in Holland had been so vigorous that the Prince of Orange had been forced to withdraw to Nimeguen, leaving the Government in the hands of his rivals (1785). Here was a manifest danger to England. If the democrats remained in possession of the country, Holland would become little else than a dependency of France, instead of what it had so often been, the

Political
development of
England.

Affair of
Nootka Sound.

Forms an
alliance with
Holland.

firm ally of England. At the present moment France was more particularly ready to give it support. Vergennes, the French minister, was anxious to retain some sort of prestige for the Government, which was rapidly sinking in power and credit under the reckless and wasteful management of Calonne. No better opportunity could have been afforded him than the chance of undertaking a successful piece of diplomacy, or of war, in behalf of a democratic party, whose opinions had much in harmony with the rapidly increasing revolutionary feeling of France. Moreover, the commercial world of France was full of hostility to the late treaty with England; and as Vergennes had contracted that treaty, he hoped to wipe out some of his unpopularity by raising difficulties as to the completion of that part of it which touched upon the French trade with India. There the Dutch and French interests both led them to oppose England as far as possible, and a war would almost certainly have commenced had not Vergennes died. At the same time Calonne gave place to Lomenie de Brienne, and it was uncertain what course he would pursue. The question was brought to a crisis by a curious act of ill-judged violence on the part of the democrats, who seized upon the person of the Princess of Orange while she was visiting the Hague (June 1787), probably in the hope of attempting some reconciliation. As the Princess of Orange was the sister of the King of Prussia, he was able to use the attack upon so near a relative as a fair pretext for interfering on behalf of royalty. He marched 20,000 men to the frontiers under the Duke of Brunswick, thus affording Pitt the opportunity he desired of reconnecting England with European allies. He made common cause with Prussia, promising the assistance of the English fleet, and sent to demand from France an explanation of the 15,000 men they had assembled at Givet. The French refused an explanation, promised assistance to the States-General, and proceeded to send their troops into the country. The united arms of Prussia and England were successful, the Stadtholder was restored to power (Oct. 1787) with even less restriction than usual. The friendship thus begun ripened into alliance; and Holland, now entirely in the English interest, joining with England and Prussia, a sort of triple alliance was entered into for securing the peace of Europe, and to support the principle of the balance of power, in which Pitt was a firm believer.

The rising influence of Russia was the great object of Pitt's dread. The progress of that country was very threatening; its vast bulk and unknown resources, and the success which

His efforts to
oppose Russia.

had hitherto attended its progress since the time of Peter the Great, had rendered it a very formidable element in the European system. Chatham had indeed regarded its growth as advantageous to Europe, the counterpoise at once to the power of the French and of the Prussians. His son took a different view, justified by the evident attempts of the Empress to increase her power at the expense of Turkey, and thus to secure the Black Sea, if not the Mediterranean, and by the ever-increasing influence which she exercised over both Prussia and Austria. Even the great Frederick had found himself obliged to court his formidable neighbour; again and again his brother, Prince Henry, had visited St. Petersburg; while Joseph II. of Austria was entirely led away by the Czarina's greatness. Already the greater part of Poland had been absorbed by that Empire; there now remained two powers at either extremity of the great mass of Russia which might easily have suffered a similar treatment. These were Turkey and Sweden. In the year 1787 the aggression for which Europe was waiting took place. The Emperor Joseph had a meeting with the Czarina, and travelled with her in her carriage as she went to visit the Crimea. He was there thoroughly dazzled by the greatness of the scheme which she unfolded to him. Turkey and Greece were to be conquered, and the old Empire of the East to be re-established. In exchange, it was hinted that something like a Western Empire should be constituted, and Italy, as of old, be placed under the Austrian sway. But the success of the Czarina and the Emperor was hampered by the sudden and vigorous assaults upon Russia from the side of Sweden under its King Gustavus III. This attack in its turn threatened to be neutralized by the intervention of the Danes, who were connected in friendship with the Czarina. Such, then, was the position of affairs which Pitt had to consider, in reference always to what he believed of vital importance, the European balance,—on the one side, Austria, Russia, and Denmark; on the other, Turkey and Sweden.

There were three countries against which Pitt could put in practice what appears to have been his fixed plan of European action; desirous of peace, and thinking few questions of sufficient importance to authorise him in plunging Europe into war, he hoped, by a show of superior power on the part of himself and his allies, to uphold the dignity of England and the existing balance of power. He began with the weakest. He drew closer his friendship with Prussia, and his threats in union with that power detached Denmark (Oct. 1788) from its allies, thus

Alliance with
Prussia, Holland
and Sweden.

ridding Sweden of the enemy in its rear, and allowing it to carry on its aggressive movements, which seemed so successful as a diversion in favour of Turkey. An alliance with Holland, Sweden, and Prussia secured the maintenance of peace on the part of Denmark. He then turned to Austria; for the danger from the joint attack on Turkey had become really imminent when the strong fortress of Oczakow fell (Dec. 1788) into the hands of the Czarina's favourite Potemkin. The opportunity was favourable. Joseph II. had died, in 1790, just as all his plans, whether of aggressive ambition on the side of Turkey or of domestic reform in Flanders, had seemed to terminate in failure; while in Flanders a spirit of insurrection, too powerful for him to suppress, had been excited by certain reforms which he there introduced. Indeed, domestic dangers had threatened him on all sides. His successor, Leopold, was desirous of securing the friendship of French and German powers to aid him in his election to the Imperial Crown; and under threat of an immediate invasion from Prussia, which Pitt had instigated, and impressed with the rising danger to all monarchies from the events which were occurring in France, he consented to conclude in August 1790 the Convention of Reichenbach and to withdraw from the Turkish war. Twice, then, Pitt's policy of intervention, combined with threats, but without actual warfare, had been thoroughly successful. The position of England began to stand higher abroad, and the country had again been brought into close connection with its old German allies.

Procures the
Convention of
Reichenbach.

His third intervention was less successful. The Czarina, left to herself both by friends and enemies, persisted in her course, and the fall of Ismail in December was marked by astonishing barbarities. Pitt thought to act upon the Russian Empress as, in conjunction with Prussia, he had acted upon Austria. He demanded that a peace should be made upon the *status quo* before the war, and threatened to support his demand by arms. An increase of the fleet was indeed ordered, but Pitt was mistaken both in the temper of the English and in that of the Russian Empress. The isolated threat of one country standing without allies did not seem to her very terrible; to the people of England the danger of a Russian aggression was of little importance. Pitt found it necessary to change his policy and withdraw his threat, and was content to allow Russia to conclude a peace by which she obtained the territory between the Bug and the Dniester and the fortress of Oczakow (Jan. 1792).

Falls in his
intervention
with Russia.

But it was not only in its political position that England had developed with extraordinary rapidity after the American War. The whole condition of those industrial arts which give work to the lower orders was changed, and an enormous impulse given to the employment of industry. In spite of the constant complaints of those who were bent upon asserting the decline of the nation, the population had been gradually increasing ever since the Revolution of 1688; the rate of increase in the thirty years preceding 1780 was about 40,000 a year. This increase of population had already begun to call fresh land into cultivation; between 1760 and 1770 no less than a thousand enclosure Bills were passed. The improved processes of husbandry did even more than the mere extent of cultivable area to increase the productive power of agriculture. But this agricultural production could never have increased at the rate it did had it not been that the proportion between consumers and producers of food was rapidly being altered; for it was this period which changed England from an agricultural to a manufacturing country, and placed the weight of population, which had hitherto been greater in the South, entirely in the North. By successive steps all the great improvements in spinning and weaving were introduced; the discovery that iron could be worked as well with pit coal as with charcoal gave an immense impetus to the second great branch of industry; and the improvement in the steam engine, which enabled machinery to be worked irrespective of local peculiarities, spread the manufactures, which had hitherto nestled among the hills for the sake of obtaining water-power, into all parts of the coal-producing districts. This burst of industry of necessity produced great economic changes. The employment of labour in manufactories tended to increase the population rapidly. The increase of numbers, the growth of wealth among the manufacturers, called into activity more skill in agriculture, and demanded the occupation of more land. Land to which recourse is had under this pressure is naturally the worse land; it therefore requires more labour to produce its crop, and the most laboriously produced crop sets the value of the whole; the prices of the necessities of life began rapidly to rise. Though the use of machinery made many things cheaper, and improved methods of husbandry prevented prices from rising as they would otherwise have done, as a general rule, while the price of luxuries decreased, the price of necessities rose. Wages did not rise with a proportionate rapidity, and it was still a question whether, if the French war had not intervened, the relation between food and

Industrial
development of
England.

consumption, between prices and wages, would have been satisfactorily arranged. It was however evident that all these improvements, while they created great wealth for the middle and mercantile classes, by no means rendered the position of the mechanic and artisan easier, while, at the same time, higher and more intelligent employment, and the more sedentary life led by the mechanic, were well suited to foster habits of thought, and to make the half-educated man a shallow reasoner, ready to accept crude ideas as to the measures best fitted to produce improvement in the social position of himself and his class; and such ideas, emanating from France, had been for some time widely spread among the people.

Thus, while England had gradually resumed her commanding position abroad, and was ready with allies to join in any external movement, and while the growing wealth of the mercantile world was rendering it daily more certain that any such movement would be in a conservative direction, the people—increased in numbers and intelligence, but not bettered in their general condition—were becoming ready to lend a willing ear to any measures which promised to improve the political position of their class. And it was just at this time that the French Revolution broke out.

Active condition
of England
abroad and at
home.

On the 5th of May 1789 the States-General of France was assembled for the first time since the year 1614. The causes of this momentous event, which produced nothing less than a complete change in the history of the world, were of ancient growth; the explosion had been slowly preparing ever since Louis XIV. had completed the mistaken policy of centralization, and had been able to say that the King and the State were one. The power and importance of the Crown had been secured at the cost of the destruction or degradation of all the conservative elements of society. The nobility, deprived of their local power, had been summoned to the capital to swell the splendour of the Court; without duties they still continued to enjoy privileges, while the administrative power was practically centred in the hands of the royal intendants; they were exempt from direct taxation, and known to their tenantry and dependants only by the feudal dues which they exacted, and by certain remnants of feudal services they could still claim. The judicial body, the "nobility of the robe," held their position, not by merit or by legal knowledge, but by purchase. The upper clergy were drawn to the Court like the nobles, and lived in splendour, while the village curé had hardly the means of liveli-

Causes of the
French Revolution.

hood. The people, oppressed by unjust taxation, excluded from all hope of bettering their condition, saw themselves deserted by their natural guardians and leaders, who seemed to enjoy wealth wrung from their toil, and honours earned by no merit of their own, but solely on the ground of birth. The misery of their position was aggravated by the constant recurrence of famines, and they saw with rage the corn trade so manipulated by men in the highest position as to all appearance to increase the scarcity. But an oppressed people will suffer long in silence unless the temper of the class above them be such as to favour the expression of their discontent. Such a temper had been called into existence among the thinking middle classes by the growth of sceptical and rationalistic philosophy. Drawn originally from English sources, from the writings of the philosophers of the English Revolution, this form of thought had found its exponent in Voltaire, from the keen shafts of whose wit no abuse and no institution was secure. Montesquieu had pushed the same spirit of inquiry into political and constitutional questions, and Rousseau, more sentimental and spiritual in his views, had supplied a firmer but no less revolutionary basis, to society than was afforded by the purely negative teaching of Voltaire. The literary power of these men make them the best known exponents of the spirit of the time, but the spirit itself was prevalent everywhere. Thus, while the institutions of the country were radically bad, they were exposed to the fiercest and most destructive criticism, and ideas of the possibility and rightfulness of a happier state of things were suggested to the public mind. The conduct of the Court and Government was not of a character to blunt the criticisms directed against them; the finances were in a state of hopeless disorder. The accession of Louis XVI. had for a moment raised hopes of a change of system; Turgot, an honest and able man of the widest views, was summoned to the ministry. But as his plan included of necessity retrenchment on the part of the Court and the taxation of the privileged classes, Court, nobles, and magistracy made common cause against him, and he found their opposition too strong for him. The same fate attended every effort at reform. Minister after minister was called to office, content either to follow the old course, which was inevitably leading to bankruptcy, or obliged to yield before the selfish opposition of the privileged classes. In turn, Clugny, Necker, and Calonne withdrew discomfited. At length, in 1787, the Cardinal Lomenie de Brienne accepted the difficult post. Like his predecessors, he soon found that there was no resource but the extension of

taxation. This brought him into collision with the Parlement, the chief court of justice, whose members were drawn from among the privileged class. They contrived for a while to give their opposition the appearance of a popular movement against the power of the Crown; they even went so far as to declare that the right of extending taxation resided in the States-General alone. It was in vain that the King superseded the Parlement, and produced a new and by no means injudicious constitution; the mention of the States-General had seemed to open a new view to the people; nothing short of them would now be accepted. The new constitution fell hopelessly to the ground; the King found it necessary to recall Necker, the only minister who had enjoyed any popular confidence, and his triumphant return was speedily followed by the meeting of the States.

The assembling of the States-General, which was by many regarded with hope as the close of the difficulties of France, proved but the beginning of troubles. The unprivileged classes had at length obtained the means of expressing their wants, and would be satisfied with nothing short of complete revolution. Unfortunately, the King, a well-meaning man, with a real love for his people, was of a slow intellect, and easily guided by those around him. He fell into the hands of the princes and courtiers, and was induced to make common cause with the privileged classes, which were at first the real object of attack. When the Commons, or Tiers Etat, declared themselves the real representation of the nation, and changed the States-General into a National Assembly, he attempted to check them by a royal sitting, only to find his authority disregarded. The Commons assembled in the Tennis Court at Versailles (June 20), swore to perfect the constitution, and became the dominant power in the nation. An attempt to check their further advance by force of arms, the collection of troops around Paris, the removal of the popular minister Necker and the appointment of the Marshal de Broglie to the command of the army, drove Paris to insurrection. The thorough untrustworthiness of the army was proved; the Bastille fell (July 14); the National Guard sprang into existence; and a revolutionary Commune at the Hôtel de Ville governed the capital. The power of the sword passed into the hands of the people. Though the Assembly continued the work of the constitution, though, on the 4th of August, the aristocracy, in a moment of wild enthusiasm, surrendered all its old feudal rights, the mistrust of the Parisians, aggravated by the famine and the difficulty of subsistence, continued to increase. The Court im-

Assembly of the
States-General.
May 5, 1789.

prudently gave colour to its mistrust, Lafayette, at the head of the National Guard, desired to get the management of the Revolution more entirely in his own hands. On the 6th of October a crowd of National Guards and starving women marched to Versailles and brought the King in triumph to Paris. He was followed by the National Assembly, which henceforward worked under the eyes of the Parisian Commune and people. The prestige of royalty disappeared, the King was in fact a prisoner in his own capital; the power had passed even from the National Assembly, and was centred in the people of Paris.

Such scenes, marked by acts of sanguinary vengeance on the part of the people, and showing the absolute powerlessness of the old system of Louis XIV., could not fail to excite the strongest interest in Europe. Nowhere was this more the case than in England. To some it appeared that our great enemy was perishing before our eyes of its own natural decay; while from another point of view, to lovers of liberty, there was a whole world of hope in the vigorous life exhibited by a people, downtrodden as the French lower orders were believed to be; to another party the hurried and irregular vehemence which had marked the changes in France seemed proof only of an anarchy shocking to all respect for form or antiquity, and sad evidence against the possibility of an orderly growth of reform. "The French have shown themselves," said Burke, "the ablest architects of ruin that have hitherto existed in the world. They have done their business for us as rivals in a way which twenty Ramillies or Blenheims could never have done." "How much is it the greatest event that ever happened in the world and how much the best," said Fox after the taking of the Bastille. While a third view, and this at first was Pitt's, rested complacently on the possible approximation of the Government of France to a constitutional monarchy similar to that of England.

The three years which elapsed between 1789 and the end of 1792 drew more distinctly the line which separated the two first of these opinions, and proved that the third was untenable. It was clear from the first which of them would ultimately gain the upper hand among the governing classes in England. Already, as early as March 1790, a proposition for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, and for the abolition of Test and Corporation Acts, which had been lost by only a small majority the preceding year, was thrown out by overwhelming numbers. A Bill for the reform of the repre-

The King
brought to
Paris.
Oct. 6.

Excitement
produced in
England.

First
reactionary
movement.

Rejection of the
Abolition of
Tests and of
the Reform Bill.

sentation, introduced by Flood, though Pitt had several times himself brought the subject forward, met with a similar fate; and shortly before the meeting of the new Parliament on November 25th, Burke issued what may be regarded as the manifesto of his party in his work entitled "Reflections on the French Revolution." It was called forth by signs of the sympathy which the French Revolution was meeting in England. Its more enthusiastic admirers had determined to reap what advantages they could from the present state of excitement, and two societies—the Constitutional Society, founded a few years before, and the Revolution Society, an old established body connected with the Dissenting interest, and intended to support the principle of the Revolution of 1688—had entered upon a course of renewed activity. On its anniversary, in November 1789, the Revolution Society had not only listened to an inflammatory and revolutionary discourse by Dr. Price, a Unitarian minister, but had also sent an address of sympathy, signed by Lord Stanhope, their President, to the National Assembly, by whom it had been rapturously received. It was upon this text chiefly that Burke wrote. His book had a wonderful success, 30,000 copies were speedily sold, and writers have been found bold enough to imply that the safety of Europe was owing to this work. In truth, Burke saw more clearly than those around him the inevitable course of the Revolution; he foresaw its excesses and its miserable end in a military despotism; he saw, too, that it must of necessity become proselytizing. Terrified by these dangers, and unable to conceive the excellence of any government unlike our own, which was at that time a highly aristocratic limited monarchy, he did not see the truths which the French Revolution embodied, and which, had they been wisely directed and not rudely assailed, would have allowed Europe to pass into the new and inevitable phase of progress for which it is still struggling, without the constant outbreaks of passion on one side or the other which have marked the last seventy years. This work drew forth many replies, the most important of which were Macintosh's "Vindiciæ Gallicæ" and Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man,"—the first a temperate and excellent work of the man who was afterwards to be one of the greatest philosophical statesmen in England, the other the rough but sensible production of a revolutionist by profession.

The sentiments which Burke had declared in his essay he soon took an opportunity of declaring in Parliament. The question before the House was a new constitution for Canada. This was called for by the extremely antago-

Burke's
"Reflections
on the French
Revolution."

The Canada
Bill.
1791.

nistic character of the inhabitants of the two parts of the colony. The inhabitants of Lower Canada were French, and used to French habits, those of Upper Canada entirely English. The province was in future to be divided, and the constitution of the Upper Province assimilated as nearly as possible to the English model. Hereditary peerages even were to be established. The Bill, granting as it did a sort of self-government to the colony, was a wise one, but Fox opposed it, and took the opportunity of speaking in high praise of the new constitution of France. Some days afterwards, upon the same measure, Burke arose and proceeded to reply, inveighing strongly against the Revolution. His own side vociferously called him to order; he persisted in his speech, deploring that he should be obliged to break with his friends, but ready, as he said, to risk all, and with his last words to exclaim, "Fly from the French constitution." Fox whispered there was no loss of friends, but Burke rejoined, "I have done my duty at the price of my friend; our friendship is at an end." Fox rose afterwards, and with tears in his eyes repeated that he regarded Burke as his master and teacher in politics, but he could not withdraw what he had said in praise of the French constitution; and thus the friendship of years was severed, and Burke was ranked with the ministerialists.

Branch between
Fox and Burke.
May 6, 1791.

But it was not only in Parliament that the strong division of opinion caused by the Revolution was beginning to be evident. The conservative temper of the upper and middle classes was shown clearly in the riots at Birmingham. The friends of the Revolution had determined to have a public dinner to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. The dinner was chiefly planned by Dr. Priestley, a Unitarian minister, a man of much scientific repute. Hearing that his movement was unpopular, he attempted to postpone the dinner, from which he was himself absent; some eighty persons however met, and in the evening a fierce riot broke out against them; from Thursday till Sunday the riots continued, Dr. Priestley's house and library were destroyed, and much wanton mischief done. It was constantly reported, though never proved, that the magistrates of the district, far from trying to check the rioters, had been seen urging them on.

Up till this point Pitt had certainly shown no sign of yielding to the conservative feeling of the country. He had declared distinctly that he intended to pursue a policy of neutrality, to hold carefully aloof from any interference in the domestic affairs of France, and had even entirely neutralized the effect of the

The Birmingham
riots.
July 1791.

Pitt's policy as
yet unchanged.

Convention of Pilnitz (Aug. 1791) by refusing to accede to the project of concerted action on the part of European powers which had there been broached. He even felt so certain of the continuance of peace, that his Budget, in the spring of the year 1792, was framed entirely upon a peace footing. He suggested the diminution of the number of sailors by 2000; he allowed the subsidiary treaty with Hesse to come to an end, and drew up a plan for the reduction of the interest of the Funds from 4 to 3½ or 3 per cent. He even continued his measures of improvement; he again supported, in a speech of unusual excellence, the immediate abolition of the slave trade, although without success; while, in conjunction with his great opponent, he carried through a Bill for a change in the libel law known as Fox's Libel Bill, which placed in the hands of juries the right of determining not only the fact of the publication of a libel, but the more important question whether the matter published was in its character libellous or not. The opposition offered to this Bill by Lord Chancellor Thurlow cost him his position; the Great Seal was put into commission. But the crisis had in fact arrived. The events which had taken place in France, and which continued to take place during the year 1792, and the corresponding excitement aroused in England, were gradually driving the minister to the persuasion that his peaceful policy of non-intervention was no longer tenable.

After its removal to Paris in October 1789, the Assembly, now under the influence of the Jacobin Club, and watched by the Parisians, proceeded rapidly in its work of destruction and reconstitution. All local arrangements and provincial powers disappeared when France was divided into Departments; the Crown lost its hold upon the judicial system, which was now grounded upon a popular basis; the Church became a department of the State, and the necessities of the State were supplied by selling its vast property, or, as purchasers were not forthcoming, by issuing bills payable in Church lands, called assignats. It became plain that the power of the Crown, and with it the power of the executive, was entirely disappearing. Nothing could save it but one of two courses—the King might become a traitor to his country, throw himself into the arms of his brother potentates, and begin a war of kings against peoples, or, withdrawing from his capital, rally round him all the conservative elements which yet remained in France. This was the plan of the one great man of the Revolution, Mirabeau; but Mirabeau died in April 1791; and in June of the same year the King adopted the other

Progress of
the French
Revolution.

The King's
flight to
Varennes.
June 1791

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and worse course, fled from Paris, and was arrested at Varennes. He was brought back a prisoner, and remained with suspended authority till the Assembly in September, hurriedly completing its work of constitution-making, resigned its office. The King then resumed his authority at the head of the new monarchical constitution, but with power strangely clipped, and with an Assembly the leading members of which, the Girondins (so called because their leaders were representatives from the Gironde, a district near Bordeaux), eager and ambitious men, preferred theoretically a republic, and believed that their power would be best secured by plunging France into a war. It is not in fact true to assert, as is commonly done, that it was the attacks of the combined monarchs of Europe which drove France to war. Much sympathy was no doubt felt for the disasters of the

The Girondin
ministry de-
clares war.
April 1792.

royal family, and the representations of the emigrant nobles and princes had met with some success in Russia and Sweden. But both those countries were far off. The more immediate antagonists of France—Austria and Prussia—were prevented by their domestic jealousies, their fear of Russia, and their relations with Poland, from thinking seriously of an open assault upon France. It was for their own ends that the Girondins stirred up the war spirit in France, and it could best be fostered by exciting the popular feelings by suggestions of interference on the part of foreign kings with the new-born liberty of the country, and by hinting that the King himself was a party to this conspiracy. Thus, taking advantage of the strong sympathy which foreign courts expressed for the cause of royalty, the Girondins demanded, in an overbearing tone, immediate and satisfactory replies to their diplomatic questions, and failing these, declared war upon Austria in the month of April 1792. Their declaration of war was speedily followed by the reality of that union between Austria and Prussia which they had falsely urged as an excuse for it. But the Girondins had overreached themselves: by exciting the popular feeling against the King they had played directly into the hands of the Jacobins; and when the King, in June 1792, discarded his Girondin ministry and attempted to rule with something like independence, it was only with the aid of the Jacobins that they ultimately returned to power. For it was by this extreme party, still further excited by the injudicious and

The King
suspended.
Aug. 10.

threatening manifesto which the Duke of Brunswick had issued on the 25th of July, and by the ill success of the opening of the war, that the great insurrection of the 10th of August was carried out. The King was suspended from

his functions, the Tuileries were taken, and though the Gironde was nominally restored, the power of the State was really in the hands of the Jacobins and the revolutionary Commune. The Legislative Assembly lingered but a few weeks longer, to give place in September to a National Democratic Convention. The brief space between the 10th of August and the 21st of September was filled by the terrible consequences of the unbridled triumph of the people. The royalist prisoners were murdered in the prisons, the revolutionary Commune established in Paris, and when the Convention met, in the midst of fear at home and fear of the advancing Prussians abroad, its first step was of necessity the declaration of the Republic and the dethronement of the King.

Massacres of
September.

Declaration of
the Republic.
Sept. 21, 1792

Almost on the same day that the Convention opened, the advance of the Prussians had been suddenly and unexpectedly checked. Dumouriez had occupied the Passes of the Argonnes, Kellermann had fought the "cannonade" of Valmy, and the Prussians, bargaining for a safe retreat, began to hurry homeward with ignoble speed. From this time onward the character of the war changed, and became really dangerous to Europe. A party more energetic than the Girondins was now in power. Dumouriez had always recommended the conquest of Belgium for political reasons; but war assumed a different aspect now that it was in the hands of the Jacobins; it went hand in hand with the propagation of revolutionary ideas. The victory of Jemmappes opened the road to Belgium; in the South, Nice and Savoy completed the desired frontier of the Alps; and the temper in which these conquests had been achieved was rendered obvious when, a few days after the battle of Jemmappes, the celebrated decree of the 19th of November was issued, promising fraternity to all nations desirous of liberty, and when, two days afterwards, Savoy was formed into a new department as the Department of Mont Blanc. If further proof was needed of the character of the war, it was afforded by the peremptory orders which were issued to disregard all treaty obligations and to open the navigation of the Scheldt, which treaty after treaty, guaranteed by France and other countries, had closed, and the opening of which could not but bring France directly into opposition both to Holland and to England. The chief points to be remembered as affecting England are the declaration of war with Austria, sought by the French, and upon old fashioned principles; the fall of the Girondins, practically completed

Revolutionary
character of
the war.

Edict of
Fraternity.
Nov. 19, 1792.

on the 10th of August; the union of Austria and Prussia produced by the war, but not contracted formally till after the death of Leopold; the advance of the allies; the consequent establishment of the Jacobins; the massacres of September; the summoning of the Convention; the check to the allies at Valmy; the renewal of the war of aggression upon different principles and with different success, those principles being illustrated by the ordering of the opening of the Scheldt and the appropriation of Savoy; while in Paris the completion of the second stage of the Revolution was marked by the suspension and trial of the King.

It was thus, with an enlarged knowledge of the principles and inevitable course of the French Revolution, that Pitt had to choose his conduct, and that in the course of this year (1792) the English people finally divided itself into parties, and in Parliament the old party names of Whig and Tory, which had in fact since the Hanoverian succession lost their significance, assumed a new meaning. The first movements of the Revolution were generally hailed with enthusiasm in England. In the grand march of the first days of the States-General and National Assembly there was nothing at first obvious to shock English feeling. On the surface it appeared only as if France had discovered, and was determined to realize, the same truths which England had already discovered; the people and the Crown appeared to be preparing to act hand in hand against the monopoly of the privileged classes, against the Divine right of kings, and for the establishment of that official royalty which already existed among us. To the leaders of the Whigs, who still erroneously believed that that party was the really Liberal party, there was everything to excite enthusiasm in the movement of the people, while Pitt himself could scarcely fail to recognize that the very same process was being carried out to which he owed his own elevation. But, by extraordinary mismanagement on the part of the French Court, and by the sluggish, uncertain character of the King, it came to pass that the cause of royalty became unfortunately and indissolubly connected with the cause of the privileged classes. The direction of the Revolution was shifted, and the assault was directed not only against them, but against the Crown; and not only against the Crown, in the sense that hereditary kingship was attacked, but also against all vigorous executive of which the King, even in his official capacity, might be regarded as the representative. Now Pitt's administration may be regarded as a popular triumph due to the union of King and people. It was

Change of
opinion in
England as to
the Revolution.

quite untrue in England that the interests of the Crown and aristocracy were one; the power of the Crown, in so far as it was antagonistic to the power of the great families, was favourable to liberty. Nevertheless, the ideas of the French Revolution did in fact receive considerable sympathy in England, as was rendered more and more visible daily. The amount of that sympathy assumed an exaggerated appearance under the influence of the fear and horror created by the excesses in Paris, and the relation of classes which had not existed in England, but which those who sympathized with the Revolution chose to believe existed, did in fact arise. The choice seemed again to be offered between people and King. And all the privileged classes, and all the propertied classes, recognizing that a strong executive meant order, and that a strong executive was represented by the King, speedily made their choice, and gathered round the King.

There was thus formed a new Tory party, having for its watch-word, "The Old Constitution," refusing to listen to any sound of reform or change, regarding every measure in a popular direction as a preliminary to popular excesses, the dominion of the uneducated, and the reign of socialistic ideas. At the head of this party Pitt, of late so liberal, placed himself, supported by Burke, the late Whig leader. Conscious of the strength he had himself derived from the Crown, conscious of the advances in liberty he had been able to obtain by means of his alliance with it, and thoroughly shocked with the disorder and violence of France, Pitt determined that of the two elements of the Constitution, which seemed to be coming into opposition one with the other, it was the Crown which at all hazards required the firmest support. To this new Tory party, before long, the greater part of the Whigs gave in their adhesion. But as a new Tory party was formed, so was a new Whig party. Certain large-minded men, such as Grey, saw no reason why a panic should check such obvious improvements as had already been set on foot. Certain vehement party men, such as Fox and Sheridan, of large and warm hearts, rejoiced when their feelings led them in the same direction as their political opposition, and formed together a small but united band, to whom the French Revolution was admirable, to whom war with France was wicked, and every attempt at the repression of disorder a wanton act of tyranny.

It has been already pointed out that both the social and constitutional condition of England afforded a good ground on which sympathy for the Revolution might take root. Not only were the numbers of the labouring classes

Formation of a
new Tory
party.

Sympathy with
the Revolution
among the
lower classes.

largely increased, not only was the condition of the labouring class changing for the worse, the relations between capital and labour were in a much less satisfactory state than they now are, every form of combination among workmen was regarded as a crime, the line between class and class was very strongly drawn. Country people were complaining, in England as in France, of the absenteeism of landlords, the employment of harsh middlemen, and the general resort of all gentry to London. The Test Act and the penal laws were regarded by those who were affected by them as relics of persecution, all efforts to relax them were generally met with scornful rejection, and, before all, the representation was in a condition which, but for its evil effects, might be regarded as simply ridiculous. The sympathy which might thus have been naturally felt was not left without instruction or direction. Those who most strongly felt its influence speedily formed themselves into societies, by whose means, in conjunction it seems pretty certain with assistance from the French themselves, writings and pamphlets, pointing out every flaw in the condition of England, and often using language which was certainly seditious, were spread broadcast among the people, and even among the soldiers. Of these societies by far the most respectable was one known by the name of the "Friends of the People." Its object was to excite and keep alive an agitation for the removal of the inequalities of the representation. It included many men of the greatest respectability, numbering twenty-eight members of Parliament in its lists, and such names as Lord John Russell, Grey, Sheridan, Erskine, and Lord Lauderdale. Far more dangerous were two active societies which had now established branches in many of the chief towns of England. These were the London Corresponding Society, numbering between 6000 and 7000 members, organized as a secret society, and governed by a small secret committee of five, and a Society for Constitutional Information, consisting of the more advanced and thoroughgoing educated men of the time, and holding opinions of so dangerous a character that the Society of the Friends of the People thought it necessary to disclaim all connection with it. It was to check the action of these societies that the two first retrograde actions of Pitt were directed.

The outcome of the work of the Society of the Friends of the People was that Grey gave notice of a motion for a general reform of the representation. To this Pitt refused his support. Two things were necessary, he said, to induce a man to support a measure—the possibility of carrying it, and the

Rejection of
Grey's motion
for reform.
April 1792.

possibility, when carried, of putting it into execution to the advantage of the people; both these conditions were now absent, not only did he believe that in the present state of feeling the Bill would infallibly be rejected by the House, but also it could not now be carried out without the greatest danger. The motion was therefore dropped, and all chance of carrying reform disappeared. Yet the necessity for it was made very clear by a petition from the same society presented by Grey in the following year, which exhibited in all its nakedness the inefficiency of the representation, and proved that a decided majority of the House was returned in fact by no more than 154 individuals.

But while the respectable reformers were carrying out their efforts by parliamentary means, the two less scrupulous societies went on issuing papers and pamphlets to such an extent, that at length it seemed good to Government to issue a royal proclamation warning the people against seditious writings, and then to proceed to take legal measures against them. This proclamation was issued on the 21st of May, and the address moved in Parliament to thank the King for issuing it may be regarded as the exact point at which the new division of parties sprang into existence, for it was supported by many of the chief leaders of the Whigs, and though an effort made by Pitt to strengthen his party by a coalition with the Whigs failed for personal reasons, the Duke of Portland, Wyndham, Thomas Grenville, and others, came back to their allegiance to the wisdom of Burke, and joined henceforward in the united Conservative party. It is remarkable also for a second point which connects it with the international aspect of the French Revolution. M. Chauvelin had lately been sent over to England, with his far abler secretary Talleyrand, as minister accredited by the French King. But Louis' authority was little more than a shadow, and M. Chauvelin already thought fit to enter upon that peculiar course of foreign diplomacy which was characteristic of the revolutionists; he drew up a strong protest against the Proclamation, and demanded that it should be laid before Parliament. Of course Grenville, the Foreign Minister, had no alternative but to send back the letter, with a sharp rebuke, explaining to him what he seemed to have forgotten, the true position of a foreign minister. This was the beginning of that diplomatic squabble which ended in M. Chauvelin being dismissed from England.

But before the breaking off of diplomatic intercourse, the open sympathy expressed for the changes which had taken place in France had begun to rouse the fear of the governing classes in

Proclamation
against
seditious
writings.
May 21.

Diplomacy of
M. Chauvelin.

England. The proclamation against seditious writings had but little effect compared with the exciting news of the 10th of August, the massacres of September, and the retreat of the allies. The societies thought fit to send deputations with addresses of sympathy to the National Convention. The Revolution Society sent a present of a thousand pairs of shoes for the army, and the Corresponding Society, with four or five others of a similar character, sent a joint address, congratulating the French upon their republican form of government, especially admiring the outrageous conduct of the mob on the 10th of August, and even approving the sad events of September. Nor was their energy confined to words. Riots broke out in several towns both in England and Scotland. The most important were those in Sheffield and Dundee. At Sheffield the disturbances took the form of a regular revolutionary riot. It was on a day appointed for rejoicing for the success of the French arms; a tree of Liberty was planted, and the procession passed through the streets, headed by an enormous picture of Dundas and Burke plunging their daggers into the heart of Liberty. "They are as resolute and determined a set of villains as ever I saw," writes an officer who was quartered in the place, "and will gain their object if it is to be gained; they have debating societies and correspondence with other towns; they have purchased firearms, and are trying to corrupt the soldiers." At Dundee almost the same events took place; again a tree of Liberty was planted, and the cries of "Liberty," "Equality," "No excise," "No King," were soon universally heard, though the ostensible cause of the riot had been the high price of corn.

This state of affairs—the seditious conduct of the societies, and the obvious tendency to riot—induced Pitt, in the beginning of December, to call out the militia. This he could only do legally by alleging insurrection as the excuse, and it was a somewhat strained construction of the word to apply it to these outbreaks. But Pitt had now made up his mind not only for repression in England but for war abroad, and the summoning of the militia was intended in fact as a first step in that direction. It was under these circumstances that an autumnal Parliament was summoned. The discussions naturally turned upon the conduct of the Government in calling out the militia, but Fox was unable to collect more than fifty votes to disapprove of the vigilance of the Government in internal matters.

Congratulatory
addresses sent
to France by
the societies.
Sept.

Riots in
Sheffield and
Dundee.
Nov.

The militia
called out.
Dec.

Much more really important were the indications of the near approach of war, given by the stress laid by the Government upon the decree of November, the opening of the Scheldt, and the irregular and unsatisfactory character of our diplomatic relations with France. From the beginning of 1793, although there was no declaration of war between England and France, it was perfectly clear that war was inevitable. An Alien Bill was introduced, rendered necessary it was urged by the great assembly of foreigners in England, chiefly royalist emigrants, but also in part emissaries from the Jacobin government. Foreigners were by this Bill ordered to state the object of their visit to England, to enter their names on a register, and to obtain passports for moving to and fro. The Bill was at once asserted by the French to be an infringement of Pitt's commercial treaty of 1786, which had promised freedom of access to French citizens. It was followed by measures even more stringent. The exportation of all materials of war, the introduction and circulation of assignats, and the exportation of corn whether English or foreign, to French ports, were prohibited. While affairs were in this attitude, the catastrophe for which Europe had breathlessly waited took place. Louis XVI. was guillotined on the 21st of January 1793. A thrill of horror ran through all classes of society, nearly the whole of London, and not the Court only, appeared in deep mourning, and orders were almost immediately sent to M. Chauvelin to leave England within eight days. The unofficial connections between him and Lord Grenville had been kept up ever since the King's suspension, but M. Chauvelin prided himself upon being in close connection with the Opposition rather than with the Government, and persisted in separating in his papers the interests of the Government and of the people. He had offered explanations and produced a long letter for the same purpose from Le Brun, the French Foreign Minister, with regard to the decree of the 19th of November, but the explanation was of a character to increase the irritation of the English. He had met every measure of the Government with an angry protest: he justified the opening of the Scheldt; he complained that he was obliged to enrol himself with the other aliens; he declared that the prohibitory Bills were distinct breaches of the treaty of 1786; and he was doubtless glad when the consummation he had aimed at was reached and he was ordered to leave the country.

Signs of
approaching
war with
France.

The Alien Bill.
Jan. 4, 1793.

Death of
Louis XVI.
Jan. 21, 1793.

Some slight pretence was still kept up on the part of the French of a desire to keep the peace. M. Maret, well known afterwards as the Duc de Bassano, was sent over to take M. Chauvelin's place. The object of his mission is really unknown; he simply notified his arrival to Grenville, held no communications with him, and very shortly returned to France to find war already declared. At the same time another indirect offer of negotiation arose, strangely enough in Belgium, where Dumouriez desired an opportunity for a diplomatic meeting with Lord Auckland, our ambassador. It speaks well for Pitt's real desire to treat if treating were possible, that he at once accepted this proposition, holding that a general in command of an army might treat, without any implied recognition of the legitimacy or the stability of the Government which employed him. But though the required leave was immediately sent to Lord Auckland, it arrived too late, war had been already declared. It is a further proof of Pitt's pacific tendencies, that when he agreed to Dumouriez' proposal an embargo had already been laid upon English shipping in the French ports, an act of war which he was willing to overlook as long as any hope of negotiation remained.

But it may be fairly asserted, in spite of all that Fox and his friends urged, that there was no real opportunity after the massacres of September of treating with dignity with France. While M. Chauvelin was attempting on the 27th of December to explain away the November decree, on the 31st of the same month the Minister of the Marine wrote thus to the seaports of France: "The Government of England is arming, and the King of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots in their own territories, think no doubt that they will be able to influence the judgment about to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us. But no; a people that has made itself free, a people that has driven out of the bosom of France the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians, this people will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant. The King and his Parliament mean to make war upon us. Will the republicans of England permit this? Already these freemen show their discontent, and the repugnance they have to bear arms against their brothers the French; well, we will fly to their succour, we will make a descent upon their island, we will lodge there 50,000 caps of liberty, we will plant the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican

Determination
of the French
for war.

brethren; the tyranny of their government will be immediately overthrown." In fact, as has more than once happened in our history, the disturbance of a few reckless men, which our free constitution permits to show itself without repression, was construed to mean what it might mean in less free countries. Misinformed by their emissary Chauvelin who saw but one party, willing to believe what they liked to believe, and ignorant of the character of the English nation, the French had persuaded themselves that there was a real division between the Government and the people of England, and were eager for the war.

That war they declared on the 1st of February. English interests were so injuriously affected by what promised to be the permanent occupation of Belgium, that sooner or later England must have declared war. ^{Reasons for the war.} The *casus belli* was a difficulty. England was pledged to neutrality, and was bound to France by a close commercial treaty. The only two grounds on which, technically, war could be declared, were the opening of the Scheldt and the destruction of the balance of power by the appropriation of Savoy. England being under distinct pledge not to interfere with the internal condition of France, neither the massacres of September, the establishment of the Republic, nor the death of the King, could with any justice be alleged as a ground of war. The appropriation of Savoy was an evident fact, but it was very plausibly urged that England, being in a state of professed neutrality, had entirely disregarded the invasion of France by the great Eastern powers, and had allowed to pass, without observation, the second partition of Poland. The opening of the Scheldt was no doubt contrary to treaties with Holland which England had guaranteed, but it was very reasonably urged that England was not called upon to plunge into a war unless Holland requested her to do so, and Holland remained studiously quiet. The guarantee of the treaty had been to save Holland from war; it might well seem a distortion of duty to force Holland into war for the preservation of the treaty. There can be no doubt that the Opposition was right in asserting that the war was declared against opinion; the point in which they were wrong was this, that they did not recognize the fact that opinion grown to a religion, a religion become propagandist in its nature, and that propagandist religion in arms was the greatest social danger which could threaten the world. Pitt and Burke saw this; the whole body of Tories and conservative Whigs dimly felt it. But the trammels of ages of diplo-

macy were too strong to allow of the fact being openly recognised. It was then with joy that the ministry found themselves released from their difficulties by the French declaration of war.

When England engaged in the war a campaign had already been fought to the entire disadvantage of the allies. The close of the year 1792 had seen the retirement of the allies from French soil, the battle of Jemmappes, and the occupation of Belgium and Savoy. The accession of England, Spain and Holland to the coalition so far invigorated it that its members believed that a campaign of a few months would complete their work; for dangers surrounded the French Convention on all sides. Dumouriez, a member of the Girondin party, displeased with the conduct of the Jacobin Convention, was meditating defection; the excesses of the governing party in Paris had aroused all the slumbering loyalty of France; La Vendée was in arms for constitutional monarchy and the Catholic religion; and both at Lyons and Toulon the reaction was for the moment triumphant. Dumouriez' treason had an immediate effect. Directly upon the declaration of war he invaded Holland, but seeking rather popularity with his army and the prestige of victory than the success of the plans of Government, he turned aside from Holland, and risked a battle at Neerwinden on the Gheet, in which he suffered a complete defeat from the Prince of Saxe-Coburg; and thus as a defeated general, and without his army, he gave himself up to the Austrians. His defeat and defection allowed the allies to advance along the whole frontier. But their movements were dilatory; instead of marching upon Paris they selfishly preferred to take Mayence, Condé, and Valenciennes; they even committed the mistake of binding the captured troops to refrain from war only against themselves; they were therefore available to suppress the insurrection in La Vendée, and the troops hitherto employed there could be sent to the eastern frontier. The same want of energy continually marked the progress of the allies. The Prussians and Austrians were in fact too jealous of each other, and too much bent upon their interests nearer home to act with vigour. Time was again wasted in sieges. While the Austrians sat down before Le Quesnoy, the Duke of York with the English troops besieged Dunkirk. Their communications were kept open by the Dutch at Menin and Hoondschoote. But the French army, under the vigorous management of the Jacobins, and guided by the military genius of Carnot, was no longer to be trifled with; Houchard fell upon the weak position of the Dutch, and York

French successes in the campaign of 1792-3, on the Continent.

was driven to a disastrous retreat with the loss of all his artillery. The success was indeed only momentary; a panic seized the French troops, and they fell back to Lille, thus affording the allies an opportunity of advancing to the attack of the fortress of Maubeuge, which closed the road to Paris; but Jourdan, who had succeeded Houchard, now put in practice Carnot's principles. Hastily gathering 50,000 men, he fell upon half that number of Austrians, and completely defeated them at Wattigny. Success had also attended the French against the Prussians on the Upper Rhine. There, too, the terrible rigour of the new Government had restored the aspect of affairs. St. Just and Lebas had appeared as conventional commissioners in Alsace, bringing terror with them. The beaten armies were supplied and organized. Two young generals of the revolutionary school, Hoche and Pichegru, were placed in command, and the tide of victory was turned; the Prussians had to fall back, compromising the advanced position of the Austrians, and before the close of the year the French army, which had begun the campaign with a series of disasters, found itself victorious along the whole frontier line.

The Convention had also been successful in its wars in the interior of France. After six weeks of bombardment, on the 9th of October, Lyons yielded, without conditions, to be given up to the fearful cruelty of Collet d'Herbois; and the victorious troops hurried southwards to besiege Toulon, which had placed itself in the hands of the English, and had admitted the allied fleet to its roadstead. The genius of Bonaparte is said to have secured its capture. He saw that one fort called the Equilette commanded the roadstead, and that its possession would oblige the English, who were the soul of the defence, to withdraw. The capture of the fort answered his expectation; Lord Hood, without making terms for the inhabitants, collected such of the royalists as could crowd on board his ships, and sailed away, having first set fire to all the stores, and burnt or carried off forty ships of war (Dec. 18, 1793). The insurrection of La Vendée had also been suppressed. Intrusted at first to ignorant men, with no claim to command except the strength of their revolutionary principles, the Convention troops had been everywhere defeated. But when Kleber was put in practical command the course of victory changed. Terribly defeated, and with all their chiefs of importance mortally wounded, the insurgents determined to try the fortune of war upon the other side of the Loire. They marched northwards towards Laval, defeated their pursuers, and had they

and against the royalists in France.

made common cause with the Bretons might still have been successful. But trusting to help from England, which never came, they undertook a fruitless assault upon Granville in Normandy. Thinking themselves betrayed, and longing for their homes, the ill-organized mass of peasants insisted on being led southwards: even then there was some life in them. They defeated the republican General Rossignol and threw him back upon Rennes; but failing in an attack upon Angers, they marched pointlessly towards Le Mans. They were there received with terrible slaughter by Westermann, Kleber and Marceau; 18,000 men, women and children were killed, and the rest fled, pursued by the pitiless Westermann. The fugitives reached the Loire, fought one final battle at Savenay near its mouth, where they were all, with the exception of some eight or ten thousand men, either put to death or captured.

Thus revolutionary France had proved itself no contemptible enemy to the united troops of Europe, and established its rule unquestioned in France. It was plain that all hope of an easy subjugation of France was over, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Pitt was able to keep the coalition together; the eyes of Prussia were eagerly bent upon Poland, an easier prey than France. Of increase of territory in Europe England had no hope; the war had been forced on her, and was honestly a war of opinion. But any cessation of her efforts would have placed her in a worse position than when the war began. Pitt had from the first intended that the country should be indemnified by the acquisition of the French Colonies, and neither he nor the upper classes of England were blind to the advantages at sea which the war afforded them; it was worth making great efforts to gain the undisputed mastery of the sea both in commerce and in arms. Nor did the large sums of money, raised chiefly by way of loan, appear so ruinous as they really were. The effect of large loans is to increase the wealth of the capitalist at the expense of the working man; nor, as the chief weight of the accumulating taxation falls on posterity, does it become immediately evident. Thus supplied with almost unlimited means, Pitt succeeded in keeping up the coalition, taking into English pay, it is almost true to say, the whole of the Prussian army, and doing nearly as much for the Austrians.

Pitt's energy was equalled by that of France, and the Convention had the additional advantage of being free from constitutional rules. Vast conscriptions filled their armies, forced requisitions supplied them with arms and equip-

Pitt's difficulty
in keeping up
the coalition.

Continued
success of the
French in
1794.

ments. It was with the Northern army, 160,000 strong, under Pichegru, that the English had most to do. A concentrated march on Paris had been proposed but rejected, and when the campaign opened each army was divided into three divisions, and the duty of marching with 100,000 men on Paris was intrusted to Coburg. Defeated in the centre, the French had met with unexpected success on the left, Clairfait, the Austrian general, having been twice beaten at Moucron and at Courtray. Upon this, Pichegru almost destroyed his centre to strengthen his wings, and the threefold manœuvres became twofold. The key of the campaign was the possession of the Sambre; the Austrians lay in an advancing angle with their left upon that river from Mons to Charleroi. If the French could cross the Sambre they would be virtually in the rear of the Austrians. To this point, therefore, the Commissioners of the Convention, St. Just and Lebas, repaired, and attempted to inspire the troops with something of their own enthusiasm. Again and again the French were driven back. But Carnot's plan of massing troops was at length employed; the greater part of the army, which under Jourdan had been facing the Prussians on the Moselle, was turned northward, and Jourdan took command of 100,000, well known as the army of the Sambre and Meuse, just as the Commissioners had been driven back for the fifth time behind the river. After a sixth failure, the Commissioners insisting upon a seventh effort, the river was successfully crossed, and on the heights of Fleurus a battle was fought in which, though it was not completed, the Austrians were practically defeated. Step by step the English and the Austrians retired, the one towards Holland, the other towards the Rhine. By July the English were behind Breda, the Austrians beyond the Meuse. Want of supplies checked the French advance for a few weeks, but by October the English were driven into the corner between the Yssel and the Rhine, and the army of the Sambre and Meuse had captured Cologne and Coblenz. The occupation of Belgium by the French compelled the Prussians further south also to fall behind the Rhine, the left bank of which was thus in possession of the French army from Basle to the sea. Even south of that point successes had been won. The Sardinian position of Saorgio had been turned, and the passes of the Alps were opened to the French, who were thus in a position to invade Italy on the one hand and Holland on the other. The lateness of the season, and the wretched state of the equipment and commissariat, might have induced the French to be satisfied with these conquests, and few armies would have thought of facing an unusually severe winter shoeless and in rags, for to such a plight had the bad

management of the Revolutionary Government brought them. But to this army of enthusiasts the winter was but a useful ally for the conquest of Holland, where a strong feeling in their favour already existed among that large section of the people, who had seen with anger their attempted Revolution of 1787 suppressed by the arms of Prussia, and to whom the Government of the Stadtholder was very distasteful. The failure of the preceding campaign had obliged Pitt to insist upon the recall of the Duke of York, much to the King's displeasure, and Pichegru now found himself opposed to General Walmoden, the Hanoverian commander. But of opposition there was really none. The lines of the three great rivers, the Meuse, the Waal and the Lech, were abandoned without a fight, and crossed by the French, either upon the ice or by means of pontoons; and finally Walmoden left Holland to its fate, and retreated across the Yssel and the Ems to embark his army safely in Bremen. The

The French capture Amsterdam and the Dutch fleet. 1795.

Stadtholder had already fled from the Hague and taken refuge in England. Amsterdam was occupied by the French without difficulty, the ragged regiments waiting patiently in the bitter snow in the streets of the rich city till their quarters were arranged for them without the least attempt at disorder. A striking finish was put to the campaign by the capture of the Dutch fleet in the Texel. The ships were ice-bound, and fell into the hands of a regiment of cavalry, who galloped across the ice to secure them. Holland was at once erected into a republic upon the French model.

But in spite of these continual reverses of the allies, in spite of the perpetual failure of the British arms in the Low Countries, Pitt had not been mistaken in the indirect advantages which the war would give him. The confiscation at Toulon had inflicted an almost irreparable loss upon the French fleet. In Corsica the veteran patriot Paoli had aroused the feeling of his countrymen against France. Nelson and Hood, with 1000 British soldiers serving as marines in their ships, had taken Bastia, which was regarded as almost impregnable, and the people of Corsica had begged King George to accept their crown. While thus in the Mediterranean English supremacy had been established, a still greater success had attended her fleet off the coast of France. By immense exertions a powerful and well-equipped fleet of twenty-six ships had been assembled by Bon St. André and placed under the command of Villaret Joyeuse. It left the harbour of Brest for the purpose of convoying a large fleet laden with flour

Indirect advantages gained by England.

from America. The English Channel fleet, under Lord Howe, sailed to meet it. In number of ships and weight of metal the English fleet was somewhat inferior, but the Revolution had stripped the French marine of its best officers, who had habitually been supplied by Brittany, now royalist in its tendencies. Bon St. André, originally a Calvinistic clergyman, had all the fearful energy belonging to the Conventional Commissioners, but little of the skill of a seaman, yet he frequently overruled the commands of Villaret Joyeuse. Thus, when the fleets met upon the 1st of June, the French were unable to prevent Admiral Howe from repeating Rodney's well-known manoeuvre of breaking the line. The defeat of the French fleet was complete; one ship went down, and six line of battle-ships remained as English prizes.

Defeat of the French fleet. June 1, 1794.

Upon the Continent, however, success had been wholly on the side of the French; the campaign of 1794 and the winter of 1795 had added Belgium, Holland, the left bank of the Rhine, part of Piedmont, Catalonia, and Navarre, to their dominions. The coalition began at once to fall to pieces. As it was plain that there was no further hope of a military promenade to Paris or of territory to be gained at an easy price, the King of Prussia, who had been only kept up to the mark by enormous subsidies from England, made his peace with the French. It was the pressure of England alone which had driven Spain and Holland into the war. Although Pitt had procured a change of ministry in Spain in accordance with his own views, and the substitution of Godoy for Miranda, the Spanish Government now awoke to its true interests. All the advantages of a maritime war of necessity fell to the lot of the English, and Spain saw herself aiding in the destruction of the only efficient rival to the English upon the sea, and thus in fact rendering certain her own insignificance on that element. The Spanish Government was therefore willing to treat. Holland, completely conquered, and with half its population preferring the French rule to that of the Prince of Orange, who had been forced upon the country, obtained peace by giving up its chief fortresses, paying a large indemnity, and making an offensive alliance with France against England, by which thirty ships of war were placed at the disposal of the French. Many of the smaller states both of Germany and Italy declared themselves neutral. England was thus practically left without allies, with the single exception of Austria, which was only induced to continue its engagements by a subsidy of four millions and a half. This series of treaties was completed in the course of the year

Prussia, Spain and Holland leave the coalition.

CON. MON.

[2 A]

1795, chiefly by Barthélemy at Basle; the treaty with Tuscany, Feb. 9; with Holland [at the Hague], May 15; with Prussia, April 5; and with Spain, July 14.

The campaign of the following year, 1795, was confined to the Rhine, where Pichegru commanded the army of the Rhine and Moselle, Jourdan that of the Sambre and Meuse. Pichegru was meditating treachery, and lay idle opposite the Black Forest till the advance of Jourdan from the North to co-operate with him for the purpose of retaking Mayence forced him into action. He took Mannheim, and might have taken Heidelberg, but he wilfully resigned this advantage, and fell back in disorder upon the lines of Weissembourg, where he signed an armistice with the Austrians preparatory to joining them. His retreat had compelled that of Jourdan also.

The English meanwhile had engaged in a lukewarm way in an expedition which, had it been carried out with vigour, might have changed the face of affairs. After the great destruction of the Vendéan army at Savenay, the war continued to smoulder both in La Vendée itself and in Brittany. But north of the Loire it assumed a somewhat different character; the open, simple and heroic devotion of the Vendéan peasantry, who had followed their priests, gentry, and leaders of their own rank to battle, was wanting, and the hostilities of Brittany assumed rather the form of brigandage than warfare. The country was infested with small bands, who kept up connection with one another by means of private signals, but who seldom appeared in large numbers, and worked chiefly by night-surprises and by rapid and secret cutting off of detached posts. The chief man of the Chouans, as the Breton insurgents were called, was Cormatin. But certain men of higher rank were also among them; the chief of these was Count Joseph de Puisaye, a man of considerable energy and ability, who had been a member of the National Assembly. De Puisaye saw that irregular warfare could produce but little effect, and desired to obtain assistance from England, where the Government was supposed to be ready to assist any endeavour against the French Republic; an impression kept alive by the rumours, probably much exaggerated, spread by agents who were constantly passing and repassing through the Channel Islands between France and England.

In the autumn of 1794 De Puisaye betook himself to England and laid his plans before Pitt. It was suggested that 10,000 British troops should be joined with the corps of emigrants, and should land in Brittany and seize Rennes, and thence push forward at once over Normandy, Maine and Poitou. It was thought advisable that a prince of the blood should either

Insurrection of
La Vendée.
Expedition
from England
planned.

accompany the expedition or shortly appear upon the scene, and the Count of Artois was selected for the purpose. Lord Moira, favourably known in the American War as Lord Rawdon, was to take command of the English troops. But though speed and secrecy were of the first necessity, the expedition hung fire, and news of it reached the ears of the French Government. The reason for this delay was partly jealousy and disunion among the emigrants themselves, partly Pitt's mistrust of the readiness of the French to join him, and his knowledge of the danger of relying on the assertions of sanguine exiles, and partly the discovery of the feeling existing among the royalists themselves in La Vendée and Brittany against the introduction of any large foreign army; for the belief seems to have been prevalent that Pitt's objects were selfish, and that an English army would be rather a danger than an assistance. It is at all events certain that the royalists in Paris, in their dislike that the reaction should be brought about by any means but their own, did their best to injure the expedition. The consequences of the delay were serious. In spite of considerable sums of money sent from England, and a good deal more much cheaper money, consisting of forged assignats, which were exported largely, in the spring of 1795 the skill of Hoche and Canclaux, the generals opposed to the insurgents, and the very favourable terms offered by the Convention, induced the chiefs both of the Vendéans and of the Chouans to accept an amnesty. The terms offered were certainly unusually tempting. A large indemnity of several millions of francs was to be given to the people to repay them for their losses; the houses that had been burnt were to be rebuilt; ten millions were to be given to the chiefs to take up the bonds that had been issued in their names during the insurrection; Charette was to be allowed to keep up 2000 men in the pay of the Government, freedom of religion was to be granted, and there were to be no requisitions in La Vendée for five years. The agreement was made as solemn as possible. The first to accept it was Charette, with whom the treaty was signed with great pomp in the city of Nantes in February. Subsequently, in April, Stofflet gave in his adhesion to the same arrangement, and finally the Chouans did the same. It seemed a proof of their sincerity that they gave up into the hands of the Commissioner of the Convention nearly a million of forged assignats, which they had received from the English fleet round the coast; but on the part of the insurgents it appears that this treaty was illusory, forced upon them by the delay of the English. At length, however, the ministry seem to have been fired with all De Puisaye's

enthusiasm, and an army composed at his desire solely of emigrants, but supplied with English stores and money, set sail from England in June of 1795. On some points his plan was overruled for the worse. For the sake of a good roadstead for the English fleet, it was arranged that the landing should be upon the peninsula of Quiberon, close to Carnac, instead of in the north of Brittany; and again, apparently in mistrust of De Puisaye's partisan system of warfare, it was thought necessary to give him as second in command a royalist emigrant of the name of D'Hervilly, a red tape soldier, who had displayed considerable courage on the 10th of August, but who was a very bad man for the present irregular warfare. It even seemed doubtful whether his authority did not supersede De Puisaye's, and after Quiberon was reached, it was thought necessary to send an appeal to England to settle this weighty question. Meanwhile, after two days of delay, the troops were landed at Carnac. They were received with an enthusiasm so riotous and irregular, that the commander's love of discipline received a severe shock, and he ceased to trust his wild allies. However, in three days they were joined by some 10,000 men, and De Puisaye was eager to rush forward and raise the whole of the neighbouring country, but the answer from England had not yet been received, and the troops waited on in inactivity. At length something was done. A small fort called Fort Penthièvre covers the little isthmus which joins the peninsula of Quiberon to the shore. D'Hervilly proceeded to bring up all his artillery, but before his operations were completed, De Puisaye and a few hundred Chouans had gained possession of the place without difficulty. With his regular troops in the peninsula and holding the fort, and with his Chouans spread along the mainland, De Puisaye was compelled to remain inactive. All the jealousies which existed among the royalists burst out, and even worse than that, time was allowed for General Hoche to increase his 5000 troops, which might easily have been routed, to double that number. He suddenly attacked the invaders, and drove the whole mass, Chouans, emigrants, and all, to the narrow confined peninsula. Their efforts to break loose were unavailing; fresh emigrant troops under Sombreuil came from England. De Puisaye's authority was confirmed, but it was too late. Some republican troops taken in Fort Penthièvre had been admitted to the emigrant ranks. They entered into treacherous correspondence with Hoche's army, and by their assistance the fort was recaptured. The exit from their peninsula was thus entirely closed to them, the

*destruction of
the expedition
to Quiberon.*

enemy's cannon was placed along the corresponding shore, and swept the isthmus and the roadstead, while the republican troops, advancing from the fort, drove the invaders backward into the corner of the tongue of land. They were literally driven into the sea. The scene was a fearful one. Many in despair threw themselves upon their own swords, many tried to reach the boats of the fleet, and were a ready mark for the republican musketry. Some thought themselves fortunate in reaching fishing-boats which were hovering about the coast, but in zeal for their own preservation the boatmen lopped off their hands and suffered them to sink. Some 900, with De Puisaye at their head, reached the English squadron and were saved. About 700, under De Sombreuil, made, as they thought, terms with General Humbert, but the conditions were only verbal, and included, as the French asserted probably with truth, a reference to the Convention. The reactionaries in power were glad of the chance of freeing themselves of the charge of favouring the royalists. Orders were given that the law against emigrants taken in arms should be carried out to the letter. The prisoners were brought out in batches and shot upon the seashore till 700 of them had been killed. After this the fate of the insurgents was sealed. In the following year (1796) the Count of Artois again appeared upon the coast, and Charette and Stofflet were again in arms, but the Count of Artois was content to remain in idleness at L'Île Dieu, and Hoche succeeded in the difficult work of at once conquering and conciliating all that remained of the insurrection. Charette and Stofflet were both captured and shot.

There can be but little doubt that when war was first declared the feeling of the English people was very strongly in favour of it. Accustomed for years to trust to Pitt, they continued their perfect confidence in him though his policy had changed, and, as we have seen, the opposition in the House of Commons was virtually destroyed. The confidence of the nation was chiefly exhibited in the readiness with which it met all the demands for increased taxation and for immense loans; in fact, Pitt was strongly supported by the commercial classes. With them the war was in itself popular, they were clear-sighted enough to see how vast was the opening likely to be afforded them by the increase of English power upon the sea.

In the year 1793 Pitt gained a fresh right to their gratitude by the assistance he afforded them during a brief monetary crisis which threatened to be very destructive. The year had been one of great financial difficulty. The

*Confidence of
the English
in Pitt.*

*Increased by
his assistance
in a financial
crisis.*

sudden expansion of manufacturing industry which had followed upon the great inventions at the beginning of the reign, and the increase of commerce which followed the close of the American War, had rendered necessary a large amount of capital. The want had been met by a largely increased paper currency. Reckless banking had become prevalent, and provincial banks issued notes far beyond their capital. A very slight panic would be enough to cause the collapse of such a system. It was found that to meet the necessities of the exchange between England and the rest of the world bullion would have to leave England. Bullion was already scarce, and the Bank of England therefore thought it necessary to restrict its issues. This was enough to cause the failure of a few great houses; a panic ensued; there was a run upon the provincial banks; out of 350 more than 100 failed. Yet there was in reality quite enough property both in securities and in goods to enable merchants to meet all demands. It was only for the moment that there was a deficiency of money, that is, of the means of exchange. Pitt, with admirable clearness, recognized the real solvency of the country, and authorized the issue of bills on the Exchequer to the value of five millions. These were advanced to merchants, who could prove their solvency, against securities or goods. As these bills rested on the credit of the nation, they were readily received, the engagements of the merchants were satisfied by their means, and credit was restored. As it proved, not more than four millions was borrowed, and the whole sum was speedily repaid without loss to the nation.

Effect of Pitt's
new policy of
repression.

The effect of the complete trust placed in Pitt was to allow him to give full rein to his new policy. Now that policy was one entirely of repression, and the effect of it in the long run, indeed before the year was out, was to divide England much more sharply into the propertied and non-propertied classes, and to bring into existence a state of feeling highly undesirable, and which tended much to produce those very evils it was intended to prevent. While every movement in a liberal direction was certain to be checked, laws of the most stringent description were willingly passed, and at first the execution of existing laws, especially with regard to seditious writing, received great public support. In this class may be mentioned the Traitorous Correspondence Act. There has always been great dislike to tampering with or extending the law of treason, yet there were but fifty-three members of the House of Commons who could be found to lift their voices against this Bill,

The Traitorous
Correspondence
Bill.
March 15, 1793.

which declared guilty of high treason, firstly, all those who supplied any arms or military or naval stores to the enemy; secondly, all those who purchased lands in France, for the use of assignats rendered the sale of land the chief support of French finance, and the purchase of land was therefore regarded as indirectly strengthening the hands of the enemy; thirdly, it prohibited all intercourse with France without special license under the Great Seal; and fourthly, the insurance of French vessels by English merchants. The two first of these offences were to fall directly under the old law of Edward III., and to deprive those who were guilty of them of the advantages secured to them by the ameliorations of the law which had since been made, such as the right to employ counsel, and to be furnished with the list of the jury, the necessity of two witnesses to secure conviction, and the lapse of a certain period between the indictment and the trial.

But it was chiefly in the prosecution for seditious meetings and seditious writings that the character of the Government showed itself. The best known of these in the year 1793 was that of Muir. This young man, a member of the Society of the Friends of the People, was indicted for spreading the works of Thomas Paine. He defended himself with great ability upon the ground that he had only aimed at the reform of Parliament. His speech was greeted with loud applause, but the Lord Justice-Clerk summed up most strongly against him, and asserted the strange doctrine that the Government was made up of the landed interest. "As for the rabble," said he, "who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the nation on them?" He sentenced Muir to fourteen years' transportation. The severity of the judges and the frequent trials that the Government ordered had not the effect of checking the popular feeling. Delegates from various parts of Scotland, in concert with the Friends of the People and other societies, assembled at Edinburgh. The leading spirits were Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerald, agents from London. These delegates assumed the name of a convention, spoke of the first year of the British Republic, and otherwise mimicked their French brethren. In December the law came upon them, and three of them, with Margarot and Gerald, were transported for fourteen years.

Trials for
seditious
writings.

Up till this time the people as a whole had been heartily with Pitt; but the course of the year had tended to change their feelings, the war had been by no means the light undertaking expected, and it began to be seen that its continuation meant fearful expenses, heavy taxes, and a system of

Pitt resists the
growing desire
for peace.

government but little in accordance with the general character of English administration. Some even of Pitt's old friends began to whisper of peace, but his will was not one to yield to opposition. In Parliament he was still supreme, and in this first beginning of difficulties he exhibited the greatness of his energy and his resources. He branded with fierce words, which reminded his hearers of his great father, all who dared to think of peace; he openly avowed that the idea was impossible till some total change took place in the French Government, thus putting his actions on their true basis. Backed by his commercial friends, he found means to continue the subsidies to Prussia and Austria, he purchased the adhesion of several of the smaller German states, induced the Spaniards to continue a war which was wholly against their own interests, and obliged the lesser Italian states to join the coalition; he even allowed Russia to perpetrate the second partition of Poland, though under protest. With such efforts as these he contrived to carry on his war; it was not unreasonably that he became the ogre of the French, the one object of their insatiable hatred.

At home he would not abate one jot of his policy. Again the prosecutions went forward. So little had the late action of Government been successful that discontent and the intrigues of the societies were becoming even more envenomed. The English had taken a leaf out of the Scotch book; two of the great societies—the Constitutional Society and the Corresponding Society—determined that they too would have a convention. It seems to have been a far more real and dangerous thing than the Scotch convention. The workmen were stirred up, meetings were held in all the great towns attended by delegates from London, revolutionary songs were composed and circulated, and a considerable number of weapons constructed and secreted. It was the intention of the Convention to overawe Parliament somewhat in the same way as the Jacobin Club overawed the French Assembly. The Government determined to act as strongly as possible against it, and instead of accusing the leaders of seditious practices merely, they thought it advisable to treat their conduct as a great and capital crime, and to bring them to trial for high treason. The leaders arrested were Hardy, Secretary of the Corresponding Society, Adams, Secretary of the Constitutional Society, Horne Tooke, the well-known opponent of Junius, the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, author of the "Scientific Dialogues," and tutor to Lord Stanhope's sons, Thelwall, a political lecturer of some importance, and three others. A

and continues
the prosecutions
for seditious
writings.

secret committee of the House, having examined their books and papers, reported that there were ample proofs of a traitorous conspiracy for overawing Parliament. Upon this report the Government advanced a step further, and in spite of the eager opposition of the minority, carried through the House the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. Trials for high treason followed both in England and Scotland. In Scotland the prosecution was successful, but the English trials did not go off so smoothly. Hardy was tried first on the 28th of October. Sir John Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon) conducted the prosecution; but although the evidence, if true, tended to show that language of a most seditious character had been used, and weapons and plans of insurrection made, yet the skill and eloquence of Erskine, who laid his chief stress on the grave constitutional danger of any enlargement of the Treason Act, procured an acquittal. The Government was not satisfied, Horne Tooke was also tried. He defended himself with his usual effrontery and humour, and again an acquittal was obtained. Still the Crown persisted, and Thelwall the lecturer was tried; again the accused was acquitted. The excitement about the trials was intense, the speeches of the rival barristers were listened to with extreme interest, and the acquittals were hailed with the wildest enthusiasm. It was plain that a considerable change had taken place in the feelings of the people; the strings of repression had been drawn too tight; the line between class and class was becoming more sharply marked.

The same fact is rendered obvious by the completion in this year of the consolidation of the new Tory party. Ever since the middle of 1792 the Duke of Portland and his friends had voted with Government, but they now openly joined it, and were admitted to some of the best places. The Duke of Portland became Secretary for the Home Department, Earl Fitzwilliam Lord President, and Mr. Wyndham Secretary at War. The one point which connected the new recruits with the ministry was the determination all felt to carry on the war. Pitt was therefore hampered in two directions. When Parliament was opened on the 13th of December 1794, there appeared to be a growing feeling in favour of peace, and Pitt found himself opposed to many of his old friends, the country gentlemen; but his union with the Duke of Portland and his party rendered a change of policy at present impossible. He was in the hands of the war party; afraid of losing their support, and buoyed up by an idle belief in the financial exhaustion of France, he determined still to carry on the

Portland and
his friends join
the ministry.
July 1794.

Desire for
peace.

war vigorously. As he was quite paramount in Parliament¹ in spite of an increased minority, he had no difficulty in getting leave to raise a loan of eighteen millions, and to guarantee another large loan to purchase the co-operation of Austria. He nevertheless slightly changed his tone, and confessed that he should be satisfied with a peace that gave him security, and allowed later in the session that there was a possibility of treating with the present Government of France.

Amongst other minor difficulties which he had to meet was the constant embarrassment of the Prince of Wales. Seven years before he had purchased the payment of his debts by a lie concerning his wife; he was now again £700,000 in debt; the only terms on which he could hope to get relieved were that he should marry legally, and the King had chosen for him a Princess of Brunswick whom he had never seen. Lord Malmesbury arranged the negotiation, but unwisely suppressed, what he saw clearly himself, the absolute unfitness of the lady for the position she was to occupy. He found her frivolous, slovenly, and quite deficient in tact. It was impossible but that she should be distasteful to any English gentleman. Very shortly after the birth of her child a formal separation took place, and a scandalous dispute arose, which afterwards turned into a great party conflict. For the present however, the Prince received the price of his unfortunate bargain. The royal message demanding the assistance of Parliament was couched in humble language, and asked only for some arrangement by which the debts should be ultimately paid; but even thus it excited a perfect storm in the House. None even of the Prince's old friends rose to defend him, and Pitt himself, though no friend of the Prince, intreated that the matter might not be examined by a Parliamentary Committee, for fear of the damaging effect of such an inquiry on the principle of an hereditary monarchy. It was finally arranged that the Prince's income should be raised from £72,000 to

¹ To show how paramount he was in Parliament, and how powerless the Opposition, it is only necessary to read the list of the Acts which passed Parliament that year. Motion in the House of Peers by Lord Stanhope for non-interference in the internal affairs of France—unanimously rejected. Motion of a like tendency in the House of Commons—negatived. Motion in the House of Peers for facilitating the opening of negotiation with France—negatived. Motion for a vigorous prosecution of the war—carried. Sundry motions for preparing the way for peace with France—negatived. Motion in the House of Commons for inquiring into the state of the nation—negatived. Another to the same intent in the House of Peers—negatived. Motion in the House of Commons tending to a general pacification by Mr. Wilberforce—negatived. Motion of a similar tendency in the House of Lords—negatived.

£125,000 a year, that the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall should be set apart, which in twenty-seven years would extinguish the debt, and that £25,000 a year more should be devoted to pay the interest. To these enactments was added an extraordinary one, rendering the Prince's servants liable for any contract they should enter into on his behalf, and limiting legal remedy against the Prince to the term of three months.

Such demands upon the public purse seemed very badly timed, when the working classes were suffering very heavily from depression of trade, from famine produced by two bad harvests, and from a constantly increasing burden of taxation. Discontent was in fact increasing widely, great political meetings were held in London and elsewhere to expose the abuses of monarchy and aristocracy. Riots and seditious writings were constantly on the increase, and the Government thought the state of affairs so critical that they determined upon an autumn session. Three days before Parliament met a monster meeting was held under the auspices of the Corresponding Society in Copenhagen Fields. The excitement thus produced found vent in an assault upon the King as he went to open Parliament, one of the windows of his state coach was broken by a stone or bullet; on his return his coach was again surrounded by an angry mob, with shouts of "Bread, bread! peace, peace!" and he only escaped with difficulty by driving rapidly in his private carriage from St. James's to Buckingham Palace. The King, who throughout showed great courage, showed himself in the evening at Covent Garden theatre, where he was on the whole well received. This act of violence produced two coercive Bills, one to suppress seditious meetings, the other to extend the law of treason. Every public meeting was to be advertised by a paper signed by resident householders, and all meetings were liable to be dispersed according to the Riot Act if any two justices thought them dangerous; while by the second law, writing, preaching, and speaking, were created overt acts, thus rendering the offender guilty of treason, and writing or speaking against the established Government was made a highly punishable crime. These Bills were commonly known as the Sedition and Treason Bills. They were not passed without strong opposition, and the use of language on the part of Fox so vehement as to excite still further the anger of the Tories. This party was now enjoying its selfish triumph to the utmost. It became necessary again to augment the taxes, and Pitt hit upon the expedient of levying duties

Sufferings of the lower classes. 1795.

Assault on the King.

upon legacies and successions. The country gentlemen had sufficient influence to confine the Bill to the succession of money and personal property only, and to exclude real property from the action of the Bill. This glaring injustice was not remedied till 1853.

The burden of taxation had much to do with the overtures for peace which were set on foot in 1796. Nearly all classes in the kingdom had become weary of the war. Pitt, as has been seen, had been forced into it against his natural tendencies, and though, when once embarked in the war of opinion, he had used language of the most overbearing character, he was eager, now that he found his hope of a speedy bankruptcy of France frustrated, to bring about an honourable peace. Such an opportunity was offered by the changed character of the French Government. The Directory had held its position for upwards of a year, and seemed to give promise of such stability as would render negotiation possible. This change in the Government of France had been the outcome of a series of revolutions which had followed each other in rapid succession.

The Girondins had, contrary to their conscientious opinions, voted for the death of the King. It was in fact an act of suicide. After this it was useless to oppose any demand of the Jacobins; the attempt only produced a violent struggle in the Convention, which ended in the complete overthrow of the Girondins by the insurrection of the 1st of June. In the place of the party thus annihilated the Jacobins found themselves supreme. Upon them henceforward lay the duty of saving the Revolution within and rescuing France from foreign assaults from without. The machinery of Government to which they trusted to obtain these ends was a Committee of Public Safety, in whose hands the full powers of the executive were lodged. As far as the external defence of France was concerned, the restless energy of the new rulers was completely

successful. La Vendée, Toulon, and Lyons, the centres of opposition within France, were all reduced. Carnot struck out a new plan of warfare, and found means to employ with success the masses with which an almost unlimited conscription supplied the army, and from this time onwards the French were everywhere successful. But while exhibiting this energy abroad, in France the government of the Committee was in the last degree cruel and tyrannical. Nor could the Jacobins agree among themselves. On the one side was a party atheistical in their religion, communistic in their political views, foul and blasphemous in their

Changes in
France give
hopes of peace.

Retrospect of
French affairs.
1793.

The Committee
of Public Safety.

language. This party, which predominated in the Commune, took its name from Hébert, the editor of an infamous paper called *Père Duchesne*. It shocked the feelings of the world by its excesses, abolishing religion, closing the churches, and holding a blasphemous service in Notre Dame in honour of Reason. On the other side was a party, headed by Danton, intent chiefly on success abroad, and inclined to believe that the work of destruction had gone far enough. Between the two was the party of the Purists, headed by Robespierre and St. Just, who looked with equal hatred on the scandalous and anarchical conduct of the Hébertists and the indulgent and somewhat loose lives of the followers of Danton. Robespierre was able to attack and destroy both these parties in turn. The Hébertists were the first to fall, but very shortly after the same fate befell the Dantonists.

Atheists and indulgents being thus both removed, Robespierre and his party were virtually masters of France. Under them the Terror knew no relaxation. "The maxim of our policy," said Robespierre, "ought to be to guide the people by reason and the enemies of the people by terror." Whole batches of victims completely unknown to each other were sent off together to the guillotine under pretext of being accomplices in conspiracy. Between the 20th of June and the 27th of July 1400 people were executed. But Robespierre and his friends looked forward to some conclusion of this state of things, desiring to establish a purely moral, stoical, and deistical Republic. As a first step, the worship of the Supreme Being was decreed, and a great festivity held, where Robespierre, decked with flowers, officiated as priest. Thus, too, he began to shelter the priests and nobles. The idea of the cessation of the Revolution thoroughly frightened some of the worst among the Committee, and Robespierre's assumption of authority disgusted them. They contrived to form a coalition with all the discontented parties, Hébertists, Dantonists, Girondists, Royalists, were all ready to combine against the one man whose stoical purity seemed to insult them, and whose cold implacable cruelty gave them no hope if they should offend him. Robespierre was thus hated by the people, and at enmity both with the people and the Committee, but was still influential at the club of the Jacobins, the Convention, and the revolutionary Tribunal. Knowing that an assault would be directed against him, his wisdom would have been to strike first. To this course St. Just urged him, but he seems to have relied upon his influence in the Convention, and was astonished when he found his friends wholly outnumbered

The Reign
of Terror.

and a hearing refused him. On the 27th of July he was arrested with Couthon, St. Just, and his brother. He escaped and fled to the Commune. For a moment it appeared as if an insurrection would have reinstated him. But the richer sections of Paris rallied to the destruction of their tyrant, and on the following day Robespierre, with twenty members of the Commune, was dragged to the scaffold.

The party which had overthrown Robespierre were as cruel and far more depraved than he was. They would gladly have continued the Revolution in its most odious form. But the Terror once destroyed, it was impossible to check a reactionary movement. The revolutionary Committee and Tribunal were modified, the Commune destroyed, the club of the Jacobins dissolved, and the Girondins who had escaped execution recalled. Such measures did not please the mob of Paris, still further excited by the constant continuance of famine. On the 12th Germinal (April 1), and again on the 1st Prairial (May 20), they rose in insurrection, invaded the hall of the Convention, clamouring for bread and the constitution of 1793. For six hours a wild tumult raged within the walls. But soldiers had been collected, and with the aid of the troops of the more reactionary Paris sections order was restored. This was the deathblow of the democratic party. A new constitution was drawn up, the executive power was vested in five directors, and two councils, the one of 500, the other of 250, established. The hopes of the royalists had been raised by the late reactionary movement. Finding themselves thwarted by the new constitution, the richer sections and the partisans of reaction marched on the Tuileries. General Menou proved unequal to his place, and the task of defending the Assembly was given to Barras, who chose as his active lieutenant Bonaparte. With a vigour unchecked by fear of shedding the blood of citizens, this young officer brought up thirty cannon from the camp of Sablons, and received the advancing insurrectionists with such showers of grape, that, though not without a short resistance, they were completely defeated. This was the first step towards military despotism. The new constitution came into effect on the 27th of October 1795.

Thus, before it was understood how completely the army had got the upper hand in France, how completely from henceforward its interests would be military, the appearance of something more like a permanent and orderly government in the shape of the Directory seemed for the instant to give

Fall of
Robespierre.

Establishment
of the
Directory.
Oct. 1795.

Pitt's first
negotiations for
peace.

hopes of peace. Towards that point Pitt's feelings had been gradually tending. Even as early as December 1795 he had spoken of the possibility of an honourable peace should a more settled government ever be arrived at in France, and since then much had happened to induce him to lower his tone. In spite of all his efforts, he had seen his great coalition disappear at the Congress at Basle. He had seen the complete ruin of his Quiberon expedition. More than that, all his best tendencies had been shocked by the consequences of his own government at home. But the opening of his eyes to the fallacy of his belief in the speedy bankruptcy of France and its rapid conquest, with which in all his difficulties he had hitherto buoyed himself up, came too late. His application for peace through the Swiss minister (March 1796), which the King announced at the close of the session, met with a very cold reception. For the Government of France, having just been re-established on a new and more dangerous basis, would listen to no terms which implied the restoration of the Low Countries to Austria; and as it was impossible for Pitt, after his conduct to that country, to suggest any other terms, the negotiations speedily came to nothing.

Indeed, the French Republic had this year reached a pitch of glory unequalled in the palmiest times of the monarchy. Carnot, who was again in power as one of the Directory, had conceived a plan for a campaign of this year upon a gigantic scale. Three armies were to push out from France and strike all of them by the three different roads, of the Maine, the Danube, and the Po, at Vienna. Three young generals were intrusted with the task. Jourdan was given the army of the Sambre and Meuse, Moreau the army of the Rhine and Moselle, Bonaparte succeeded Schérer in the command of the army of Italy. The preceding year the battle of Loano had secured to the French the Riviera as far as Savona, but the troops were destitute of every necessary. Napoleon aroused their enthusiasm by promises, and in a fortnight had separated the Austrians and Piedmontese, defeated the former at Montenotte and Dego, and thrown them back into Lombardy, the latter at Millesimo, and again at Mondovi, as he pursued them towards Turin, and finally wrung from them a treaty which left him at liberty to pursue the Austrians. Another fortnight was hardly over before he had turned the Austrian position on the Ticino by the passage of the Po at Placenza, driven them from the Adda by the victories of Fombio and Lodi, and having

Napoleon's
Italian
campaign.
1796.

chased them behind the Mincio, secured the whole of Lombardy to the French. Bonaparte completed the first act of the campaign by securing the line of the Adige and forming the siege of Mantua. He employed some weeks in conquering Italy as far south as Naples, but from this work he was recalled by the approach of an Austrian army to raise the siege of Mantua. Wurmser, marching by the Adige, had entered the city in triumph, while Quasdanowich was approaching by the Chiesia. Bonaparte, giving up every other object for the moment, placed himself between the armies, defeated Quasdanowich, at Lonato on the one hand, and Wurmser at Castiglioni on the other, and thus driving them into the Tyrol, resumed the siege of Mantua. Wurmser made one more effort to raise the siege; again he advanced with two armies, hoping to enclose the French. Davidowich descended the Adige, Wurmser the valley of the Brenta. The battle of Roveredo destroyed the former, while Bonaparte, turning rapidly into the valley of the Brenta in pursuit of Wurmser, came up with and defeated him at Bassano. Thus cut off from Germany, the Austrian general had no resource but to take refuge in Mantua (Sept. 12). The Austrians could not leave their army thus shut up in Mantua, and a fresh effort was made to save it. It was again a double attack, but after three days' fight, Alvinzi, coming from the east, was beaten at Arcola, and the attempt failed. Six weeks later he made one more desperate effort, but was defeated again on the plateau of Rivoli. Alvinzi's attack had been rendered the more dangerous, because upon the Maine and Rhine Jourdan and Moreau had been unsuccessful. There the Archduke Charles had in a certain degree followed the same plans as Bonaparte, and directing his whole force against Jourdan, had compelled the retreat of Moreau also. It was to this victorious general that the Austrians looked to continue their defence. But Bonaparte, in the beginning of the following year, repeatedly drove him backwards, defeated him on the Tagliamento, drove him into the mountains, and defeated him at Neumarch, and finally, having secured the pass of the Semmering, and being within eighty miles of Vienna, he obliged the Archduke to demand a suspension of arms, and opened negotiations known as the Preliminaries of Leoben (April 13), which were completed under the title of Campo Formio on the 17th of October 1797.

On the Rhine and the Maine the two other divisions of the general plan had not met with the same success as had attended the arms of Bonaparte. Great and astonishing as his progress had been, it did not therefore seem as yet to have closed all

Pitt's second negotiations for peace.

hope of peace, for which in fact it had only rendered Pitt more anxious; and as the establishment of the Directory seemed to promise that permanence to the Government which Pitt had declared to be the indispensable condition of any hopeful negotiations, it was determined in the autumn of this year (1796) to make a fresh effort, this time direct, to negotiate with the Directory. For this purpose Lord Malmesbury was despatched to Paris. The English believed that they had something they could offer in exchange for any restorations France might make. The Cape of Good Hope had been captured in the preceding year, and in the spring of the present year Moore and Abercrombie had done good service in the West Indies. Many of the islands there had been taken, Guadaloupe almost alone remained in French hands. These conquests they offered to restore. But if the French had been unwilling to treat in the preceding year, their successes in Italy had not rendered them more moderate; they were at this very time arranging, at the instigation of the malcontents in Ireland, represented by Wolfe Tone, a plan for the conquest of Ireland under the command of General Hoche, and probably a still greater plan for the invasion of England itself. In fact, there was still the same irremediable objection—the English still felt bound in honour not to resign the Netherlands to France. "On this point," writes Grenville in his instructions to Malmesbury, "your Lordship must not give the smallest hope that his Majesty will be induced to relax." There was also another point in the French diplomacy which rendered the negotiations difficult. They could not understand the position of a plenipotentiary who had not absolutely full powers to act without reference to his own Court, and taking umbrage at the repeated couriers who went to and fro from Paris, declared their belief that the effort at peace was not honest on the part of England, and that Malmesbury had not full powers at all; and finally, De la Croix, a somewhat stiff man of the red tape school, who had from the first behaved with considerable rudeness, wrote suddenly to Malmesbury bidding him leave Paris within eighteen hours. Thus closed the second effort on the part of Pitt to make peace, chiefly important because it clears him from the charge of inveterate determination to continue the war, because it throws the blame of that continuance completely on the French, and because it shows the effect which the lengthened efforts of England, especially the pressure on the finances, were having upon the naturally peaceful and economical mind of the minister.

The preparations for invasion from abroad could not be kept
CON. MON.

secret, and fresh and constant efforts had been made to meet them. Fresh levies were made both for the navy and for the army; supplementary bodies of militia were raised; plans suggested for the establishment of large bodies of irregular cavalry, and the enrolment as irregular infantry of all those who paid a gun license. More than this, in spite of the pressure on the finances, under which the funds had fallen as low as £53, a new loan of £18,000,000 was raised upon terms which, though we should now think very high, were not then considered remunerative. The loan, which bore a nominal interest of 5 per cent., was issued at £112, 10s.; that is, every £112, 10s. advanced was to represent £100, thus practically reducing the interest to less than 4½ per cent. Pitt found it necessary to make a distinct appeal to the loyalty of the people to raise the loan on these terms; but the temper of the wealthy classes and the amount of riches still existing in England were shown by the extraordinary rapidity with which the subscription list was filled. £1,000,000 was subscribed by the Bank in their corporate capacity, £400,000 by the directors individually; before the close of the first day £5,000,000 was subscribed by different merchants. At ten o'clock on the Monday the doors were opened, and by twenty minutes past eleven the subscription was declared to be full; hundreds were reluctantly obliged to go away. By the post innumerable orders came from the country, scarcely one of which could be accepted, and long after the subscription was closed persons continued coming, and were obliged to depart disappointed.¹ The Duke of Bridgewater sent a draft on sight of £100,000, a similar sum was even given by the Duke of Bedford, one of the staunchest opponents of the war. The Ministry subscribed £10,000 a piece.

Such an outburst of loyalty might have opened the eyes of the French as to the difference between the revolutionary temper of England and of their own country, but their ignorance of the temper both of England and Ireland was extreme; General Clark (subsequently Napoleon's War Minister) was at this very time asking Wolfe Tone whether he thought it probable that in case of a landing in Ireland the Irish Lord Chancellor would join the rebels. On the 15th of December the great expedition for Ireland set sail from Brest. Like so many invasions of England, it was thwarted by the uncertainties of the sea. After a stormy passage a few ships assembled in Bantry Bay; but

French expedi-
tions to Bantry
Bay and Bristol.

¹ It is a curious fact that the subscription was filled in fifteen hours and twenty minutes; two on Thursday, six on Friday, six on Saturday, and one hour and twenty minutes on Monday.

the general had been driven in another direction; there were no signs of the eager Jacobin uprising which the French had expected, the commanders were afraid to proceed without orders from Hoche, and the expedition straggled back again to Brest, with the loss of four line of battle-ships and eight frigates. A similar untimely fate met a more desperate assault intended for the shores of England. Some 1500 men, two-thirds of whom were liberated galley-slaves, and from their character known as the "Légion noire," were sent under Colonel Tate with the intention of burning Bristol. They landed on the shores of Pembrokeshire, and it needed but the appearance of a few militia and yeomanry under Lord Cawdor (and it is frequently said of a few old Welsh women in their red cloaks and hats) to induce the crew of miscreants to take to flight. The expedition was probably only intended as a sort of forlorn hope to discover in what state of preparation England was, for the negotiations having entirely ceased, the French were thinking of a great attack on England itself.

The idea of invasion was a well-timed one; at no time in the war, either before or after, was England in so critical a condition or its existence so precarious. It had become plain by this time that the strength of England, at all events under the present management, lay in two directions—in its enormous resources and capacity for paying money, and in its fleet. Though such troops as had been employed had exhibited their usual bravery, though when well led, as in India, their efforts had met with great success, it was evident that the present ministry, hampered by their political relations and by the incessant interference of the King himself in the army, was unable to make any real show in the European war. But already in the last four years nearly eighty millions had been added to the National Debt, every variety of taxation almost had been tried both to cover the interest of the accumulating debt and to supply the yearly million to the sinking fund, and men began to think that the sources of money must shortly begin to fail. And yet the subsidized armies abroad had met with nothing but disaster. The North of Germany, including even the King's electorate of Hanover, had been driven to enter into a neutrality. Prussia had in the last year signed two conventions of the most amicable and friendly description with France; and the well-known selfishness of the Austrian Court did not allow it to be questioned that, if it saw its way to permanent advantage, it also would close its disastrous campaign by deserting the coalition. Worse even than that remained behind; it seemed

Critical con-
dition of
England.

as if the country was really upon the verge of a national bankruptcy, for the amount of specie was found insufficient to carry on the business of the country. At the same time that the financial strength of England seemed to have been fruitlessly exhausted, her permanent power upon the sea seemed on the point of disappearing also; for not only had the French been lately turning their attention to their own navy, but the successes of their arms had given them the command both of the fleets of Holland and Spain. Holland, formed into the Batavian Republic, had early purchased peace by promising thirty ships: in the July of the last year Spain had entered into a similar convention, and the whole of her naval resources, as many as forty line of battle-ships, were at the disposal of the French. It was with these combined armaments that the intended descent upon England was to take place. And just as the internal ruin had gone hand in hand with the failure of external financial influence, so it appeared that the new-born naval power of our enemies would go hand in hand with the total dissolution of our maritime force: for disaffection was widely spread among our sailors, and the year was marked by the mutinies of St. Helen's and the *Nore*.

In point of time it was the financial difficulty which first arose.

Monetary crisis.

The difficulty was not what is called a commercial but a monetary crisis. There was no want of credit, there was no want of solid wealth, but there was every chance of there being such a dearth of the circulating medium that the ordinary transactions of business would not be able to be carried on, that it would be impossible to meet engagements as they fell due, and that consequently many houses would be forced to stop payment, and a general bankruptcy be the result, more especially as it seemed probable that at the head of the banks that stopped payment would be the Bank of England itself. The causes of this state of things are not very difficult to understand. The same forces which had been at work to produce the necessary issue of Exchequer bills in 1793 had continued; the balance of trade had been constantly against the country. The position of Spain, Italy, France and Holland in the ranks of our enemies had of necessity curtailed the number of our purchasers. The necessity of war supplies and several poor harvests had rendered necessary the purchase of much food and of much raw material, consequently to restore the balance large payments in gold and silver had to be made. The great subsidies granted to foreign powers had necessarily been chiefly paid

in specie. Large compensation had been given for the freights and cargoes of neutral ships which had been seized; and the Government for their special purposes had had to borrow upwards of ten millions in specie from the Bank. Threats of invasion had induced people throughout the country to realize their property as far as possible; this had produced a run upon the country banks, which had in turn demanded their deposits from the Bank of England. All these accumulated causes had so lowered the reserve, that on Saturday the 20th of February there was only £1,272,000 in the Bank cellars, and it was known that the demands of the next forty-eight hours would entirely empty them. In this crisis the Bank applied to the Government; a Council was immediately held, although it was Sunday, and a proclamation was issued forbidding payments in cash. A meeting of merchants next day sanctioned this step, promising to accept bank notes as legal tender. On examination the Bank was found solvent, but a Bill was passed prohibiting it to pay in cash more than twenty shillings, or to advance to Government more than £600,000. Though only intended as a temporary expedient, this Act continued in operation for twenty-two years, and during the whole of that time the depreciation of the paper money was comparatively slight.

The danger caused by the mutiny was still greater: it was the intention of the French Directory that the fleet of the Texel, composed entirely of the Dutch, the fleet at Brest which had been collected for the invasion of Ireland, and the great Spanish fleet, should combine. Thus, an armament of more than seventy ships of the line would sweep the English fleet from the Channel, and any operations against the island would be rendered safe. But the check sustained by the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent ruined the well-conceived plan. A few days before Tate landed in England, the great Spanish fleet set sail from Carthagena, intending to join the French fleet off Brest and the Dutch fleet off the Texel, and thus secure the mastery of the Channel. Sir John Jervis was Admiral in the Mediterranean, and with him was Commodore Nelson, and though the Spanish fleet had twelve more ships than he had, and 1200 more guns, he determined to fight. He contrived to separate nine Spanish ships from the main body, and took four of the remainder, and though the separated ships joined the line in the evening, and Jervis was still outnumbered, the Spanish fleet retired into Cadiz.

But though the combined invasion was thus thwarted, the whole

Suspension of cash payments.

The invasion checked by the victory of St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797.

danger for England, or rather for Ireland, was by no means at an end. Hoche had been removed from the army of the Ocean to the army of the Sambre and Meuse. His mind was constantly bent upon the invasion of Ireland, and, acting under his influence, the Dutch Government, wishing to do something to show that they were not entirely effaced from the list of nations, with great efforts strengthened and equipped their fleet at the Texel till it numbered fourteen sail of the line, and embarked in it their whole army, 15,000 men, for an attack upon Ireland. The Directory, taking umbrage at this independent action, insisted upon Hoche, with 5000 men, accompanying them, and on their refusal began again to get ready their Brest squadron for a similar expedition. To watch the Dutch became the duty of Admiral Duncan, the care of Brest was intrusted to Admiral Bridport with the fleet at Portsmouth. Fortunately for England, the sailing of the fleets was delayed; had they sailed in the summer, as intended, they would have found England without fleets.

Early in the year a conspiracy was discovered among the crews of the fleet at Spithead, with a view to demanding redress of certain grievances. These grievances were shared in by all the mutiny at
Spithead. seamen in the navy and were very real. The pay and pensions had never been altered since the time of Charles II., though every necessary of life had risen from thirty to forty per cent.; this neglect was rendered particularly objectionable as the pay and pensions of the army had been increased to suit the times. Many officers were appointed by interest alone, and a system of barefaced peculation was carried on by those who had the duty of provisioning the fleet, for the ships were furnished in a great degree by contract through the purser; moreover, all the nautical arrangements were at this time remarkable for extreme roughness, almost brutality, for unjust severity of discipline, for arbitrary power vested in the hands of the captain, and frequent misuse of that power. When Lord Bridport, Lord Howe's second in command, signalled to put to sea, every ship in the fleet refused to obey; and the next day delegates from every ship met in the 'Queen Charlotte,' and the mutiny was organized. The men behaved with perfect decorum, and drew up a petition, asking that their wages should be raised to suit the rise of prices in every direction, and that some improvement should be made in their system of pensions. To the Admiralty they sent a petition, exposing the peculations of the pursers and the unwarrantable hardships to which the sailor was exposed. The

Admiralty acknowledged at once the justice of the claim for advanced wages, but were silent upon the other abuses. This did not satisfy the men: three admirals were sent to treat with them; and when an outburst of anger on the part of one of them broke off the conference, the red flag of mutiny was hoisted and the guns loaded. However, when their demands were granted in full, and a free pardon was sent them from London, they at once returned to their duty. During the whole of the outbreak perfect order had reigned. But the folly of the Admiralty, who, wishing to save their credit, sent down a perverse order that the marines should be kept constantly ready to suppress mutiny, led the sailors to believe that they were being deceived, and a second outbreak was the result. An attempt to suppress it by force on board the 'London' ended in a real mutiny among all the ships then lying at St. Helen's, outside Spithead. Lord Howe, the most popular of the admirals, known among the sailors as "Black Dick," was intrusted with the difficult task of recalling the fleet to its allegiance. With great skill he contrived that while their requests were granted, they should seem to be receiving rather than demanding a favour. He persuaded them to write a letter of contrition to himself, and apparently as the fruit of his good offices, announced to them that an Act of Parliament had been passed securing to them the redress of grievances they had demanded, and that considerable changes were to be made among the officers.

This wholly unpolitical mutiny was followed by a more formidable movement among the ships at the Nore. It began on board the 'Sandwich,' the flagship of Admiral Mutiny at
the Nore.
May 18.
Buckner. As in the former case, delegates from the seamen met on board the 'Sandwich,' but the chief management of the mutiny fell absolutely into the hands of a seaman called Parker, a man of good education, and at one time an officer in the navy, but whose abilities as a leader were spoiled by his arrogant assumption of dictatorial power. Under his influence the demands of the mutineers assumed a political character; they required a revision of the Articles of War, an increase of prize-money, and the dismissal of officers not agreeable to the ships' companies. All efforts to bring the men to reason were unavailing. Lord Spencer himself, the First Lord of the Admiralty, had an interview with Parker, but was met with nothing but insult. After this the mutineers fired upon some frigates who would not join them, and blockaded the Thames. It became necessary to take vigorous measures. Bills were

passed without opposition strengthening the hands of Government, and making it felony to hold intercourse with the mutinous ships. Ships were got ready, the navigation of the Thames was rendered difficult by the removal of marks, and batteries were erected along the river. Cut off from the shore, and finding no sympathy among the fleets at Portsmouth and Plymouth, nor among even the most advanced radicals on shore, although they were joined by the fleets of Admiral Duncan, the mutineers began to give way. Ship after ship slipped her cable and escaped from the mutinous fleet, and on the 15th of June the 'Sandwich' herself was brought within range of the batteries. Parker was at once apprehended, sentenced to death, and hanged. But though the firmness of the Government had secured them complete victory, they were too conscious of the real abuses in the navy to be severe. Only four or five executions followed.

The great peculiarity of the mutiny was the ease with which it was ultimately suppressed and the proofs of underlying loyalty which are visible throughout it. In the Channel fleet all the officers of the Admiralty, and even of Parliament, were regarded as delusive till the King's own sign manual was exhibited, upon which all signs of mistrust at once vanished. When one of the ships threatened to leave the fleet and join the French, the guns of the rest of the mutinous fleet were at once turned upon it, and it was carefully blockaded by guard-boats; and again, so far from sympathizing with the mutineers of the Nore, the sailors of the Channel fleet, after their return to allegiance, wrote to the delegates declaring that their conduct was a scandal to the British navy. Even at the Nore, where the mutiny had taken a more political form, every ship but one struck the red flag and hoisted the royal ensign on the King's birthday, and within a few weeks of the suppression of the disaffection, the battle of Camperdown, one of the severest engagements of the time, was chiefly won for England by the crews of the lately insurgent fleet.

It was well for England that the Government of France was at this time so disorganized that no vigorous effort could be made to take advantage of her deplorable condition. The place of the assignats had been taken by another form of paper money called "mandats," but these too had been rejected by the people, who could no longer be brought to believe in paper money of any description. Forced to have recourse to the use of specie, the Directory had also found itself compelled to have recourse

Real loyalty of the sailors.

Disorganization of the French Government.

to the old means of raising money; compulsory loans were established, the receipts of future years anticipated, the national goods sold for whatever they would fetch, and money raised at the most ridiculous interest. These financial arrangements gave rise to much nefarious speculation and stock-jobbing; the business of the army to still more; and the newly enriched speculators, emancipated from the pressure of the terror and devoid of all the nobler sentiments of republicanism, were a mere set of selfish voluptuaries. In such a dissolution of morality and public spirit it was plain that the royalists had their chance, and in the year 1797 sufficient members of their party were elected to change the majority of the two councils. The representative body immediately entered into a struggle with the executive Directory; and in that Directory were Barras, a revolutionary at heart though the leader of all the dissoluteness of the time, Barthélemy, the negotiator of Basle, who appears to have been royalist in his tendencies, and Carnot, an upright republican, but yet under the influence of the dread of the old terror. It was plain that if the Revolution was to be saved it must be done by violent means, and Rewbell and Laréveillère, the remaining directors, with the assistance of Barras, determined to save it at the cost of a *coup d'état* carried out by the army. On the night of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4, 1797), Carnot and Barthélemy, with fifty of the obnoxious majority, were arrested, and all chance of a royalist reaction was for the time over. Bonaparte was now convinced that the ultimate fate of France must be with the army, in other words, that it must lie with himself, but with great wisdom he determined to wait the turn of events.

While the parties were thus struggling in France, and there seemed a chance of an entire change of feeling, the English ministry, very seriously anxious for peace, again opened negotiations. The Preliminaries of Léoben had in fact removed what should have been the sole difficulty; it was impossible that England should continue to hold out on the subject of the Low Countries when Austria had herself entered into a private treaty to abandon them. A passport was therefore demanded, and, somewhat unfortunately, Lord Malmesbury was again fixed upon as the negotiator. He went to Lisle, presented his plan of a treaty, and had every reason to believe that all was going well. England consented to restore all her conquests with the exception of the Isle of Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon. But this was at the very moment when the quarrel was at its height in Paris; intent upon its own affairs, the Directory suffered the negotiations

Negotiations at Lisle.

to drag on, and when at length the republican party won their victory on the 18th Fructidor, the negotiations were suddenly broken off on the old ground that Malmesbury had not got full authority. The real reason is obvious,—the party in power, who relied on the army, knew that the power of the army was immensely increased by a state of war.

The termination of the negotiations was at once followed by a vigorous continuation of the war. Lord Malmesbury had been but a few weeks in England when the Dutch fleet found itself ready at length to sail from the Texel. But the delay—caused by the weather, the absence of Hoche, and the factions of Paris—had almost deprived it of its terrors. Even when the greater part of his fleet had been in mutiny in the Thames, Duncan had maintained the appearance of a blockade; keeping his two faithful ships within sight of the land, he had kept up so regular a succession of signals, as though sending his orders to a fleet outside, that the Dutch never found out that there were only two ships watching them. When at length they sailed Duncan's fleet outnumbered theirs by one ship. He had withdrawn for an instant to Yarmouth roads to refit, but apprised in time, he was enabled to fall upon the Dutch fleet before it had left the coast of Holland. He contrived, although the enemy was in close order, to come between them and the shore, and after a close combat, which recalled the old days of the rivalry between England and Holland, by four o'clock on the 11th of October he had succeeded in capturing the flagship of Admiral Winter, together with seven other ships of the line, two 56-gun ships, and two frigates. The bold manœuvre of passing between the enemy and the shore was a source of some danger, as the fleets drifted close inland during the action, but Duncan skilfully saved both his own fleet and his prizes. The action was watched by crowds from the Dutch shore. This battle put an end to the danger of immediate invasion, though it seems to have inspired the French with a determination to carry on that invasion on a larger scale in the following year, when great preparations were made under the personal superintendence of Bonaparte.

The breach of negotiations at Lisle was followed on the 17th of October by the completion of the Peace of Campo Formio, which had been begun by the Preliminaries of Léoben. This peace secured to France the possession of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, and the Ionian

Battle of
Camperdown.
Oct. 11, 1797.

Peace of
Campo Formio.
Oct. 17.

Isles, and acknowledged the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic, consisting of the provinces conquered in Italy from the Austrians, the Pope, and Venice; while Austria received in exchange Venice itself and its eastern provinces, Friuli, Istria, and Dalmatia. France thus lay not only triumphant in Europe, but with the Rhine for its frontier, and for outposts four republics pledged to uphold its revolutionary ideas. But in acquiring this position the rights of peoples had been trampled upon. A few months later saw Switzerland appended to France, while the occupation of Rome seemed to give colour to the assertion that the Revolution was atheistical. The whole turn of events was such as to justify, even to necessitate, subsequent European interference.

The peculiar manner in which Ireland has been conquered, peopled, and managed, renders questions regarding this country most intricate and difficult. There is seldom a single interest to be traced which is not crossed by numerous side winds, which render the development of political questions crooked and complicated. The Roman Catholic interest, the Protestant interest, the old Irish interest, the Anglo-Irish interest, the interest of the English ascendancy, the claims of the Presbyterians as contrasted with the National Church, are constantly crossing and recrossing. At no time was this complication so great or this difficulty so insoluble as in the years which followed the breaking out of the French Revolution.

There is one thing, however, which tends to throw a certain light upon the conduct of the Government of England during these years of difficulty. Pitt and his more intimate friends had already firmly decided in their own minds that one cure only was possible for Irish evils—a close and complete legislative union with England. The action of the Whig Government in 1782 had been ostensibly in exactly the opposite direction; the triumph of Grattan and the volunteers had been won when legislative disunion was granted, and what we should now speak of as Home Rule established. The party which triumphed on that occasion was not the Irish party, or the Catholic party, but the Protestant aristocracy. The anti-national character and exclusive nature of the party in power was shown by the rejection of all Pitt's efforts at parliamentary reform. The independent Irish Parliament was indeed full of able speakers; men who carried the art of rhetoric and of clothing little thought in magnificent language to the highest pitch. But it is not

Complications
attending Irish
difficulties.

Necessity for
the Union.

unfair to take as a sample of the practical excellence of the management of what we may speak of as the Home Rulers, the condition of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin. It was a noble institution; about £16,000 a year was spent on it; 120 noblemen and wealthy gentry were on its committee; yet after just ten years of Irish management, a committee of inquiry reported that out of upwards of 2000 infants yearly consigned to its care, the average that survived was 130. They were sent up in scores, in open baskets, from distant parts of Ireland, and arrived crushed and half lifeless, to be tossed aside, without care or inquiry, into the kennel. Twenty-one committee-men formed a quorum, yet never once, except when places were to be given away, had that quorum met, and for years the treasurer, to whom the management had been confided, had been absolutely bedridden. All that can be alleged in excuse for the bad management, of which this is a sample, is that the Constitution of 1782 had not been thoroughly tried. Deprived by law of its power in the Irish Parliament, yet conscious of the impossibility of allowing the country to act as if completely independent, the Government had had recourse to indirect influence for establishing its power. While the franchise and the representation, all official places and all professions, except the medical profession, were exclusively confined to the Protestants, who were also the possessors of nineteen-twentieths of the soil, Government had found it possible by bribery, direct or indirect, to command a constant majority in Parliament of those who were eager to uphold the English connection and the Protestant ascendancy. But the very fact of its thus acting had placed a considerable portion of the Protestant population in opposition to Government.

Among the Protestants themselves there were formed two great parties, who may be called roughly Whigs and Tories; Irish opposition to Government. on the one side those placemen and pensioners who supported the English Government, and on the other those aristocratic families and connections (probably by no means purer or higher-minded than their opponents) who wished, as the Whig aristocracy had wished in England, to be masters of the Government, and to rule Ireland almost as a separate nation. Of these great connections the typical men were, of the Tories, the family of the Beresfords, led by the ability of Fitzgibbon the Chancellor, and of the Whigs, the family of the Ponsonbys, led by the genius of Grattan. Around the Opposition party there naturally collected those men who were really reformers at heart, and the Opposition was thus enabled to use cries and watchwords which were not only specious and plausible, but

which really touched the great evils of the country. The first of these evils was the preposterous amount of Government influence; and the obvious way in which that influence might be reached was by a reform of Parliament, for nothing could be more abominable than the arrangement by which members were elected. It was worse even than in England; by far the larger number of seats were either private or Government property, and nominees were appointed under distinct conditions, and their votes secured by distinct and well-understood bargains; every man's price and every man's expectation were actually entered like a list of merchandise in the Government books. A second point was the fact, that not only all political power, but till the year 1793 almost all social position was denied to the Roman Catholics. On the first of these points the opponents of Government were agreed; they were perfectly willing, for the sake of injuring Government, to press constantly for a large reform bill. On the second point there was a far greater difference of opinion. Grattan, though himself a Protestant and a friend to the Protestant ascendancy, was great enough to urge constantly the relief of his Catholic fellow-countrymen; but the great majority of his friends, however much they might from time to time for political purposes uphold the Catholic claims, were in fact thoroughly opposed to anything which would injure their own Protestant ascendancy. There was thus a sort of show of union between the Protestant nationalists and the Catholics, but at heart disunion and dislike.

Meanwhile, whatever effect upon the Protestant population Home Rule may have had, it had not in the slightest degree Grievances of the peasantry. alleviated the position of the Irish peasants. Their landlords were still Englishmen, Protestants, conquerors, and harsh landlords. The Church of England still demanded its tithes. The aristocracy and gentry had neglected their duties till, as has been well said, they forgot they had duties to perform; they were hopelessly corrupt, both morally and politically. The independence which the peasantry were taught by the inflated language used in Parliament to believe they had already acquired seemed to them a bitter deception; and their belief in the villany of the rulers who had tricked them, and in the complete slavery and hardship of their own position as Roman Catholics, was envenomed by the expressions which the Opposition allowed itself to use in its assaults on Government. They were thus ripe for rebellion. Indeed, for many years they had been filling Ireland with outrages. All sorts of combinations had been made against rent-collectors and tithe-proctors. In

Munster arose the Society of the White Boys and the followers of Captain Right. Combinations were also directed against the farmers of taxes, who most shamelessly abused their position. Absenteeism was the curse of Ireland. While the middleman of the absentee landlord racked the wretched cottier for his rent, the middleman of the absentee parson racked him for his tithes. They were in the habit of taking their payments in interest-bearing bonds, and when the wretched peasant was unable to meet those bonds, he became practically the slave of the tithe farmer, who compelled him to do his farm work for him as the price of his forbearance to put the law in execution.

The executive machinery of the Government in Ireland was not strong enough to keep order. The outrages of the Catholics had frequently to be met by the voluntary efforts of their enemies, which soon degenerated into counter-outrages. Thus there arose in Munster a constant cruel war between the two religions. In the north of Ireland it was worse, for the hatred between the religions was there more pronounced. In dread of outrages similar to those of the south, the Protestants began, in the roughest and most illegal manner, to deprive the Catholics of arms, which indeed they had no right to carry; and the Catholics were driven to form themselves into lawless societies under the name of Defenders, in opposition to which there arose, about the year 1790, the organization of the Orange Lodges; and there, too, a cruel civil war began to be waged.

While Ireland was in this miserable condition, while the liberty which the wretched peasantry had been promised had entirely disappeared, while the upper classes of all parties seemed in the last degree degraded, and the ascendancy of the useless and tyrannical Church fixed for ever, the great news of the French Revolution came. Even in more sober England men's hearts were stirred within them at the promise of the emancipation of the human race; among the suffering passionate Irish, with their impulsive and sanguine dispositions, the effect was far greater. But the class who were at first chiefly influenced by it were not the Roman Catholics—although, no doubt, for them too it seemed to promise at least a share in the franchise,—but the Northern Presbyterians and Dissenters, republican from their origin, and, from the very nature of their religious creed, equally oppressed with the Catholics by a proud and dominant Church, and more keenly alive to that abominable system of government which touched the Protestant more nearly than the Catholic, because he

Weakness of
the executive.

Effect of
the French
Revolution in
Ireland.

alone had any share in it. Ulster, and especially the town of Belfast, were the great centres of the republican and Jacobin feelings, together with Dublin, where, as was natural, the more lively, ambitious, and freethinking elements of society were chiefly to be found.

There were thus to be somehow handled and managed by Government a strong, vicious, reckless, constitutional opposition, in connection with a few men honestly desiring the legislative independence of Ireland, and, as a necessary step, thorough parliamentary reform;—secondly, a great body of Catholics, of which the higher and more respectable part desired the gradual alleviation of their position, and joined with the Opposition, not from dislike to the English connection, but because the supporters of Government influence seemed inclined to refuse every demand; and of which the lower part, in wild misery and excitement, was waging a lawless war both in the north and south;—and thirdly, a very considerable body of men, dissenters of the North, and freethinkers of Dublin, who, touched by the influence of the French Revolution, desired an entire overthrow of the Government, and were willing to throw themselves into the arms of France for the destruction of the English connection.

Difficulties of
the Government.

It is plain that of these sections two were chiefly dangerous—the Roman Catholic peasant, who hated the Protestant, and the republican Protestant, who hated the Government and hated the Catholic also. While these were separate it might be possible to play off one against the other. In this the few reckless men who desired a complete change of Government saw the cause of their weakness. The most prominent of these was Wolfe Tone, a young barrister, the son of a Dublin coachmaker, who for personal reasons as he openly confessed—because certain suggestions of his had not been well received in England—was the determined enemy of everything English. Nominally a Protestant, really a freethinker, to him, and to several others like him, religious disputes appeared merely ridiculous; and the brilliant idea seized him of uniting those two sections of people which were really dangerous to England—the Northern Republican and the National Roman Catholic—and of thus forming the great Society of the United Irishmen. It was plain that great difficulties must arise in realizing such a scheme. Much as the Protestants of Ulster hated England, they undoubtedly hated Catholics more; much as the Catholics hated England, undoubtedly they hated Protestants more. Still, it might be the policy of both parties to bury for a

Formation of
the Society
of United
Irishmen.

time their great hatred, and to make common cause on that point which they had in common. Wolfe Tone and his republican friends, entirely careless of religion, formed an excellent connecting link. It was with this view that he betook himself to Belfast, to take advantage of a great celebration to be held there in honour of the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, and there established his Society, as he seems already to have done in part in Dublin. Its ostensible views as put forward in the programme were, that the weight of English influence was so great as to require the cordial union of the people of Ireland to maintain liberty, that the only constitutional way of opposing that influence was reform of Parliament, and that no reform was practicable which did not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion. Tone hoped, by thus setting prominently forward the advantages which each party was desirous of gaining, to win the adhesion of both.

But the Catholics themselves were not a wholly united body. Disunion
among the
Catholics. Unable to find any more legitimate means of making themselves heard, they had, since 1782, intrusted their

interests to a central committee at Dublin, consisting of some of the most important nobility and gentry of their party, as well as of others of a more violent stamp. The temper of the English Government was such, that fairly friendly relations subsisted between it and the Bishops and more educated part of the Catholics. Pitt was himself a friend to the Catholic claims in England. Many of the restrictions had been already removed from the Catholics in England and in Scotland, and neither Pitt nor the chief members of his Cabinet thought it impossible that the emancipation of the Irish should proceed by the same steps as in England. This feeling was rendered much stronger by the French Revolution. It seemed impossible that the dogmatic and highly organized Roman Church should become the champion of disorder and atheism, and Pitt hoped by attaching them to himself to find in them a support against the spread of the revolutionary principles which were his great dread. The Catholics thus became an object of contention to the extreme parties; on the one side the Nationalists and United Irishmen sought to win them by holding out hopes of regaining their supremacy by reform of Parliament, and of a consequent alienation from English policy which might well involve a complete change in the Act of Settlement, and the restoration of much property to its old Roman Catholic owners; and on the other side the English Government attempted to outbid its rivals, and to attach the Catho-

lics more closely to the English interests, by granting them immediately a large measure of relief. As was natural, this auction terminated in a split among the Catholics themselves. In 1791 a portion of the Committee sent up very reasonable demands in a petition, signed by upwards of sixty names. These petitioners represented the moderate and better part of the Catholics, who would have been willing to accept the legitimate offers of the English Government; but the majority, inspired by the revolutionary feelings of the time, and eagerly desirous for the complete restoration of their position, refused to acknowledge the petition as their own, and drove the sixty signatories from the Committee. They then proceeded to play directly into the hands of Wolfe Tone, entering into close connection with the revolutionary society at Belfast, which they no doubt intended to use as a cat's-paw only, until they should attain that complete Catholic ascendancy, which could scarcely fail to result from a thorough Reform Bill if connected with the removal of religious disabilities.

It may excite surprise that the Government did not, in the presence of the very obvious danger which had arisen, and when the country was full of disturbance, act vigorously in support of the Protestant ascendancy, or at least confine itself to giving such measures of relief as would have satisfied the seceders of the Catholic committee. The Lord Lieutenant, and those who had charge of the government in Ireland, perpetually urged upon the English Cabinet the necessity of supporting the English, declaring that the real contest would ultimately be between the Irish nationalists and the English settlers. But Pitt could not give up his idea that relief to the Catholics was necessary. He suffered Richard Burke, a foolish young man, to act apparently in his name, and to hold out hopes to the more advanced Catholic party. The Cabinet, indeed, subsequently denied having given him any authority, but as undoubtedly Pitt had given him a letter of introduction to the Secretary, it was very hard to prove this disclaimer. Consequently, in the session of 1792, both the Belfast republicans and the Catholic committee sent up petitions to Parliament of a very strong description. They were both rejected, and in their place a measure was introduced by Sir Hercules Langrishe, apparently with the consent of Government, admitting Catholics to the profession of the law, removing restrictions on their education, and repealing the Inter-marriage Act. It was only with considerable difficulty, and by Government influence, that this Bill was passed

through the House, for the Protestant feeling in Parliament was very strong. Langrishe's measure was no doubt a righteous one; but it is a question whether at the moment concession to the Catholics was wise, especially when it was purchased by unpopularity among the Protestants. It seems probable, however, that both now and in his subsequent action, Pitt was influenced by a detestation of the iniquitous means by which Ireland was governed. He did not care much about shocking his majority of pensioners, or weakening English ascendancy, being fully determined that before long that ascendancy should give place to a wider and less provincial scheme of Government, produced by a complete union.

The effect of the measure at first was, however, certainly not salutary. Signs of concession on the part of the Government, and the foolish conduct of Richard Burke, excited the Catholics of the United Irish party to raise still higher claims, and to attempt to insist upon them by overawing the Government. Determined that there should be no mistake as to the real wishes of their party, the committee contrived to summon a general convention of Catholics in Dublin, each parish sending up its representatives. This Parliament met in what was called the Back Lane, under the presidency of Edward Burne, a well-known Catholic merchant of extreme views. The members drew up a petition, demanding the franchise for the Catholics, and sent it direct to England, attempting thus to overrule their own Irish Government. At the same time, Tone and Napper Tandy, the leader of the Dublin malcontents, attempted to arm their threatening counter-parliament with military power, by raising, in imitation of the old volunteers, a body whom they called the National Guards. The vigour of Fitzgibbon nipped this plan in the bud. He issued a proclamation against the assembling of men in arms, and as though to prove how much a little vigour would effect, and how easily the movement might at that time have been suppressed, the muster which should have taken place the following day was attended by three men only, of whom Napper Tandy was one. But the petition of the Convention had been well received in England; the Government there persisted in overriding the wishes of the Lord Lieutenant, and with every appearance of having yielded to pressure, in 1793, Major Hobart, the Chief Secretary, in accordance with instructions from London, introduced, and by Government influence forced down the throat of an unwilling House of Commons, a second Catholic Relief Bill, admitting Catholics

Increased
demands of
the Catholics.

Catholic Relief
Bill passed.
1793.

to the grand juries, magistracy, and, finally, to the franchise, at the same time repealing the Act which prohibited the bearing of arms. The Government had now gone as far as it intended to go. It had apparently made its concessions with a bad grace, and to the wrong people. As Lawrence Parsons, a singularly sensible member of the Irish Parliament, pointed out, the Bill gave the franchise, but still refused to the Catholics the right of sitting in Parliament. As the franchise was very low, it virtually threw the power into the hands of the lower Catholics, while excluding the Catholic gentry from their legitimate influence. It was, however, in vain that he urged the admission of the Catholics to Parliament, and the raising of the franchise. The United Irishmen were able to say, that as long as they could vote for Protestants alone the franchise was of little use; and further, that even had they been able to elect Catholics, the Government influence was too strong to make the change of any avail.

It was then nominally with the cry of reform of Parliament that they continued their agitation. And as the late concessions had been apparently granted under a system of threats, the same system of intimidation was pursued. Riots and outrages again broke out in all parts of Ireland. The Defenders again became active. House after house of the Protestants was robbed. Murders of all sorts were committed. In this year alone there were 180 houses attacked in Munster; while the success of the Convention had been such that the experiment was to be repeated at Athlone. Fitzgibbon indeed postponed the immediate danger by securing the passage of the Convention Bill, which forbade the assembling of such illegal meetings; and in other respects the hands of the executive were for the time so much strengthened, that although much outrage continued, and discontent was smouldering throughout the country, and the emissaries of the United Irishmen scarcely veiled their revolutionary intentions, their hopes sunk low, and Tone was himself thinking of joining the Government side. He even had an interview with the Chief Secretary, and there was some thought of giving him employment abroad. But just about this time, in 1794, the United Irishmen, losing hope of carrying out their revolution singlehanded, began to think of summoning the assistance of France. It was in this year that one Jackson went as an emissary to France with undoubtedly traitorous designs. One of his comrades, as so often happens in Irish treasons, turned informer; Jackson was apprehended, and took poison, and died in the dock as the sentence was being pronounced on him.

Renewed
agitation for
reform of
Parliament.

Suddenly the hopes of the Irish party received an unexpected impulse. In the year 1794 the Duke of Portland and the Whigs joined the Cabinet. Their point of union was the war only, in other respects they clung to their old traditions. Portland, their chief, had been Prime Minister when the Act for legislative equality had been passed; and when, under pressure from this section of his party, Pitt consented to send Lord Fitzwilliam, the heir of Lord Rockingham, to Ireland as Viceroy, there seemed a great probability that a complete change of policy was intended. Such indeed was the view of Grattan, who had had a personal interview with Pitt, and such no doubt was Fitzwilliam's own view. Such in part was Pitt's view also, but he was half-hearted in the matter. He was displeased at having to yield anything to the new members of his Cabinet, and though desiring that the Catholic claims should be granted, he was so pledged to repression that he scarcely thought the present a desirable time for that measure; while his fidelity to personal friends, and his strong view of personal claims, made him determined that none of the existing officers or placemen should be removed. Besides this, the only statesman of great ability among the Irish, and the only one who possessed Pitt's ear, was Fitzgibbon the Chancellor, a bigoted upholder of Protestant ascendancy. It was then with very different views that Fitzwilliam and Pitt regarded the new appointment. How great this difference was seems to be absolutely proved by a reference to Grenville's letters. In fact, the way in which Pitt yielded can only be explained by his intending ultimately to produce the Union. Fitzwilliam's arrival was hailed with enthusiasm by the Irish, and acting upon his own view of his commission, which he believed that Pitt shared, he proceeded rapidly to introduce reforms. Fitzgibbon, it was clearly understood, he was not to touch; but the Attorney and the Solicitor-General, Wolfe and Toler, he removed, and replaced them by the far better known lawyers, Ponsonby and Curran. A great outcry was raised at this, but it was slight when compared with the opposition evoked when the Viceroy proceeded to lay his hands on Mr. Beresford, Commissioner of the Revenue. He was the head of one of those great families who obtained their influence by managing the country for the Government interest, without any claim on the score of talent. So great was his influence that a quarter of the places in Ireland were said to be his gift, though he himself occupied only the unimportant situation of Commissioner of the Revenue. Every underling and jobber in the country felt his

Failure of Fitzwilliam's efforts at reform, Jan. 1795.

position endangered, but it wanted more influence than theirs to remove Fitzwilliam. His discomfiture was completed by his own rash rapidity of action. A Bill was planned with the co-operation of Grattan for the immediate granting of the Catholic claims. Fitzgibbon at once took advantage of this, and well acquainted with the obstinacy and over-scrupulousness of the King's character, found means to have it suggested to him that to admit Roman Catholics to Parliament was a breach of his Coronation Oath. The suggestion fell on willing ears; from that time onward it became a fixed idea in the royal mind, from which no effort could remove it.

Fitzwilliam was recalled. Lord Camden, son of Chatham's friend Pratt, succeeded him as Viceroy, with the avowed intention of restoring the system of Government and the policy of Lord Westmoreland. His arrival was marked by riots in Dublin, in which Fitzgibbon's life was with difficulty saved. Grattan persisted in bringing in the Bill he had begun under Lord Fitzwilliam, but when, after a debate which lasted all through the night, it was finally rejected by a large majority, the rejection was held to be final.

Fitzwilliam succeeded by Lord Camden, March 1795.

A change came over the spirit of Ireland. Even the more patriotic members began to think that a complete separation from England was their only hope. The Catholic committee, feeling that it was no longer of any use, dissolved itself. The Catholics made common cause with the United Irish, and the bolder spirits, scarcely hiding their revolutionary intentions, sought assistance directly from France, whither Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald betook themselves; and an insurrection was planned, to be carried out in conjunction with a French army under Hoche. One effect of this was the separation of the Protestants of the North from the disaffected body. Among the townsmen of Belfast revolutionary principles still kept their hold; but the eagerness of the Catholic Defenders and their constant outrages to procure arms threw the great mass of the northern Protestants, whether Churchmen or Presbyterians, on to the Government side. The Orange Lodges were formed and organized. The opposite parties were divided, as seems inevitable in Ireland, by religion; and the first open fight between the two parties took place (Sept. 21) at the village of Diamond in Armagh, a skirmish spoken of as the battle of the Diamond. At all events interests now began to clear themselves. The fight was between Catholic revolutionary Irish and the Protestant upholders of English ascendancy.

An open rebellion begins.

This piece of Irish history has been, and will ever be, the subject of the fiercest controversy. It is only by remembering that on one side the accumulated wrath of a half-savage and badly governed country was making itself terribly visible for an object which cannot be condemned, yet by means which were utterly odious; and that on the other side the instinct of self-defence, the stern necessity of upholding their rule at all hazards, fear of the ever-threatening horrors of a triumphant and savage foe, and revenge for the personal miseries already inflicted upon them, were driving men to cruel though perhaps necessary actions, that this period can be read in at all a judicial and unpartisan spirit.

With regard to the savage cruelty of the Irish, it can only be said, as affording some excuse for their conduct, that they had suffered much, that they had much to complain of. With regard to the real danger and lengthened organization of the conspiracy there is abundant proof, and was then abundant proof in the hands of the Irish Government, for as usual all the secret committees were full of traitors. With regard to the conduct of the Government—which, whatever may be said of it, did not drive the people to rebellion, for they had long settled upon that—it may be fairly asked what other means than severity could possibly have been used. Lord Camden deserves the greatest credit for his moderation, and for the care with which, through two years and upwards, he avoided bringing on an open outbreak. The only real question appears to be whether severity used much earlier might not have altogether frustrated the rebellion. The reason why this severity was not used is to be found in the conduct of the Whigs in England, and in the views of Pitt and the Liberal part of his Government, who sat apart from the scene and could not be brought completely to comprehend the danger.

To the Irish Government the state of the country was well known. It was known that Wolfe Tone had gone abroad, nominally to America, but with the intention of visiting France, with the full approbation of the United Committee at Belfast. It was known that in 1795 the plans of an insurrection had been almost perfected, and that to meet that insurrection there were in Ireland scarcely any English troops, about 10,000 invalids and fencibles, and a militia half of whom were among the conspirators. It was also known that assassinations and the swearing-in of conspirators were of constant occurrence. It is not

Character of
the rebellion.

Defensive
measures of
the Government.

surprising that in the year 1796 it was found necessary to pass an Indemnity Act to cover acts for the preservation of peace which broke the letter of the law done by the army and magistrates, or that a Bill should have been passed against assassination, or that an Insurrection Act, which allowed suspected districts to be declared beyond the law, and to be placed in military occupation and deprived of arms, should have been carried. The danger became still more threatening when it was known that Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the brother of Lord Leitrim, and Arthur O'Connor, the friend of all the Whigs in England, had gone abroad, had seen General Hoche in Switzerland, and arranged with him for a French invasion. At this time a trustworthy informant told the Government that there were 200,000 men ready officered, that there were pikes and muskets for 150,000, and that the militia were almost to a man members of the United Irish Society. It was then that it became absolutely necessary for security to raise a trustworthy force. This force, principally consisting of Protestants, who volunteered immediately to the number of 37,000, was the yeomanry. It did not, however, consist entirely of Protestants; and Camden, in spite of the pressure laid upon him by Parliament and by all who surrounded him, refused to recognize the Orange Lodges, which would at once have given him the power he wanted. As it was, the establishment of the yeomanry certainly saved Ireland, and yet it is here probably that the great error of the Government showed itself. English soldiers, if possible, alone should have been used. The traditional hatred between the religions was too fierce to allow the subjugation of the Catholics to be left in the hands of the Protestant yeomen.

The invasion which Hoche had planned, in accordance with the wishes of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone, was a very formidable one; nor, had it succeeded in landing, could it probably have been otherwise than successful. Fortunately the energy of the Government had just then struck a most damaging blow at the insurrectionary movement. Among the other illegal actions of the army of the North, which had been under the command of Luttrell, Lord Carhampton, had been the sudden apprehension of the whole revolutionary committee in Belfast. Neilson, Ore, Russell, and the two Sims, had been lodged in Dublin Castle. It was to allow of such arrests as these that almost at the same time the Habeas Corpus was suspended; for the Government was in the awkward position of

Arrest of the
revolutionary
committee.

knowing the treasonable practices which were going on, and of knowing the authors of them, but of yet being unable to produce proofs, as the information had been received under the seal of secrecy. The importance of this apprehension was much increased by the very complete organization of the United Society. A series of little societies, none of which exceeded eighteen, were linked together, and formed a complete hierarchy through baronial committees, district committees, provincial directories, up to a grand executive directory of five, elected secretly, and known to none but the provincial secretaries, who examined the votes. The military organization was almost as complete. The sudden destruction of the executive committee, whom nobody knew, in fact cut the head of the organization entirely away; till what had happened had been discovered, and a fresh committee elected, there was no power to issue any orders. It is probably to this that is to be traced, not only the apathy, but the apparent goodwill of the people of the South at the time of the French invasion.

The period during which the French expedition, thirty-eight ships of all sorts, was lying in Bantry Bay was one of extreme danger. The strange inactivity of the English navy would have allowed the French to complete their plans at perfect leisure. Fortunately Hoche himself had been separated from the expedition on its passage, and Grouchy, the second in command, shrank from the responsibility of leading without his superior's commands. A hurricane swept the bay, preventing landing, and the ships returned uselessly to Brest. But the apathy of the people was of very short duration. The evident possibility of assistance from France raised their temper. The disturbances in the North were speedily renewed; murder

Failure of the
French expedi-
tion to Bantry
Bay.

General Lake's
success in
Ulster.

followed murder; Orange retributions followed in their turn, and at last, in March 1797, General Lake was ordered to disarm the conspirators of Ulster. He issued a proclamation ordering all persons to bring in their arms and surrender them, threatening to use force if they were refused. Well informed by his spies, Lake captured 50,000 muskets, 72 cannon, and 70,000 pikes, often, it must be confessed, with cruel severity on the part of the yeomanry, who were his agents. Frequently, but it is believed only when certain information had already been obtained of the existence of arms, flogging and picketing (that is, putting their feet upon sharp stakes) wrung from the wretched peasants the knowledge of their place of concealment. Such conduct, though cruel,

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had it been exercised throughout Ireland would probably have prevented the worst of the insurrection.

But the Government was hampered in Ireland by a very small, but very eloquent and noisy, opposition in Parliament, and in England by the whole of the Whig opposition in and out of Parliament, constantly crying out against any severity, or any use of other than the civil power; and by the Cabinet itself, which continued half-hearted, disliked severity, looking forward ultimately to a complete change of system, and desired, even by great concessions, to put off an outbreak till that change could be effected. But it was in fact impossible. The very existence of these champions for their cause, the secession from Parliament of Grattan and his friends, who declared that their voices were now useless, the supposition that the English Cabinet would not tolerate any extreme measures, the certainty that France was still thinking of assisting them, the opportunity for that assistance afforded by the mutiny at the Nore, in which traces of Irish influence are not wanting, drove the leaders to more and more extreme steps. Still more was their confidence raised by the ill-judged conduct of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was appointed to succeed Carhampton as commander-in-chief. He was the friend of Lord Moira. An ardent Whig, and full of English Liberal views, and used to regular English soldiery, he was disgusted both at the stringent measures and disorderly conduct of the yeomanry he was called upon to command, and shocked its feelings by declaring that their state of disorganization was such as to make them a terror to none but themselves. He even declined to carry on in the South that work which Lake had done in the North, and to disarm Munster. Again General Lake was called to undertake the unpleasant duty. It was no doubt carried out there, in the midst of an almost purely Roman Catholic population, with even more severity, more religious intolerance, and more cruelty, than in the North. It must be observed, however, that at the worst these cruelties could have lasted but a month, for after Lake had held his command about that time the insurrection broke out. When it did break out the Government was partially prepared for it, for treachery at last put the whole secret of the conspiracy into their hands. A certain Mr. Reynolds, a man of small property, had joined the United Irishmen, but frightened at the extent of their schemes, gave information that the Leinster delegates would meet in March at the house of Oliver Bond, one of their chief

Increased
difficulties of
the Government.

associates. The whole committee was there seized, together with letters and papers of the utmost importance. Many arrests of leaders followed, but Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the chief military leader of the conspiracy, contrived to escape.

The 23rd of May had been appointed for a general rising. Two days before that date Fitzgerald was arrested, after a desperate resistance. With a dagger he killed one of his assailants, Captain Ryan, and severely wounded Captain Swan; nor was he secured till Major Sirr, the town mayor, shot him through the shoulder. He lingered a few days and then died. Two other leaders, of the name of Sheares, were also arrested, and papers of a most bloodthirsty nature found about them. In spite of the loss of their leaders, the insurrection broke out on the appointed day. It was to have opened with the capture of Dublin. This attempt completely failed; but on all the roads round the city the mail coaches were destroyed, so as to isolate the capital; and at Naas, Kilcullen, Rathfarnham, and Prosperous, and in other places in the county of Kildare, the military were attacked. At Prosperous the barracks were burnt, and nearly all the soldiers killed. In most other directions a brief moment of success, marked by actions of wild savagery, was all that was accomplished. From Kildare the insurrection turned upon Carlow. But there timely arrangements were made, and 600 of the rebels perished, while not a single soldier was hurt. The success of the soldiery was marked by even worse cruelty than that of the rebels; twenty-eight suspected yeomen were shot in cold blood in the neighbourhood of Dunlaven; and after the defeat at Carlow, Gordon says: "Executions commenced, as elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about 200 in a short time were hanged or shot according to martial law; among the rest Sir Edward Crosby, a loyal gentleman, who unfortunately professed Liberal opinions." But it was where least expected that the rebellion was most formidable. In Kildare the rebels never gained much head; but in Wexford, which was regarded as free from disaffection, a regular war arose. The rebels here mastered the town of Wexford, where they found a gentleman of property, Mr. Bagenal Harvey, to whom they gave the command. But their real leader was a priest named Murphy. They succeeded in overrunning the country, but were at last checked by General Johnson before the town of New Ross. He pursued them to Enniscorthy, and on the 21st of June General Lake succeeded in utterly routing the rebels, and taking their camp on Vinegar Hill. This was practically a

Actual out-
break of the
insurrection.
May 23, 1798.

deathblow to the rebellion, though many of its horrors continued in isolated districts.

Two or three days before this battle was fought a new Lord-Lieutenant had arrived in Dublin. This was Lord Cornwallis, who had once before been asked to assume the post, but, frightened at its difficulties, had withdrawn. The recall of Camden may have been necessary if any policy of reconciliation was to be tried, for he was no doubt deeply implicated in the measures of repression which had been taken, and it would have been hard to have aroused confidence in him in the minds of the Irish. Certainly, however, a shadow of blame was allowed to rest upon his conduct which was perfectly unjust. He had been as long suffering as it was possible to be. He had even at his sorest pressure rejected the employment of the Orangemen, from the dread, which he frequently expresses in his letters, of establishing a religious war, and setting one part of the people against the other. Self-confidence was the chief characteristic of Lord Cornwallis. The ministers constantly complain in their correspondence of the little information he deigned to give them; and his view and management of the crisis were based entirely upon his own conception of what had been going on, without consultation with those who had taken part in it. He brought with him a view in some respects erroneous, but which seems on the whole to have led him to right conclusions. He denied that the insurrection was either religious or national; he considered it Jacobin. The view was, no doubt, entirely erroneous; yet it induced him to act in the same way that the most careful and enlightened philanthropist would have acted. For the Jacobin leaders, the Dublin and Belfast Protestants, he was pitiless; for the misguided people he had a profound pity. He therefore used all his efforts to conciliate, and speedily after his arrival, with the advice of Lord Clare, an amnesty was published for all who would lay down their arms. It was certainly not the way to put an end most rapidly to the insurrection. It was mistaken for fear, and again and again he found his hopes of conciliating the Catholics disappointed, the reason being that his hopes were based upon a wrong ground. But, nevertheless, this course was exactly the most desirable for England to pursue. It was the conduct of a strong third person intervening to stop an internecine contest. While the country was still disturbed, and parties of brigands were scouring all the out-of-the-way corners (for that was the form the rebellion ultimately took), the chief

Arrival of
Lord Cornwallis
to succeed
Camden.

His efforts at
conciliation.

leaders were hanged in Dublin; till, struck with terror, the prisoners, seventy in number, offered to say all they knew if their lives were spared. Anxious to gather from their own lips proofs that would refute the constant, plausible, and factious assertions of Whigs in England and Nationalists in Ireland, although the Government knew probably all that could be told, Cornwallis accepted the offer. Arthur O'Connor, who had once before been tried in England, and acquitted because nearly every man of the Whig party had been called as a witness to swear to his character, drew up the confession. But he drew it up in a way to suit his own fancy. All the treasons of which the prisoners had been guilty they not only confessed, but, now that they were safe for their lives, boasted of in the true braggart Irish spirit. Cornwallis refused to receive such a confession; but not liking to break his word, he allowed the prisoners to give personal evidence before a Committee of Lords, and their evidence was published. Contrary to the wishes of the Home Government, their lives were spared. How thoroughly bad they must have been is shown by the fact that the American minister entreated that the United States might be mentioned as one of the countries to which they should not be allowed to withdraw; the opinions they declared were so immoral and so dangerous, that the Republic must decline to receive them. They were therefore sent to Fort-George, in Scotland, where they remained till the Peace of Amiens.

Before the insurrection was quite completed there was one other short episode which seems to show how little real vitality there is in any national effort in Ireland. A small force under General Humbert, acting probably without orders, landed at Kilala, in Mayo, on the 22nd of August. With only 800 men, and a considerable number of irregular rebels, he advanced against Lake, who had an army of 3000 at Castlebar. These troops, consisting chiefly of disaffected militia, he utterly defeated; they fled with a speed which gained for the battle the name of the Castlebar Races. But on advancing further inland, he found the uselessness of his adventure, and laid down his arms to Lord Cornwallis. The squadron which was bringing him reinforcements was defeated and destroyed by Admiral Warren. Of ten ships but one frigate and one brig escaped. On board of these was Napper Tandy; while among the prisoners was Wolfe Tone, the man of most ability among the chiefs. He was tried and condemned to be hanged, but committed suicide.

Cornwallis' experience, although it did not diminish his self-

confidence, seemed to force on him one fact, the necessity of the Union. He detested the Castle party by whom he was surrounded, he believed in the thorough bloodthirstiness of the Orangemen, he had learnt that conciliation, unless very complete, could have no effect upon the Catholics. He thus arrived at the fact of which Pitt had always been conscious, that under the existing system justice to the Catholics was absolutely impossible; it was impossible to make the Protestant Parliament agree to admit Catholic representatives; and even supposing this to be possible, Catholic representation meant confiscation of Protestant property, and the predominance of the Catholic religion, and rather than submit to that the Protestants would fight. To attempt to make such alterations was wilfully to plunge Ireland into a civil war of extermination. The only way to overcome this difficulty was to establish some paramount authority which should overrule the local and provincial interests of the island, and by a superior power keep the factions from flying at each other's throats. Cornwallis therefore threw himself heart and soul into the Union, supported by Fitzgibbon, now Lord Clare. But it was not carried out without extreme difficulties. Pitt's intention was notified to the Irish Parliament. Here it at once excited a violent agitation, and a thing unheard of in that venal House of Commons, an amendment on the Address, was carried against the Government by a majority of four. Nearly all the great names in Ireland, from Mr Foster the Speaker, to Ponsonby, Grattan, and Curran, were strongly opposed to the Bill. As there was no constitutional way of destroying the Parliament except with its own consent, and as left to itself it seemed plain that Parliament would oppose the Union, means had to be devised to change this state of things. The English supremacy had been systematically upheld by indirect bribery; and when application was made to the same class of people as had hitherto managed that influence, their answers showed that it would not be impossible to carry the same system further. The management of the greater people was left in the hands of Lord Cornwallis, who had a profound contempt for nearly all the Irish except the better part of the Roman Catholics. The whole mass of smaller men was handed over to the management of Lord Castlereagh, a young Irishman of much ready ability, at that time Secretary. To him too was intrusted the duty of arranging a scheme which might be passed through Parliament. By this scheme a million and a half of money

Proved
necessity for
the Union.

Opposition in
the Irish
party.

Failure of
General
Humbert's
expedition.

was to be spent in compensation to borough-holders, lawyers who had hoped to improve their prospects by entering the House, and the tradesmen of Dublin. Pitt had in one of his old reform Bills accepted the theory that boroughs were property; this part of the scheme was therefore passed, the indirect claims were not allowed. The bulk of the Catholic party, to whom hopes were held out, were not disinclined to the Union. In the English Parliament resolutions in favour of the Union were carried without much difficulty. The full force of Pitt's arguments was there felt. It was understood in fact to be a case of necessity. An independent dual Government could not be worked, nor justice be secured for Ireland, while party and religious differences ran so high, except by the intervention of the calmer and broader spirit of an Imperial Parliament. In the Irish Parliament the opposition was much stronger. But that none may feel much regret at the threatened destruction of that body, it may be mentioned that even now, in its last struggle, it extended the Act of Indemnity so as to throw a shield over the most outrageous cruelty and wickedness on the part of the Protestant suppressors of the rebellion. Fitzgerald, who boasted of having flogged many perfectly innocent people, and of having driven one at least to suicide, was not only acquitted when charges of this description were brought against him, but succeeded in turning the tables and recovering damages from his victims.¹ The interval between the Parliament of 1799 and the Session opening in 1800, which the Government had determined should be the last, was employed in continuing the trade in votes and boroughs. The Marquis of Downshire, who had seven seats of his own, was the only great borough proprietor who held out. And when the new Parliament met the Government was pretty secure of its victory. Nevertheless, there was a tremendous contest on the first night, when an amendment was moved to the Address, pledging the House to uphold the National Parliament. For fifteen hours the struggle had lasted, when, at seven in the morning, Grattan, who had not sat in the House for some years, was suddenly introduced, just dragged from his bed and very ill, clothed in the old patriotic dress of the volunteers of 1782, and walked up to the table to take the oaths. He had been

¹ This worthy gentleman, who used to compel the peasantry to prostrate themselves before him, who flogged a man within an inch of his life for writing a note in French, which he could not understand, and kept another for some days in prison without the slightest shadow of a charge, was rewarded with a considerable pension and a baronetcy.

hurriedly elected immediately after midnight for the town of Wicklow for the express purpose of producing this *coup de théâtre*. His speech against the Union was a very fine one, but it did not save the amendment, which was defeated by a majority of forty-two. The Opposition was now bidding high for votes. £4000 was declared by Lord Cornwallis to have been offered for one vote. It is uncertain to what extent indirect bribery had been carried; it was probably much exaggerated; but at all events, when on the 18th of February the resolutions for the Union were brought in, they were passed by a majority of forty-six. These resolutions were transmitted to England, and the royal assent was given to the Bill founded on them on the 2nd of August. By this the Parliaments of the two countries were amalgamated, Ireland supplying four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers, and one hundred commoners. The Irish Protestant Church was welded with the English as the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland. Perfect equality in matters of trade was established. Ireland was to contribute in the proportion of two to fifteen to the Imperial revenue, and the debts of the two countries were to be kept distinct. Having gained its object, the Government had to pay the Bill. £1,260,000 was contributed at the rate of £7000 a seat. In addition to this, twenty-two peerages were created, five Irish peers were called to the House of Lords, twenty advanced a step in the Peerage.

The Union
completed.
Aug. 2, 1800.

By the treaty of Campo Formio the French were relieved from their war with Austria, and it was probably the belief that singlehanded they were more than a match for England, the object of their particular hatred, which induced the Directory to break off the negotiations at Lisle. The victorious army of Italy was transformed into the army of England. The prospect of wealth to be gained there was held out to the troops, instead of the promised donation which the finances were in no position to bear. The command of the army was intrusted to Bonaparte, who assumed an appearance of great interest in the expedition, and visited the sea-coasts under pretence of arranging for the embarkation of the troops; but he was not likely to risk his fortunes in England while the sea was commanded by his enemies. He persuaded the Directory that a more severe blow could be dealt upon England by a descent upon Egypt, the highroad to India, whence succour could be sent to Tippoo Sahib, the Sultan of Mysore, who, after he had been crushed by Lord Cornwallis, was again, relying for success upon French arms, thinking of renewing war.

Desire of
France to
invade England.

To Bonaparte private ambition was no doubt a main reason for this resolution. The state of Europe was very threatening. A second coalition was getting itself formed. In none of the new republics, neither Holland, nor Switzerland, nor Rome, in all of which constitutions had been forced on the people against their will, was there a cordial love for France. But Bonaparte, who, as he said, did not consider "the pear ripe," was willing that the bad management and failures of the Directory should ripen it before he raised his hands to pluck it. His imagination too, which always played a powerful part in his resolutions, was fired with the notion of an Eastern empire, whence, as he said, he should return and take Europe *en revers*.

On the 19th of May 1798, the army of France, 36,000 strong, sailed from Toulon harbour, escorted by 30 vessels of war, 72 smaller vessels, and carried in 400 transports. The expedition was a strange one; not only was Egypt to be conquered, it was to be scientifically explored, and a number of learned and scientific men were mixed with the generals that surrounded their commander. Before reaching Egypt a strong point was secured to give the French the command of the Mediterranean. The Order of St. John of Malta, by treason and for money, gave up the island to Bonaparte. Thence he sailed on the 2nd of July, and ten days afterwards reached Alexandria.

Thence he marched towards Cairo, which he conquered, after winning on the road the battle of the Pyramids over the Mamelukes, a warrior caste sprung originally from Circassian slaves, who had made themselves masters of Egypt. It was the old story of undisciplined valour breaking itself against the firm squares of a disciplined Western army. Murad Bey, the Mameluk commander, withdrew to Upper Egypt, and the French entered Cairo. Bonaparte at once set to work to organize the country, and in his eagerness to conciliate the people, hinted that he too believed in Mahomet. The absolute atheism, however, of the French troops, and this cynical readiness to change his creed, only exasperated the Turks against him.

Nelson had been watching the port of Toulon, but the French fleet gave him the slip. From the 19th of May till the 1st of August he was in vain pursuit, not knowing where the expedition had gone.

Battle of
the Nile.
Aug. 2, 1798.

On that day he came in sight of the French fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, one of which was the 'Orient,' with 120 guns, and four frigates. Nelson's own fleet consisted also of thirteen ships, but none of them were

larger than seventy-fours, and he had but one frigate and a brig. The enemy were very advantageously placed at anchor along the shore of the Bay of Aboukir. In front of them lay an island with a fort, their flanks were covered by gunboats. They believed their position unassailable. But Nelson quickly determined, from the appearance of the anchored fleet, that there must be sufficient water for his ships between the French and the shore. He boldly ordered some of his vessels to sail inside. The left of the French line was thus enveloped and placed between two fires. Nelson began the fight at once, although it was six in the evening. It raged the whole night. In less than two hours, however, five of the French ships had struck, and at nine o'clock the 'Orient' caught fire and blew up. When the battle closed about six the following morning, nine of the French ships had been taken and two had been burnt. Want of frigates, and the damages sustained by his own fleet, prevented Nelson from pursuing the two remaining French ships, which sailed away almost unhurt. The same causes prevented him from destroying completely the French transports. This victory shut up the best French army with its great commander useless in Egypt, and excited the enthusiasm and hopes of all the conquered countries in Europe.

But meanwhile Pitt had been able to set on foot a second great coalition. Austria, humiliated by the Treaty of Campo Formio, far from discharging her army, had raised its numbers, and demanded some sort of indemnity for the successes of France in Italy and Switzerland. Napoleon by his advance upon Egypt had himself forced the Ottoman Empire into war with France. The princes of Germany, though not desiring war, and even now treating with the Directory at Rastadt, could not forget the loss of the empire beyond the Rhine. Russia was also induced to join the coalition; for changes had taken place both in the internal and external condition of the country; since 1796, Paul I., a prince of scarcely sound mind, had succeeded Catherine in that country, and Poland having been destroyed, a road was open for him to introduce himself, as had been the constant desire of the Russian monarchs, into the politics of Europe. Prussia, where Frederick William had died, still held aloof in neutrality. The cement of this coalition was as usual English money. Naples, in the winter of 1798, had raised an army under the Austrian General Mack, and attempted to rid Italy of the invader; but, hated by its own subjects, the weak and tyrannical government was able to effect nothing. The King

CON. MON.

Pitt forms
a second
coalition.

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had to fly in the English fleet, Naples was changed into the Parthenopæan Republic, and the whole of Italy was thus brought under French dominion. The frontier line, then, against which the coalition was preparing to act, extended from the Zuyder Zee to the Mediterranean. Its centre was the mountain mass of Switzerland. Both parties regarded this as the key of the position. But the French spread their troops weakly along the whole length, so that Massena in Switzerland seemed to form the centre of one large army; and to him was intrusted the duty of separating, by capturing the salient angle formed by Switzerland and the Tyrol, the armies of the coalition. The plan was not a wise one. The opening successes of Massena and his lieutenants, which brought the French into the valley of the Inn, did not prevent the Archduke Charles from defeating Jourdan and the army of the Rhine at Stockach, nor Kray, the Austrian general, from beating Schérer at Magnano, on the Adige, and driving him behind the Adda. Massena, with his flanks thus exposed, found himself compelled to retreat also.

These successes on the part of the allies, and the murder of the French envoys to the Congress of Rastadt, excited the French to fresh energy. Schérer was replaced by Moreau. Macdonald, who was holding Naples, hastened to his assistance, and all the armies in the centre were placed in Massena's hands. But Suwarrow, a semi-barbarian, who had never yet been conquered, had arrived to take the command in Italy.

He pressed on with great rapidity and success. Moreau was beaten at Cassano (April 27), and fell back behind the Po. He again retired in the direction of Genoa in order to form a junction with Macdonald coming from Naples. Suwarrow was thus able to leave him behind him and threaten the French frontier; the advance of Macdonald however across the Apennines obliged him to turn. He fell upon that general, and after a three days' battle upon the Trebia, beat him, and turned rapidly upon Moreau, who had advanced to Novi, and had there formed a junction with the broken army of Naples. But both Macdonald and Moreau, as unsuccessful generals, were removed, and Joubert was given the command. On the 18th of August, Suwarrow attacked the French at Novi, Joubert was killed, and his troops completely routed. Italy was thus lost to the French; for in Naples Cardinal Ruffo had raised the Calabrians, and with the assistance of the English fleet both Naples and Rome were regained to the coalition. It was on this occasion that Nelson committed that act which is the great blot upon his name. He

Italy regained
by the
coalition.

had become infatuated with Lady Hamilton, wife of the English minister, through whose influence his fleet had been provisioned before the battle of the Nile, and who was devoted heart and soul to the execrable Government of the Bourbons, exercised practically by the Queen, a sister of Marie Antoinette. To please the Court, Nelson, who arrived at Naples just as the French and Republicans had completed a capitulation with Cardinal Ruffo, broke off the completed negotiation, and insisted upon the Republicans capitulating without terms. They were thus handed over to the cruel vengeance of the Court. 30,000 patriots were thrown into prison, and for six months all those who had taken the least part in establishing the Republic were continually exposed to the danger of execution.

The disasters of the French were to have been completed by a combined attack of English and Russians upon the other extremity of their line. On the 22nd of August, a few days after the battle of Novi, an army under Abercromby, who was shortly superseded by the Duke of York, arrived at the Helder. The defence of the country was intrusted to Brune, but the allies succeeded in landing, and captured the whole Dutch fleet in the Texel. At this moment the hopes of the allies were very high, and the French, worsted abroad and full of discontent at home, seemed on the verge of destruction.

The news that Bonaparte had been defeated at Acre added still further to their depression. To complete his dreams of Eastern conquest, and to forestall the attacks of an army gathering on that side, Bonaparte had marched into Syria. He won the battle of El Arish, took Joppa, where he massacred his prisoners, and advanced as far as Acre at the foot of Mount Carmel. The fortress, which was held by Djezzar, lately a robber, now a Pacha, was not in itself strong, but the French operations were rendered slow by the fortunate capture of their battering train by Sir Sidney Smith, the English commodore. After fifty days a breach was made, but the brilliant example of Sir Sidney Smith and his sailors, who entered the town, encouraged the Turkish garrison to a desperate resistance, which rendered all efforts at assault vain; Bonaparte had to retreat disappointed. "Had it not been for Djezzar," he said, "I might have been Emperor of the East." The story of his poisoning his sick at Joppa is untrue, though he suggested and defended the step. With a broken army he regained Egypt, but he was still in a condition to beat the Turks near Alexandria, at what the French call the battle of Aboukir; but while thus victorious, he heard news of

The coalition
captures the
Dutch fleet.

Napoleon
defeated
at Acre.
May 21, 1799.

affairs in Europe which led him to think that the pear was at length ripened. He slipped secretly from his army, accompanied by his four friends, Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Marmont, and set sail for France, leaving the army under the command of Kleber.

Before Napoleon arrived the danger of France from without had disappeared. Jealousy had arisen between the Austrians and the Russians, which was not likely to be soothed by the rough behaviour of Suwarrow or the palpable self-seeking of the Court of Vienna. It became necessary to rearrange the commands. The war in Switzerland was to be intrusted to Suwarrow, who was to march thither and effect a junction with his Lieutenant Korsakoff, who was already in the country. But before the junction could be effected Massena annihilated the army of Korsakoff at the battle of Zurich (Sept. 26), and when Suwarrow had forced his way over the St. Gotthard Pass, he found himself in the midst of hostile armies instead of meeting his friends. He turned suddenly to the right, and making an extraordinary march among the glaciers and peaks of the Alps, he succeeded in reaching Coire in safety. Believing himself betrayed by the Austrians, he refused to serve again, and retired to Russia, where he died in disgrace. Nor had the Duke of York been more successful in Holland. The character of the country rendered it very difficult to advance, while the want of discipline of the Russians on the right wing entailed a defeat before Bergen. The town was indeed afterwards taken, but loss in battle and by ill health, and the want of all signs of co-operation on the part of the inhabitants, induced the English to sign what must be considered a disgraceful convention at Alkmaar, by which they agreed to withdraw from Holland, and give over 10,000 French prisoners without exchange; the English however kept possession of the Dutch fleet.

Success in
India against
Tippoo Sahib
and the
French.

In India the English arms had been more successful. The intrigues of Tippoo with the French having been clearly discovered, and efforts at friendly arrangement having proved vain, General Harris, with a considerable army, was ordered in February 1799 to march upon Seringapatam. The Governor-General at this time was Lord Mornington, brother of the Duke of Wellington, who himself, as Colonel Arthur Wellesley, was one of the leaders of the expedition. After two successful skirmishes, General Harris appeared before the capital, which was a strong city well prepared for a siege. In about a month the place was taken by assault and Tippoo himself killed. This success placed

the whole kingdom of Mysore, with a large amount of treasure, in the hands of the conquerors.

On his return to Paris (Oct. 16), therefore, Bonaparte found himself in a position to carry out his plans for personal aggrandizement; and though the great danger from foreign enemies had disappeared, the interior of France offered him every opportunity for laying hands on the Government. It was not forgotten that during his absence the safety of the Republic had been risked, and its hard-won victories rendered useless; and as the incapacity of their present rulers had been even more obvious at home than abroad, all eyes turned to him as the natural saviour of the State. Moreover, now that the first fervour of revolutionary energy had worn itself out, the bulk of the nation desired order, even though earned at the expense of liberty. Of the two Councils that of the Ancients was decidedly inclined in favour of a more settled Government, and it was through it that Napoleon determined to work. The Council of Five Hundred was more difficult to deal with. For a moment Napoleon shrunk before their patriotic and republican cries, but, urged by the Abbé Siéyes, who pressed him to action, crying, "They have put you outside the law, do you put them outside their hall," he recovered courage, and his Grenadiers, entering the hall with beating drums, quietly extruded the representatives. Thus was accomplished the great *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire (Nov. 9). The Directory was destroyed; a new constitution, spoken of as the Constitution of the year 8, was established, by which the executive power was vested nominally in three consuls, but really in the First Consul, Bonaparte, who thus became practically Dictator. His measures were anti-revolutionary, his object being to restore confidence and to heal faction. With his thoughts thus turned to the reorganization of France, he desired to be free for the present from foreign wars, and one of his earliest steps was to make overtures with the continental powers. To England he made proposals of peace in a letter addressed immediately to the King (Dec. 25). This was of course a grave breach of the etiquette of courts, and the letter was answered by Grenville in anything but a conciliatory spirit, while the whole blame of the war was thrown upon the French, with whom the English minister declined to enter into negotiations so long as the Government was in the hands of those "whom the Revolution had so recently placed in the exercise of power." Some more correspondence ensued, but the English ministers positively refused to treat. It is certain that Napoleon's offer was merely to

Napoleon returns, and is made First Consul.
Nov. 11, 1799.

gain time; on the other hand, the dictatorial tone of Grenville's reply could not but be very irritating to the French.

The weary war therefore continued, and before the year was over the position of affairs abroad had so changed that England was no longer able to maintain the haughty tone which had been adopted. War in the hands of Bonaparte was a very different thing from war in the hands of the Directory. In April the French were again across the Rhine, and the Austrians driven behind the Inn; while in Italy, though Genoa, the last town in the possession of the French, surrendered, its danger was turned to immediate advantage by Bonaparte. Under pretence

Napoleon re-
gains the North
of Italy.

of collecting an army for its relief, he massed his troops in the neighbourhood of Dijon, and while all eyes were directed towards the siege, he suddenly pushed across the Great St. Bernard and appeared at Ivrea on the rear of the besieging army. Melas, who commanded the Austrians, at length perceived his danger. He ordered Otto, his lieutenant, to raise the siege, with the intention of concentrating his troops; his orders were disregarded, and Genoa was taken, but the delay was fatal. It gave time for Bonaparte to re-establish the Cisalpine Republic, and, turning backwards, to place himself between Melas and Mantua, whither that general was now anxious to withdraw. A decisive battle was brought on before Alessandria, from which stronghold the Austrians advanced, on the 14th of June, against the French on the plains of Marengo. The Austrians, more numerous than the French, had apparently won the battle, and by three o'clock the whole French army had retreated. Melas withdrew to rest, leaving what he believed to be a pursuit in the hands of General Zach; but the French army, reinforced by the reserves, and headed by Desaix, made a great final effort. The Austrians, who had advanced too rashly in the eagerness of their pursuit, were unable to withstand his charge; they broke, and their victory was changed into a disastrous defeat. On the following day, with the victorious army in his front, and the liberated garrison of Genoa in his rear, the Austrian general, seeing no hope, entered into a convention, called the Convention of Alessandria, by which the greater part of North Italy was surrendered to the French.

An attempt was made to change this Convention into a more general peace, and a Congress was held for this purpose at Lunéville, but the English Cabinet was much divided in its own views, the Austrian Government acted with extreme duplicity, and Napoleon demanded a separate treaty with the two belligerent powers,

which Austria, knowing its weakness when separate from England, was afraid to grant. The Congress came to nothing, and in November the army under Moreau renewed the campaign. The Austrians were determined to hold the line of the Inn, but their troops, very badly commanded by Archduke John, were attacked in the forest of Hohenlinden, and sustained a crushing defeat. Their loss is put at 25,000 men and 100 guns. There could no longer be any question in the matter, and the Emperor had no choice, if he would save his capital, but to sue for a separate peace. By the Treaty of Lunéville (Feb. 9, 1801) the frontier of the Rhine was again ceded to France.

Battle of
Hohenlinden.
Dec. 2, 1800.

Treaty of
Lunéville.
Feb. 9, 1801.

It needed but a breach with Russia to leave England single-handed in opposition to France. The Emperor Paul, but little removed from madness, had seen with disgust the defeat of his troops in Switzerland, and believed that in the joint expedition to Holland his army had been wilfully sacrificed. He was also smitten with extreme admiration for the genius of Bonaparte, who took care to flatter this feeling and to intrigue against English influence. The old question of the right of search gave Paul a pretext to break with his allies. The doctrine of the English, accepted generally as the law of nations, was that a belligerent had the right of searching neutral ships for contraband of war or for property of the enemy. The Northern powers claimed that the neutral flag should cover the cargo, with the exception of contraband of war. This had been their view for many years, and, as has been mentioned, gave rise to the Armed Neutrality of 1780.¹ This view they had not been able to enforce, but it was quite an open question whether ships under convoy of a man-of-war could be searched. On this point the English and the Danes twice came into collision; but during the summer of 1800 an amicable arrangement had been arrived at. Paul however refused to let the matter drop; he took it up as an injury to the whole Northern powers, laid an embargo upon all English property in Russia, made prisoners 300 merchant seamen, and renewed the Armed Neutrality, which was joined willingly by Sweden, and under pressure by Denmark also. The English Government at once retaliated by an embargo on the property of the allied nations; and England was thus left completely singlehanded, for her allies in the south of Europe were much too weak to afford her any assistance, while her maritime superiority seemed seriously compromised by the action of the Baltic powers.

Russia deserts
the coalition.

¹ The views of the Armed Neutrality have been since accepted by Europe.

Nor was it only abroad that danger seemed impending. The condition of the country was rendered miserable both by heavy taxes and by the pressure of two years of scarcity. Internal condition of England. Corn had risen to the unprecedented price of 120 shillings the quarter, a price which could not possibly have been maintained under any reasonable system of political economy. But at this time it was held in the last degree dangerous to admit corn from abroad, partly because it was thought that a nation should trust to its own resources for the prime necessities of life, partly because it was believed that a diminution of gold and silver, which must inevitably follow from large importations, was a disastrous thing for the nation. Nor was this all, the arrangements of the poor law were such that it became necessary to maintain high prices in the agricultural districts. The received opinion was that the increase of population, irrespective of the powers of employing it, was a distinct advantage. Premiums were given for early marriages, and assistance granted from the rates in proportion to the numbers in a family. The natural tendency was a fearful increase of population, depending for the most part on the rates, which were therefore inordinately high. It thus became possible for the farmers to pursue the plan they have always regarded as most conducive to their interests, and to drive down the wages to the lowest point; the people were reduced to a condition little above serfdom; and to enable the agricultural districts to support the pressure of the rates high prices had to be maintained. The condition of the country districts was thus kept tolerably even, and the burden of the high prices fell almost exclusively upon the industrious population of the towns. It was natural that a House of Commons returned chiefly by the landowners should favour protective duties, which thus rendered them at once absolute masters of their peasantry and threw the burden of their increased expenditure upon the towns. But such a state of things produced much suffering, and suffering produced riots, which the folly and ignorance of the judges increased. From the Lord Chief Justice downwards, they seemed to have combined to throw the blame upon the corn factors, whom they charged with the obsolete crimes of forestalling and engrossing. Punishment was indeed inflicted for the crime of buying corn and selling it at a higher price in the same market. The people naturally took their cue from these blind leaders, and corn riots were very prevalent. It is of course plain that whatever tends to the husbanding of resources and to the equalization of prices is

really advantageous, and that the corn factors, in carrying out the law of supply and demand, were a most useful set of men.

To meet these difficulties Pitt thought it expedient to have an autumn session. He was himself inclined to think that some extraordinary measures were desirable to alleviate the distress, and in the existing state of the law he was perhaps right. But Grenville, a more rigid follower of the principles of political economy, was much opposed to any tampering with the natural laws of supply and demand.¹ When Parliament met the action of the judges was gravely censured, and several remedial measures were introduced, such as bounties on importation of grain, and the prohibition of the use of corn in distilling and starch making, and (though this proved a useless and pernicious measure) of the use of any but brown bread. Large subscriptions were also made to alleviate the distress.

The Parliament which assembled early the following year (1801) was the first united Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, and but a few days of its existence had elapsed before a great and most unexpected change took place in the position of affairs. There had long been a want of harmony among the members of the Cabinet with regard to the war; but there had now arisen an even more formidable question. The union had been effected by much bribery in money, titles, and places; these promises had all been fulfilled. But there was one section of the Irish whose opposition would have been fatal to the measure, but to which such promises could not be made. The tacit support, or at all events neutrality, of the Irish Roman Catholics had been secured by a vague but very well-understood promise that their claims should be considered under the new arrangement. It is certain that both Castlereagh and Cornwallis understood that this was so, and Pitt felt it an imperative duty to make an effort to fulfil this promise. The matter had been talked over in the Cabinet, as early as the autumn of 1799, and was formally discussed in the presence of Lord Castlereagh at the end of September 1800. The Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, was at that time in attendance upon the King at Weymouth. He was a man of a base and time-serving nature. At this Cabinet he displayed his hostility to any measure for the relief of the Catholics, and used his opportunity to instil into

¹ The error of Grenville's position lay in this, that the law of supply and demand can only work *universally*. It does not follow that it will act beneficially in a single country under protective laws.

Autumn session.
Oct. 1800.

Pitt proposes
a Catholic
Relief Bill.
1801.

the King's mind that to consent to any such measure would be a breach of his coronation oath. In this he was backed up by Lord Auckland, who had always been a friend of Pitt's, but who was inclined to underhand intrigue, and did not think it beneath him to prejudice the King's mind against Pitt's policy. Matters were brought to a crisis when, at a levée in the beginning of 1801, the King mentioned openly to Dundas that he was aware that such a measure was in contemplation, adding his usual formula, that he "should hold any one who supported it as his personal enemy." It became plain to Pitt that he could hesitate no longer, and although the King sent Addington the Speaker, a personal friend of Pitt's, to persuade him not to bring the matter forward, he sent a letter to George declaring his intention and his determination to resign if he was not allowed to fulfil

Pitt resigns.
Addington
Prime Minister.
1801.

his promises to the Irish. The King wrote back urging him to remain in office and to drop the measure, but Pitt was determined, and the King was forced to accept his resignation. In his place he desired Addington, a man of very second-rate ability, to form a ministry, a duty which, on the advice of Pitt, he accepted. The resignation of the great minister, as it was only personal, did not imply the resignation of the whole ministry, but all the great members of it, Grenville, Dundas, Windham, and Spencer, retired with him. It is pleasant to think that Lord Loughborough's duplicity received no reward, he was excluded from the new arrangements, Lord Eldon, at the King's own request, became Lord Chancellor, and Loughborough had to content himself with the earldom of Rosslyn.

The shock of parting with a minister he had so long trusted brought on a renewal of the King's insanity, and measures were taken for a regency under the same restrictions that Pitt had before insisted upon. George was at this time so popular that even the Opposition treated him in his illness with every consideration. His popularity, the natural consequence of his well-ordered domestic life, had been considerably increased by an attempt in the preceding year on his life. When entering Drury Lane Theatre a man had risen in the pit and discharged a pistol at him, two bullets passing a very little above his head. The miscreant who made the attempt was a lunatic of the name of Hadfield. The King, always remarkable for his personal courage, had displayed great calmness under the circumstances, and the loyalty of the nation had been much excited. Fortunately, under Dr. Willis's treatment, his illness was speedily mastered, and in the beginning of

Illness of
the King.

March he was declared convalescent. But his illness, which he himself traced to Pitt's conduct, had such an effect upon that statesman, that he wrote promising never to reintroduce the Catholic question. His friends did not see why, under these circumstances, he should not remain in office, but Addington naturally objected to giving up the place he had just gained, and the Government continued in his hands, supported by a Cabinet of complete mediocrity, upheld for the present by Pitt's influence. It was indeed just such a minister and Cabinet as suited the King's well-known views—safe, conservative, submissive, and without commanding ability. Nor did the great country party object to a change which freed them from the imperious domination of one so vastly their superior as Pitt, and placed over them a man whose talents were not superior to their own, and whom they might hope to guide rather than follow. Though Pitt acted honestly in the first instance, it is only too probable that he regarded Addington as a temporary substitute for himself, and designed to return to power after the present difficulty was over, and when he had made a public demonstration for the purpose of saving his honour. However this may be, his somewhat lukewarm support was before long changed into open enmity. At first, however, he spoke with even exaggerated admiration of the new Cabinet, which in the House was completely successful, while great successes both by sea and land somewhat relieved the nation from its embarrassing position.

Character of
the Addington
ministry.

The French army, deserted by their great commander, was left shut up in Egypt under the command of Kleber, a man of organizing genius, who bid fair to establish the French influence in that country. He was, however, assassinated by a fanatical Mussulman (June 1800), and the command fell into the hands of Menou, a general of but second-rate capacity. Before this change of command, a treaty, known as the Treaty of El Arish, had been completed (Jan. 24), by which the French army was to be allowed a safe return to France. This convention was concluded on board the flagship, and with the full approval of Sir Sidney Smith; but, meanwhile, intercepted despatches had made known to the Cabinet the almost hopeless condition of the French army, and orders were sent to the Mediterranean that no treaties should be sanctioned by the admiral which did not insist on the surrender of the French. The Treaty of El Arish had been concluded without this knowledge and before these orders had reached Sir Sidney Smith. Moreover, affairs in Egypt had much changed, for Kleber, indignantly rejecting all idea of sur-

The French
army in Egypt.

render, had at once proceeded to attack the Turks, had won over them a great victory at Heliopolis (March 20, 1800) and reoccupied Cairo. It became necessary therefore to renew the war, and Sir Ralph Abercromby, who, with Pulteney, had been employed in fruitless expeditions against Ferrol and Cadiz, collecting the troops employed in both expeditions, in number about 20,000, proceeded to Egypt. Troops also under Sir David Baird were ordered to attack the country from India. A landing was forced at Aboukir Bay, under the immediate command of General afterwards Sir John Moore, and on the 21st of

Battle of
Alexandria.
March 21, 1801.

March a battle in the neighbourhood of Alexandria was fought, where the French were thoroughly defeated. The English had to deplore the loss of Sir Ralph Abercromby, but General Hutchinson, who succeeded him, continued to act with vigour. The Grand Vizier, with a large but disorderly Turkish army, attacked Cairo, while the English kept Menou besieged in Alexandria. In June Cairo fell, and General Baird having arrived from India, the combined English army compelled Menou to capitulate in Alexandria on the 27th of August. The terms of surrender were honourable. The French army was allowed to return to France, but all ships, together with all the objects of art which the French had collected, became the property of the conquerors. This success, which showed the unbroken vigour of England, tended to accelerate the peace which was gradually becoming necessary for all parties, and for which negotiations were already set on foot in London with the full approbation of Pitt.

Meanwhile, but a few days after the victory of Alexandria, the cloud which had risen in the Baltic was also dispersed. The renewal of the Armed Neutrality, and the general conduct of Russia, made it evident that that country

Battle of
Copenhagen.
April 2.

was engaged in the French interests. A fleet under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second in command, was despatched to the Baltic. Negotiation was tried with the Danes, but wholly unsuccessfully, and Parker, a dilatory commander, was induced by Nelson's energy to consent to an attack upon Copenhagen. The passage of the Sound was forced without loss, but an examination of the enemy's position showed that they had used the delay which had been given them to great advantage. Shore batteries had been erected and put into fighting trim; floating batteries established, and the harbour covered with a line of vessels of all sorts four miles in length. Within this lay the Danish fleet. Nelson offered to attack with ten sail of the line; he was allowed twelve. The attack was made from the south, Sir Hyde Parker on the outside threatening the batteries

and the vessels at the mouth of the harbour. At ten o'clock on the 2nd of April, Nelson began his attack. Several vessels grounded and were rendered useless, and so hot was the engagement that Sir Hyde Parker thought it better to hoist the signal for discontinuing action. Nelson declined to obey it, and the other captains took their orders from him. Many of the Danish ships had struck, but being constantly reinforced from the shore, continued the fight, it is said, even after they had surrendered. This was probably an accident; but Nelson took advantage of it to write a friendly letter to the Crown Prince. "The Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson," he said, "has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes he has taken without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies of the English." He then agreed to a truce while the wounded were moved from the prizes. Having taken advantage of the lull to withdraw his fleet from the difficult channel in which they were entangled, he went on shore to negotiate a treaty. To enable him to attack the Russians, he insisted on a long armistice, which a threat of immediate bombardment induced the Danes to grant. The English fleet then sailed against the Swedes, who withdrew, and were left unmolested, while the fleet proceeded against the Russians. On his way, however, Nelson received the news that the capricious despotism of Paul had excited his courtiers to a conspiracy, which, though apparently aimed only at the deposition of the Emperor, had in fact ended in his assassination. The accession of the young Emperor Alexander I. completely changed the policy of Russia. The embargo was removed from the British shipping and the merchant seamen liberated. As the Armed Neutrality still existed, Nelson would have proceeded to strong measures; but Sir Hyde Parker was satisfied, and though he was recalled, the complete change in Russian policy rendered further action unnecessary. In June a treaty of peace was signed in St. Petersburg, by which the Armed Neutrality, with its claims, was given up, but the right of search accurately defined. It was also agreed that blockades must henceforward be really efficient in order to be valid. Blockades by proclamation were thus abolished, and could be only sustained when the blockading force was sufficient to enforce them.

Peace between
England and
Russia.

Bonaparte was still threatening an invasion of England, and gunboats and rafts had been collected at Boulogne. These the Government ordered Nelson to attack, but the attempt was on the whole unsuccessful. However, the supremacy of England on the sea was so great that there could not be much fear of the landing of a foreign army, and the French, defeated in Egypt and thwarted in their Northern policy, were ready to come to terms. In October the preliminaries of a treaty were signed. By this England gave up all its conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Dutch, but open to the trade of the contracting parties. "Malta was to be restored to the Knights of St. John,"¹ under the guarantee of one of the great powers; Porto Ferrajo was to be evacuated. On the other side, the Republic of the Ionian Islands was to be acknowledged, and the French were to withdraw from Naples and the Roman States; the integrity of Portugal was to be secured; Egypt was to be restored to the Porte, and the Newfoundland fisheries to be placed on the same footing as before the war."²

Although the preliminary treaty had been signed, it cost some time and much anxious negotiation before its final ratification in the March of the following year. These negotiations were held at Amiens, on the part of England by Lord Cornwallis, on that of France by Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by Talleyrand. At the opening of Parliament, on the 29th of October 1801, the minister had been able to mention in the King's speech with satisfaction both the preliminary treaty with France and the arrangements with the Northern powers which put an end to the threatened Armed Neutrality. By the bulk of the people the return of peace had been hailed with extreme delight. General Lauriston, who had brought the authority for signing the preliminaries, had been received with a public ovation, the populace had dragged his carriage through the streets, and London and other towns had been illuminated. In completing these preliminaries Addington and his friends had acted with the entire approbation of Pitt, who, at heart cordially disliking war, had brought himself to believe that Bonaparte, having now obtained the supreme power in France, would probably be satisfied; at the same time, as he himself pointed out, Jacobinism had been already checked in England, and the lesson taught to the world that the fruit of Jacobin principles was

¹ Malta had been ceded by Charles V. to the Knights of St. John in 1530, after they had been deprived of Rhodes by the advancing Turks. Bonaparte had taken possession of the island in 1798, while on his road to Egypt.

² Massey, vol. iv. 636.

Preliminaries
of peace.
Oct. 1, 1801.

Opinions in
England con-
cerning the
peace.

terrorism and anarchy, and its end a military despotism. Seeing the isolated position which England now occupied, and believing the causes for further war removed, Pitt accepted the terms of the peace, although the concessions on the part of England, especially the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope, were no doubt great. With the support then of Pitt and of the general feeling of the country, the ministry found in Parliament large majorities in favour of their peace. But Pitt's views were by no means shared by a considerable number of his late colleagues. Grenville, Windham, and Spencer clung tenaciously to their old view that Bonaparte's career was but beginning, that his policy would continue to be one of aggression, that his present offers of peace were delusive, and that for the honour of England and the safety of Europe the war should be continued.

Before the preliminaries were ratified abundant proofs were given that they were right and that Pitt was wrong. Taking advantage of the exhausted condition of the Continent, of the eager desire of Addington to secure peace, and of the position of England, which was not only without allies, but unable while negotiations were still pending to make objections upon the score of treaty rights, Bonaparte hastened to complete his ambitious projects—by the appropriation of those smaller States which had already fallen into a state of dependence upon France (the Republics of Holland, Switzerland, and the North of Italy, now called the Cisalpine Republic), and by the re-establishment of the French colonial power by means of a great expedition to reconquer St. Domingo. His method of proceeding with regard to the Republics was craftily arranged so as to give to the assumption of French supremacy the appearance of voluntary action on the part of the people themselves. For Holland a constitution was drawn up in France of a strongly republican character, which, when rejected by the National Assemblies of Holland, was put to the vote of the whole body of the people, and being accepted by a very small minority, while the rest abstained from voting, was declared established by the national will (Oct. 17, 1801). In Switzerland, not yet ripe for annexation, instructions were given to the French minister to thwart all efforts at the formation of a stable constitution, and to keep things so unsettled that an appeal to France was certain sooner or later to be made, while French troops garrisoned the Republic ostensibly for the purpose of keeping order. Less delicacy was used with regard to Italy. The chief rulers of the Cisalpine Republic were summoned

Napoleon ap-
propriates
Holland,
Switzerland,
and Italy.

to Lyons, a constitution of Bonaparte's creation given them, and they were ordered to elect as their President Bonaparte himself (Jan. 1802). The expedition to St. Domingo was made still further to advance Napoleon's projects; for thither was sent, to be destroyed by the climate, almost the whole of the army of the Rhine, the only part of the military establishment of France not wholly devoted to him.

Meanwhile the projects for the ultimate annexation of Piedmont and Genoa were carried on, and distinct orders sent to the negotiators at Amiens to withdraw entirely from discussion the affairs of Holland, Switzerland, and the Italian Republics, in other words, to treat with England as if the affairs of Europe were entirely beyond her cognizance. The withdrawal of these points of discussion left little to be settled except minute points with regard to fisheries and prisoners, for Bonaparte also entirely refused to entertain the idea of a commercial treaty with England. The only point of interest left was Malta. According to the preliminaries this island was to be evacuated and to be restored to the Knights under the guarantee of Russia. But a new sovereign was now upon the Russian throne less likely to be under the immediate influence of France. Bonaparte therefore wished to change the terms, to destroy the fortifications of the island, thus rendering it useless in a military point of view, and to place it under the guardianship of the King of Naples; in other words, to render it at once worthless to the English and an easy prey to the French whenever they should desire to reoccupy it. In their eagerness for peace the English ministry consented to be blind to Bonaparte's aggressions, though firm upon the point of Malta, and though they refused to acknowledge the existence of the newly-organized republics. No doubt, what the English meant was that, for the sake of peace, they would bear what Bonaparte had already done, but that any further step would produce war. Bonaparte, on the other hand, argued that the refusal to acknowledge these republics was in fact a resignation on the part of England of the right of interference with them; henceforward that country could not complain although they were incorporated with France. There were thus a number of outstanding questions left unsettled at the peace, which was finally completed on the 27th of March 1802.

But it had begun to be plain to all thinking men that it could be but a short truce; and indeed Napoleon was already writing that

Negotiations
at Amiens.

Peace con-
cluded.
March 27, 1802.

"a renewal of war was necessary for his existence, as the memory of old victories was likely speedily to pass away." In fact, he totally mistook the temper of England. Addington's ministry, no doubt, was pledged to peace, and was anxious at all hazards to make it durable. The people of England were indeed weary of the war and eagerly desirous for peace; but they had lost none of their independence and pride, and anything which should prove either that their honour was attacked, their commercial activity trammelled, or their independence of action limited, would easily produce a reaction, and bring them back to their warlike temper. Bonaparte, while intending to renew the war sooner or later, meant to keep the occasion in his own hands, but, trusting to the weakness of Addington, he pursued a line of conduct exactly fitted to prove to England the absolute necessity for an immediate renewal of hostilities, and which touched the sensitive nation in its most tender points. He never ceased from his course of aggression, thus treating the remonstrances of England as if they were completely worthless and beside the point.

In August he annexed the island of Elba, in September the whole of Piedmont, in October Parma and Placentia; and at length, taking advantage of the carefully fostered disorders in Switzerland, he suddenly occupied that most important military point with an army of 30,000 men under Marshal Ney, and took to himself the title of Mediator of the Swiss Republic. It has been mentioned that he refused a commercial treaty with England at the Peace of Amiens; this under the plea of a desire for the protection of native commerce he undoubtedly had a right to do; but he now obliged all the countries dependent on him to adopt a similar course, to exclude English productions, and thus closed half Europe to English trade.

Not content with this conduct abroad, he took upon himself to interfere with the internal affairs of England. His course of policy was such as to be wholly incompatible with a free press; his underhand machinations were certain to be exposed where such a press existed. On the Continent he had succeeded in enforcing silence; in England alone an unfettered press was able to direct its assaults both on his policy and his character. No doubt some of the attacks were sharp enough; especially had an emigrant, one Jean Peltier, established a French paper in London called *L'Ambigu*, which was full of strong invective against the First Consul. Again, the emigrants had not ceased from

Napoleon mis-
takes the
temper of
England.

Continues his
aggressions.

Demands the
repression of
the English
press.

forming conspiracies against the French Government, conspiracies which Bonaparte delighted to exaggerate, to mingle with doubtful charges of assassination, and to connect (wholly without grounds) with the English ministry.

Those emigrants were enjoying the hospitality of England: Otto, the French agent in London, was therefore instructed to bring the matter to the notice of Lord Hawkesbury, and to demand the suppression of the obnoxious papers, and the dismissal of the emigrants from England. Hawkesbury's answers were at first of a peaceful and conciliatory character. He replied that he would consult the law officers on the matter of the press, and would go so far in the matter of the emigrants as to withdraw them from the isle of Guernsey. This answer was followed by still more peremptory demands, requiring effective measures of repression with regard to the press, the withdrawal of the emigrants from Jersey, the removal from England of the Bourbon princes, and the expulsion of all emigrants wearing the orders or distinctions of the old régime. What rendered these demands more grotesque was the fact that the *Moniteur*, the official paper of France, was constantly full of assertions of the complicity of the Government with the attempts of assassins in France, and of libels on the English Constitution; there was even an English paper, the *Argus*, published in Paris, a counterpart of the *Ambigu* of Peltier. To demands thus formulated no English Government could afford to give a temporizing answer, and Hawkesbury replied that the freedom of the English press was limited by English law alone, and that the exercise of hospitality could not be curtailed. At the same time, as Peltier appeared to have exceeded all legal license in his writing, an action was commenced against him, and in spite of a brilliant defence by Macintosh he was found guilty.¹

Such conduct on the part of Bonaparte was rapidly changing the feeling of England and rendering war inevitable. It became evident that, no longer to uphold an aristocratic government, but for our very existence as an independent country, we must plunge into war.

As this feeling gained ground, so did the desire that when that war should come it should find England in the hands of its ablest statesmen, and not in those of an incapable man like Addington. Even from the first, as soon as it was understood that Pitt, in deference to the King's weak state of health, had consented to forego the support of the Roman Catholics, his immediate friends had desired his return to office, and had regarded as false his position as the supporter out of office of

¹ Owing to change of relations with France the punishment was not carried out.

Addington's weak ministry. Already, in November 1802, Canning, the most eager of his supporters, in conjunction with Lord Malmesbury, had set on foot an address to Addington begging him to resign. This plan had been peremptorily closed by Pitt himself. Indeed, the obstacles in the way of his resumption of office were very awkward. In some sort the creator of the present ministry, and known to have had a share in most of their earlier measures, Pitt could not come forward in opposition till some flagrant instance of incapacity or some great national crisis should justify such a step. The only other hope was that modesty (which was not one of his characteristics) might induce Addington to acknowledge his incompetence, and himself advise the restoration of Pitt to the ministry. Fully aware of these obstacles, and feeling his position an anomalous one, Pitt withdrew for a time from Parliament.

During his absence the difficulties with France continued to increase, and the signs of Bonaparte's intention of making war sooner or later became more obvious. At length, in January 1803, was published a report of Colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent by Napoleon, nominally for commercial purposes, to examine the resources of Egypt and the East; in fact, so far from being commercial in its character, the report was devoted almost entirely to show with what ease Egypt could be again conquered by the French. It was impossible that such an official document could be issued by a power which was really friendly. At the same time Bonaparte had sent both to England and to Ireland agents who, under the same commercial pretext, were really minutely examining the resources of England and instigating Irish rebellion. Nor was the question of Malta as yet at rest. The project of obtaining a guarantee from the European powers had failed, and in face of the constant aggressions of Bonaparte, it was impossible for England to evacuate the island with the certainty that it would be immediately occupied by the French. But Bonaparte was still anxious to keep the occasion of war in his own hands, and still hoped to impose upon the feeble ministry of England. He summoned Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, to an interview, in which he declared that he did not desire war, but that he would rather see England in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta, that he was ready to attempt a descent upon England if necessary, but how much better would it be for

Negotiations for Pitt's return. Nov. 1802.

Napoleon examines the resources of Egypt, England, and Ireland. 1803.

His interview with Lord Whitworth. Feb. 18, 1803.

England to join with him and share his spoils and his greatness. Two things only were necessary for this,—the suppression of the press, and the removal of Georges, a Chouan leader and emigrant, from English protection. As for the counter-charges of the appropriation of Piedmont and of Switzerland, they were but trifles not worth mentioning. Almost immediately after this the *Moniteur* declared, in its annual account of the condition of the nation, that as long as party government existed in England an army of 500,000 must be kept on foot for defence and vengeance.

This was too much even for Addington, and on the 8th of March a message was brought down from the King to the Commons, declaring it necessary that measures of precaution should be adopted, alleging for this the great military preparations which were going on both in Holland and in France, which were in fact intended for St. Domingo, but which in the feverish state of international feeling were a just cause of uneasiness. In accordance with this message the militia were on the 11th ordered to be embodied. In spite of all that Bonaparte had done he pretended to be indignant at this step; and at a public reception at the Tuileries accosted Lord Whitworth with passionate words, accusing England of driving him into war. Then at length Addington began to yield to public feeling, and through Lord Melville opened negotiations for the return of Pitt to office. But a frank resignation and an open acknowledgment that Pitt was the better man of the two was beyond him. He stipulated that Grenville and Windham, who had throughout opposed him, should be excluded from the new arrangements. He wished Lord Chatham to assume the position of nominal Prime Minister, while he and Pitt should be equal Secretaries. Pitt was not a man to accept a position of even nominal subordination; he did not even hear Lord Melville's proposition to the end. "Upon my word," said he, "I had not the curiosity to ask what I was to be." And thus England plunged afresh into war, while all her best statesmen were still excluded from office. For the crisis came rapidly nearer. The feeling of the nation was aroused, and Addington could no longer withstand it. An ultimatum with regard to Malta was drawn up, demanding its retention for ten years, its surrender after that period to the inhabitants, and the cession to England in its stead of the island of Lampedusa. Bonaparte was somewhat taken aback by this exhibition of vigour, but as his answer to the ultimatum was not satisfactory, Lord Whitworth demanded his passports, and

The militia embodied.
March 11, 1803.

Failure of renewed negotiations for Pitt's return.

withdrew from Paris on the 12th of May. The French ambassador left London on the 16th, and on the 18th a declaration of war was published.

War declared.
May 18, 1803.

This war was of a distinctly different character from that which preceded it. The one had been undertaken in the interest of aristocracy and of property, in a panic of fear of the growth of the liberty of the people; now the whole nation was driven to defend itself, and, while defending itself, Europe also, from the aggressions of a gigantic and all-absorbing ambition. The outbreak of this war marks a change in the career of Napoleon. He had hitherto acted, nominally at all events, as an agent for the propagation of national liberty. He had pretended throughout to be spreading the principles of the French Revolution; he had met with much sympathy from downtrodden nations; he had found it easy to overwhelm effete and unpopular dynasties. He was now entering upon a war against the people themselves, and, though success at first attended his arms, when it became evident that it was not assistance against tyrants but subjugation to a foreign power that he brought, the efforts to oppose him became national, and before the uprising of nations he ultimately succumbed. Bonaparte's first step after war was declared corresponded exactly with this change. Crowds of Englishmen had thronged to see with their own eyes the condition of revolutionized France. All the English in France between the age of eighteen and sixty, numbering it is believed about 12,000, were suddenly by a single decree taken prisoners, and kept confined till the close of the war, thus spreading sorrow and discomfort broadcast through England. The pretext was the capture of two ships before war was declared; they were not however captured till after the ambassadors had withdrawn, nor, as has subsequently been made evident, till Bonaparte had himself ordered an embargo to be laid on the English shipping.

Character of the war.

Napoleon arrests all the English in France.

Bonaparte's interference in the affairs of Ireland had also its share in rendering the war truly national. It had been hoped that the great work of the Union, following the suppression of the Rebellion of 1798, would have introduced peace and prosperity into the island. Nor at first did the hopes appear ill founded. Both Lord Hardwicke, the Lord-Lieutenant, and Lord Redesdale the Chancellor, appear to have believed in the rapid improvement both of the physical and political condition of the country. The Catholics, although disappointed of their

He excites discontent in Ireland.

hopes, seem to have understood the state of affairs which obliged Pitt to refrain from the further prosecution of their claims, and to have postponed all idea of present agitation.

But the miserable cultivation and the prevalence of waste lands in Ireland allowed of the existence of an extremely ignorant and prejudiced peasantry, and among them it was not difficult to excite again their old animosity to England. Bonaparte took advantage of this opening, and while the Peace of Amiens lasted many French agents seem to have been poured into Ireland, both for the purpose of inquiring minutely into the resources of the English Government there and of establishing a connection with the discontented peasantry. Many intercepted letters proved to Government the existence of these agents; their presence in Ireland was excused, like Sebastiani's mission to Egypt, by the assertion that they were merely commercial agents, following a system which had obtained in France ever since the time of Colbert. Their success was limited by the distaste of the Catholics for the French Revolution. In spite of Bonaparte's intercourse with Rome and the establishment of the Concordat with Pius VII., by which he established Roman Catholic Christianity as the religion of France, the Catholics could not forget the destructive doctrines which had attended all the former steps of the Revolution. It was therefore among the republicans only (not an influential body) and the ignorant mob that the agitation took any hold. A leader was found in Robert Emmett, the son of a Dublin

Emmett's
Rebellion.
1803.

physician, who with his brother had been more or less implicated in the affairs of 1798. He visited Paris early in the Peace, had personal interviews with the First Consul, and returned home ready to instigate the rebellion. The other leaders were Russell, a religious enthusiast, and Quigley, a professional agitator. About Christmas 1802 the conspirators began their operations. Arms and powder were collected at depôts in Dublin, and members of the conspiracy were enrolled. Some of these informed the police of what was going on. The explosion of the powder in one of the depôts, and the discovery of pikes there, still further warned the Government, and Emmett considered it necessary to hasten the outbreak. Saturday the 23rd of July was the day fixed for the rising. It proved to be little more than a city riot. As no soldiery had been brought into Dublin, it was for some time in the hands of the mob, who plundered and got drunk. The only important incident of the riot was the murder of Lord Kilwarden, the Chief Justice, who, returning from his country-seat

with his daughter and nephew, was met in the streets by a part of the mob and brutally murdered. The arrival at the castle of his daughter, who had contrived to make her escape from the murderers, at length set the military in motion, and the mob was dispersed without much difficulty. The depôt was discovered, with the supply of arms, green uniforms, and the proclamation of the provisional government which was to have been established. Emmett sought safety by pretending to be a French officer; but the French were not liked; his flight was not favoured by the people; he was captured and hanged. The importance of the outbreak lies chiefly in the disclosure of the deepseated hostility of the Irish, and the necessity laid upon the English of establishing a series of coercive laws, which remained in force for many years, and went far to neutralize the healing effect which it was hoped the Union would have exercised.

The declaration of war called Pitt from his retirement, for the war, in the form it had now assumed, seemed to demand the co-operation of all patriotic men. Pitt therefore again appeared in the House; he thought it his duty to see, now that war had come, that no laxity was displayed in its support, and returned to his place, intending, as he himself said, not to join in any opposition to the ministry so long as their measures seemed energetic, but to forget all that was past (and many things had been done of which he could not fully approve) and devote himself to insuring vigour and activity for the future. Few positions could now be more embarrassing than that of Addington. His peaceful plans had come to nothing; and conscious, as he could not but have been, of his own inferiority, and of the general desire under present circumstances for Pitt's return to office, he had now to withstand the powerful attacks of an unusually able Opposition, and the damaging criticism of a so-called friend whom all the world regarded as his rival. And it must be owned that Pitt's views were far more in accordance with the views of the Opposition than with those of the minister. Grenville, Windham, and Spencer, the consistent supporters of the preceding war, had entered into a close alliance with Fox, its consistent opponent. Their common view, which was shared by Pitt, was that the condition of the country was so critical that nothing but the ablest possible ministry could be tolerated—that the present ministry, consisting as it for the most part did of the least able members of Pitt's old Government, was wholly incompetent to meet the present dangers, and that the one thing necessary was a great combined arrangement by which the administration of affairs should be intrusted to men of

Difficulty of
Addington's
position.

all parties of the widest experience and the greatest talents. They were naturally anxious that Pitt, whose views they knew to be almost identical with their own, should openly join them, but, as has been seen, although he shared their views, he felt himself still bound to give some sort of support to a ministry which he had himself created, and which nominally upheld the same principles which he had always advocated. In this trying position Addington's Government showed

His vigorous measures inefficiently carried out. very creditable activity. Their budgets, with which Pitt had at first been discontented, were now conceived in accordance with his own principles. A considerable portion of the increased burden was borne by taxation, especially by the reimposition of a property tax, and loans were contracted only as far as needful. Militia to the number of about 70,000 were embodied; an army of reserve 50,000 strong, raised by ballot to serve for four years, voted; and by a Bill, known as the Military Service Bill, the enrolment as volunteers of all men between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five provided for. The number of these volunteers speedily rose to beyond 300,000. As the standing army was kept at about 120,000, there must have been of one sort or other upwards of 500,000 armed men for the purposes of defence. The temper of the nation was thoroughly roused. Pitt himself, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, raised and commanded 3000 volunteers, and caused considerable offers of gunboats to be sent in to the Government from the maritime towns.

But great though these preparations were, they were carried out with a dilatoriness and want of energy in which Pitt and the Opposition found much cause of complaint. Windham was an enthusiast for the regular army and disliked the volunteers. Pitt pointed out, that although volunteers were exempted from serving in the militia, they could only claim their exemption when properly enrolled and armed, and the issue of arms was so slow as to throw a great damp upon volunteering, which this exemption was intended to encourage. There was also a great blot in the administration which afforded plentiful room for attack. Lord St. Vincent, great

Increasing opposition. as an admiral, had proved himself incompetent as the head of the Admiralty. In the desire of the ministry for economy many of the gunboats and other ships had been rapidly broken up, and the stores in the dockyards sold, much of them to the French themselves. Attacks directed on these points began to tell. Other circumstances combined to drive Pitt to declare himself. He was perfectly conscious of his own great

ness, and of the universal feeling that his present position was unworthy of him, and he believed that he was the right man to be intrusted with the Government in the present crisis. It was with much alarm that he heard that the King's health was again failing. There seemed every prospect that a regency would be necessary. If that regency were established, it was understood that Lord Moira, the Prince of Wales' chief adviser, would be called upon to form a Government. Pitt declared that under those circumstances he should be compelled to decline office; fearful of being thus permanently removed from the ministry, he thought the time for action had arrived; if he was to be minister at all he must take steps to become so; he therefore declared his total want of confidence in the present ministry, and stated his intention, should the state of the King's health permit, of writing to him, stating his views, and putting himself at his Majesty's service; he desired, if possible, a broad Government, but that if the King objected to that he should state his willingness to attempt to form one even upon a narrow basis. He further declared his belief that after the recess the combined Opposition would be sufficiently strong to compel the ministers to resign. Addington also was so conscious of this, that when, on the reopening of Parliament on the 5th of April, the Opposition assault began, he authorized Lord Eldon to enter into communication with Pitt. Through the Chancellor the letter before alluded to was laid before the King. Meanwhile the ministerial majorities were diminishing. The Irish Militia Bill was carried by a majority of twenty-one only, at that time regarded as very small. On the 23rd Fox moved to refer all Army Bills to a committee of the whole House. His motion was rejected by only fifty-two; while, two days afterwards, on his attack on the Army of Reserve Bill, the ministerial majority again sunk to thirty-seven in a House of 443 members. Upon this Addington resigned.

Pitt offers to undertake the Government.

Addington resigns. April 26, 1804.

On the 30th Mr. Pitt was informed of the King's desire that he should draw up a plan for a new administration; he accordingly stated, first in writing, and subsequently (May 7) in a long interview, what he considered best for the country. On three grounds he strongly urged a large and comprehensive ministry. The war was a national one, and promised to be both long and expensive; to induce the nation to make the required sacrifice unanimity was most desirable. To

Pitt desires a broad ministry.

wage war singlehanded was beyond the power of England; but while party divisions were rife in Parliament the confidence of foreign nations could not be gained. And lastly, if the King wished to keep the question of the Catholic emancipation from discussion, it was desirable that there should be no formidable Opposition certain to make use of the Catholic claims as a means of offence against Government. On these grounds the new minister urged the admission of both Grenville and Fox to the ministry; but he here found the King obstinate, Grenville he would admit, Fox never. The course that statesman had followed with regard to the American War, his strong language in favour of the Revolution, his strenuous opposition to the last French war, had rendered him politically hateful to the King. His friendship for the Prince of Wales, and the share which the King believed he had taken in the

direction of the Prince's conduct, had excited his strong personal dislike. To these prejudices Pitt, in an evil hour for himself, yielded. He had indeed, as he had already stated, intended to do so. He consented to exclude Fox from his arrangements. But he still hoped to win the support of his old colleague Grenville, and since Fox, with great magnanimity, told his partisans that he had no wish that the King's personal prejudice against himself should influence their conduct, he was not without hopes of strengthening his Government by the addition of some of the Whigs. These hopes were disappointed. The two sections of the Opposition held separate but simultaneous meetings. In one Grenville declared he would not take office without Fox, and his followers accepted his decision; in the other the friends of Fox

Pitt yields to the King's opposition.
He forms a Tory ministry.

determined to decline office if their chief was excluded. No resource was therefore left to Pitt but to form his government as best he could upon a narrow Tory basis. The political sections from which he was enabled to draw were his own immediate followers, and such of the late minister's as did not feel themselves pledged to follow Addington in his retirement. The result was not wholly satisfactory. Lord Eldon, the Duke of Portland, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Hawkesbury, continued to hold office, Lord Hawkesbury surrendering the important post of Foreign Secretary to Lord Harrowby, and receiving in exchange the Home Office. Dundas, who had been created a Peer as Lord Melville, became First Lord of the Admiralty, while Lord Camden, Lord Mulgrave, and the Duke of Montrose, also became members of the Cabinet, which consisted of twelve, all of

whom, with the exception of Pitt and Castlereagh, were in the Upper House. Several other men of importance were admitted to subordinate offices; Canning became Treasurer of the Navy, Huskisson one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, and Mr Perceval, the future Prime Minister, remained in the position of Attorney-General.¹

The change of ministry implied a complete change of policy. As Addington's ministry had been from the first intended as a peace ministry, so the accession of Pitt to office *Difficulties of Pitt's position.* implied a vigorous prosecution of the war. But it was with very maimed influence that it entered upon its work; all hope of acting in foreign affairs with the full weight of a great combined national party behind him had disappeared from Pitt's view. The same opposition which had opposed Addington was ready to oppose him; while Addington himself, unable to act in any great or magnanimous manner, had also joined its ranks, and was in open opposition to his old friend. It was with a majority scarcely larger than that of the ministry he had succeeded, supported by the same mediocre men, and aided in the Commons by one minister alone, that Pitt found himself obliged to encounter the bitter enmity of Bonaparte.

The necessity for energy Pitt probably felt more strongly than any of his contemporaries. Strange incredulity was expressed both by Fox and Grenville as to the reality of the invasion with *Real danger which Bonaparte was threatening England.* Yet it is *from France.* certain that the intention of invasion was perfectly real. Bonaparte had determined to carry out the threat he had let drop to Lord Whitworth. In the first place it suited his policy to keep his army together and thoroughly employed. The temper of the Parisians was lukewarm; he felt that some pressure was necessary to induce them to give him the support his ambition required, and such coercion could in no way be more certainly procured than by exciting the personal devotion and enthusiasm of his soldiers by unfolding before them constant visions of glory. At the same time his exasperation against the English led him to underrate the difficulties which lay in his way, and to believe in the real practicability of his scheme. The minute and careful preparations in which he engaged are incompatible with the idea that the invasion was a

¹ Lord Stanhope gives in his *Life of Pitt* the following list of the broad administration as planned by Mr. Pitt:—Treasury, Mr. Pitt; Secretaries of State, Lord Melville, Mr. Fox, Lord Fitzwilliam. The other offices were to have been given to Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, the Duke of Portland, Lord Eldon, Lord Chatham, Mr. Windham, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Hampden, Lord Harrowby, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Canning.

mere feint. In all the ports of the Channel boats were being built; even inland towns with any water communication with the sea were busily employed in the same labour. A great basin was constructed at Boulogne, of a peculiar shape, intended to allow of an extremely rapid embarkation of the army, which was encamped upon the neighbouring heights, and fortifications were raised to render the flotilla secure from the sea. Yet in all probability, had the plan been tried, it would have proved a failure. The boats used to transport the troops were to be of several classes and sizes, and the mere action of the tides, which are of great strength and complexity in the Channel, would have been exerted quite differently on these different sized vessels, and would almost of necessity have separated the flotilla; yet the whole success of the movement depended on the simultaneous landing of the army at one point. Moreover, for the passage of heavily-laden and flat-bottomed boats an absolute calm of two days would have been necessary, and a calm of two days is a phenomenon of rare occurrence in the Channel; while, thirdly, success presupposed the complete absence or idleness of the British fleet.

However, whether practicable or impracticable, Napoleon intended to make the effort, and Pitt, in common with the English nation, believed in his intention. The excitement was universal. The country was entirely occupied in drilling and warlike preparations; martello towers were built along the southern coast, beacons rose on every hilltop, a great canal or ditch was dug along the coast of Kent, and Pitt excited the ridicule of Grenville by the energy with which he superintended the numerous reviews which he set on foot through his brother Lord Chatham. Such defences have been derided as ridiculously inefficient, and certainly neither the Kentish ditch nor a few round towers mounting one gun each, nor a half-disciplined militia, could have checked the French army had a landing been effected. The real value of such preparations was the life and energy and courage which they roused in the people. The more real work of the minister was the restoration of the national forces to their full efficiency, and the effort to induce the other countries of Europe to combine in withstanding the dangerous ambition of the French usurper.

With regard to the army the great ministerial measure was the Additional Force Bill. There existed at this time two systems of enlistment, the one for a limited term, the other for the general service; the recruiting officers in these two

*Preparations
for defence.*

*The Additional
Force Bill*

branches had entered into a sort of competition, the effect of which was that very large and quite unnecessary bounties were offered to induce men to enlist on one or other of the two systems. A second difficulty was one which constantly attends a volunteer army, the difficulty of procuring a constant and regular supply of recruits. The intention of the Additional Force Bill was to obviate these two difficulties. Pitt thought that this might be done by raising an additional force of 50,000 men, whence a supply of trained soldiers could be constantly passed into the regular army. There already existed an army of reserve, collected under the Reserve Bill passed by the late ministry, but its full complement of 50,000 had not been reached; there was a deficiency of 9000 men. At the same time the militia had risen much beyond its usual numbers. It was at present 74,000 strong, instead of 40,000 for England and 8000 for Scotland, which was regarded as its normal strength. The present Bill reduced the militia to its old dimensions. The remainder, with the 9000 as yet unraised men of the army of reserve, was to form the additional force from which 12,000 annually were to pass into the army. Parishes were to be assessed at a certain number of men, and if they failed to supply them a moderate fine was to be laid upon them, to go to the general recruiting fund. It was an attempt, in fact, to introduce in some degree the principle of compulsory service, already slightly recognized in the militia. The newly-organized body had this also in common with the militia, that it was connected with the regular army by forming second battalions not bound to serve abroad, but to be used to supply the place of the regular army when it was required for foreign service. It was supposed that there would be no difficulty, when military habits were once formed, in finding the annual 12,000 to feed the regular troops. The whole strength of the Opposition was brought to bear against the Bill, which certainly, in its compulsory clauses, introduced a new principle into the English military system, and it was only with the comparatively weak majority of forty that it was carried through the House. As far as the naval forces were concerned energy and activity were all that was required, and these were supplied by Lord Melville. In the first year of his administration he could boast that he had added to the fleet no less than 166 vessels, either completed or in a state of forwardness, while during the same period 600 ships had been docked and repaired.

With regard to foreign affairs Pitt's position did not at first seem

*Increase of
the navy.*

hopeful. He wished to follow out the policy of the last war, and to form a third coalition. But Bonaparte was engaged in almost the same process in opposition to England, and the chances at first seemed all in favour of the success of the French in this vast competition. By the Treaty of Lunéville those German princes who had been dispossessed by the advance of the French to the Rhine, and by the withdrawal of Tuscany from the House of Austria, were to be indemnified at the expense of the ecclesiastical principalities of the Empire. This arrangement might have been carried out without much difficulty by the Germans themselves, but the avarice of the great powers Prussia and Austria, and the difficulty which the smaller princes found in obtaining their restitutions, rendered mediation necessary, and an article of the Treaty had thrown the arbitration into the hands of Bonaparte. He had used this opportunity to flatter Russia by suggesting that the Emperor should be joined with himself in the duty of arbitration, to please Prussia by unduly favouring its claims, and to foment all the rivalries of the Germanic body. He had further, on the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, suggested that some of the points at issue should be decided by the arbitration of Russia, hoping thereby to silence for ever any complaints Alexander might have to urge against him, so that neither that power nor Prussia was disposed to be unfriendly to him, while Austria was exhausted under the late heavy blow which had been dealt her, and much occupied by the rivalry of the other German powers. But in spite of this appearance of friendship of both Russia and Prussia for France there were secret causes of hostility between them. Alexander had seen through the somewhat barefaced attempt to purchase his favour by the offer of the position of arbitrator, and while consenting to act as mediator, had continued to urge the injustice of the conduct of the French with regard both to Piedmont and to Germany. To such an extent had the angry correspondence been carried, that a scene had taken place (July 29, 1803) between Bonaparte and the Russian ambassador very similar to that with Lord Whitworth. With Prussia also the ambition of the first Consul had prevented him from completing his work of conciliation. He had displeased that Court by a persistent refusal to withdraw his troops from Hanover. On the whole, the feeling of Lord Harrowby, when he entered upon the plan of forming a coalition, was that his best hope lay in the direction of Russia; but that all Europe would remain quiet till the great invasion of England should either have destroyed that power or

Napoleon
attempts to
form a
coalition.

by its repulse offer a favourable opportunity for assaulting France.

Napoleon's own conduct went far to remove all expected difficulties. No one could have played more completely into the hands of his enemies. A conspiracy was set on foot against his Government by the royalists; it was principally in the hands of Georges, the Breton leader, and of General Pichegru. At the right moment the Count of Artois was to appear upon the scene, and the Bourbons to be re-established. The police and Bonaparte obtained early information of it. Bonaparte made use of his knowledge to foster the conspiracy, and to implicate General Moreau, whom he had always regarded as his rival since the battle of Hohenlinden, and who appears to have been guilty only of having consented to be reconciled to his old friend Pichegru, from whom political differences had separated him. Although there is not the slightest proof of the truth of the fact, it was asserted that the plan included the assassination of the First Consul; and, determined to make the most of his knowledge of the conspiracy, Bonaparte sent agents, who entrapped two of our ministers abroad, Messrs. Drake and Spencer Smith, into consenting to the conspiracy. Of the real plot they knew nothing, but were led to believe in the existence of some royalist scheme and to lend it their aid. Bonaparte then charged them publicly with having joined in a plan of assassination, demanded, and ultimately (April 1804) succeeded in procuring, their expulsion from Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and sent to all the Courts of Europe a coarse and virulent attack upon the English Government. The reply of Lord Hawkesbury (April 30)—for this took place during the Addington ministry—to the effect that England had the right, and would use the right, of taking advantage of the political situation of countries with which she was at war, justified the conduct of England in the eyes of all foreign powers, and excited a strong feeling against the conduct of the Consul. The conspiracy was followed by a still more startling act of violence. Unable to secure the person of the Count of Artois, who received timely warning of the plot, and burning to strike some blow against the Bourbons, Bonaparte, regardless of the neutrality of the country, sent a body of troops into Baden, there captured an innocent and unoffending Bourbon prince, the Duc d'Enghien, son of the Prince of Condé, brought him into France, had him summarily tried by a military tribunal, and immediately shot. The effect of this great crime upon the crowned heads

Napoleon's
conduct with
regard to
Georges'
conspiracy.

Murder of
the Duc
d'Enghien.
March 21, 1804.

of Europe was instantaneous, and was not decreased when Bonaparte threw off all mask of moderation, and gave an outward form to the despotism he had long practised by declaring himself Emperor. But there were still many difficulties to be overcome before the Courts of Europe could be brought to see the absolute necessity of forming a coalition. It required a whole year of negotiation, and of further proofs of Napoleon's character, before Pitt's object was attained.

Napoleon
Emperor.
May 18, 1804.

The loss of his able Foreign Minister added fresh difficulties to his negotiations. In December 1804 Lord Harrowby was disabled by an accidental fall, and had to resign the Foreign Office. His place was supplied by Lord Mulgrave; but Pitt was made conscious of the weakness of his ministry by the severe blow that the loss of one member of it was to him. Addington, since his retirement from office, had been in open opposition to the minister; but as their views were generally similar, and the division between them had been entirely owing to the soreness arising from the manner in which Addington had lost the premiership, there seemed no reason for a further separation. Addington therefore rejoined the ministry, taking the title of Lord Sidmouth and the office of President of the Council, which the Duke of Portland was compelled by ill health to resign. Pitt's majority was thus increased, although the strength gained by the adhesion of Addington himself to his ministry was not much.

Lord Harrowby's
retirement.
Dec. 1804.

Addington
rejoins the
ministry.

While the negotiations for a coalition were continuing, England carried on the war singlehanded, and before long such power as Spain possessed was added to that of France. To support his vast expenditure Napoleon demanded subsidies from foreign countries under his influence, and a treaty had been made with Spain, now ruled entirely by Godoy, Prince of the Peace, by which a considerable sum was annually paid to the French exchequer. Although this was virtually an act of hostility to England, the English ministry, aware of the weakness of Spain, had passed it over in silence; but at the same time our minister, in February 1804, declared that the preparation of any naval armaments in Spanish ports would be regarded as a cause of war. In September the English admiral on the coast of Spain notified the existence of such an armament in Ferrol; a strong note was written to the Spanish minister, and ultimately the English ambassador retired from Madrid in November, and in December war was declared. But

Spain joins
France.

already in October, before the declaration of war, the English had seized four treasure-ships, well knowing that the money would sooner or later find its way into the hands of Napoleon. The justice of the action was questioned; but, considering the declaration of the preceding February, and the known fact that Spain paid subsidies to France, the seizure seems to have been thoroughly justified.

While our enemy was thus strengthened by the open adhesion of a country which could at least assist him with ships and convenient harbours, our efforts to weaken his preparations for invasion, which were continually being pushed on, were unavailing; descents were made upon the coast and a few outlying boats captured; but the great attempt which was made in October to destroy the flotilla produced no result. The expedition is known as the Catamaran expedition. It was proposed by means of vessels filled with combustibles to burn the flotilla in Boulogne harbour, but when the fire-ships were sent in, they either failed to reach the vessels, or a passage was made for them, and they drifted harmlessly through.

It was only outside the limits of Europe that the English showed a decided superiority, and that great successes kept up the hope of both ministry and people during this fearful period, when the arrival of Bonaparte in England was daily expected, and when as yet all Europe seemed to hold aloof from our alliance. Surinam had been conquered from the Dutch, and in the year 1805 a great war was brought to a triumphant conclusion in India. After the capture in 1799 of Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo Sahib, the ruler of Mysore, the territories of Mysore had been divided by what is known as the Tripartite Treaty between the English, the Nizam of the Deccan, and a descendant of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore, whom Hyder Ali had dispossessed. By these new acquisitions the English had come in contact with the great Mahratta power.

Failure of
attempts to
destroy
Napoleon's fleet.

Success of the
war in India
against the
Mahrattas.

The great empire conquered by this warlike race, which had been founded by Sivajee in the seventeenth century, extended from Delhi in the north to the Tumbudra, a southern tributary of the Kistna on the south, and from the Bay of Bengal on the east to Gujerat in the west. The authority of the Rajah of Satara, nominal head of the race, had passed into the hands of his minister the Peishwa, who resided at Poonah, in the Western Ghats. His authority had in turn become nominal, and the empire

Extent of the
Mahratta
empire.

CON. MON.

was broken up among five great chiefs, of whom the Peishwa may be ranked as one. The others were the Bonslah or Rajah of Berar, occupying the north and east of the Deccan, and including Cuttack and the mouths of the Mahanadi in his territories; Sindia, who occupied the north-west of the Deccan and Kandesh, and whose property extended northwards through a portion of Malwa as far as Delhi, of which he held possession, and westward into Gujerat, where he had considerable property; Holkar, who lay almost entirely in the Malwa, north of the Vindyha range of mountains, to the east of Sindia, between him and Berar; and, lastly, the Guicowar, who possessed in Gujerat all except those territories that were in the hands of Sindia. He alone of the Mahratta chiefs preserved neutrality during this great war. To the south of the Mahratta states lay that part of the Deccan which was governed by the Nizam, now tributary to the English; and south of his dominions, touching on its north-west the southern extreme of the Mahratta country, was Mysore. All three Presidencies were therefore in contact with one or other of the Mahratta states.

At the beginning of the century the Mahrattas were at war among themselves, and Holkar, in his rivalry with Sindia, had thought it advisable to expel the Peishwa from Poonah, and to set up a creature of his own there. The deposed Peishwa sought an asylum among the English in Bombay. The presence of the predatory chief Holkar in the south induced the English to occupy their northern frontier in Mysore with an army of observation. While things were in this position the Peishwa offered to enter into a perpetual treaty with the English if they would reinstate him in Poonah. Lord Wellesley

Lord Wellesley's
subsidiary
system.

was at this time Governor-General of India. He had set on foot a policy which had been much opposed by the authorities in the India House, and the support of which by Pitt had been constantly assaulted by the Opposition. This policy is known as the subsidiary system. It was found impossible, in the presence of the native powers, naturally anxious to rid themselves of the English conquerors, and certain to find ready assistance from the French, to remain in a state of inaction. On the other hand, Wellesley did not think it desirable or just to conquer and annex all the neighbouring territories, which would in fact only have enlarged the sphere of danger. He preferred to establish English influence, to oblige the native rulers to enter into permanent treaties with him, to place the political management of their provinces in the hands of a British resident, to pay for the support of an army largely officered

by Europeans, while the native princes, at the same time, retained the domestic government in their own hands. It is now generally allowed that this was a wise system, but at the time the outcry against it was so great, that even after the success of the Mahratta war Wellesley had in fact to yield to it, and returned to England in 1805. While this policy, however, was uppermost, such an offer as that of the Peishwa was certain to be accepted, and at the end of 1802, by the Treaty of Bassein, the English accepted the friendship of the Peishwa, and undertook to restore him.

The threatening attitude of the English compelled the Mahratta chiefs for a time to lay aside their private enmities, and Holkar, Sindia, and the Rajah of Berar made common cause against the invaders. What rendered this coalition more formidable was, that Sindia had established in the Douab, or district lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, a French state in the hands of a certain M. Perron, in which there was a considerable number of troops drilled in the European fashion, and officered by Frenchmen, while in the south, the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, which had been restored to France by the Peace of Amiens, gave an opening to that power to interfere should war again break out in Europe. The first act of the war was rapidly and successfully carried out. General Wellesley marched, in the spring of 1803, from the frontier of Mysore, was joined by Colonel Stevenson with the Nizam's army from Hyderabad, recaptured Poonah on the 20th of April, and by the middle of May had reinstated the Peishwa. The General at that time believed that all disputes with the Mahratta powers would be settled by negotiation. It before long became evident that on the part of the Mahrattas these negotiations were a feint, and that the three chiefs, with their French allies on the north, were still determined to fight, and had designs upon the territories of the subsidiary Prince, the Nizam, who was at the point of death. To withstand this great confederacy a large and well-combined plan of operations was made. To secure unity of action, General Wellesley was invested with supreme authority in the Deccan, General Lake was given similar powers in the valley of the Ganges, while secondary attacks were directed against Sindia's territories in Gujerat under the command of Colonel Murray, and against the Bonslah's province of Cuttack under Colonel Harcourt. The confederation was thus assaulted simultaneously at four points. In the meantime the rupture of the Peace of Amiens had become known. Pondicherry was carefully watched, and French troops recently landed there taken prisoners.

Outbreak of
the Mahratta
war.
1803.

In August General Wellesley left Poonah, Colonel Stevenson acting in correspondence with him further to the east. He marched direct to Ahmednuggur, which he captured, crossed the Godavery river, and arrived at Aurungabad. Meanwhile Sindia had fallen back northward, and in September the two English commanders joined their forces a little to the east of Aurungabad, and advanced to meet him. Sindia's forces, reinforced by sixteen battalions

Battle of
Assye.
Sept. 23, 1803.

officered by Frenchmen, lay not far from Assye on the river Kaitna; between them and the English extended a range of hills; to prevent their escape the English commanders separated—Stevenson marching by the eastern, Wellesley by the western end of the range. When Wellesley heard that the enemy were moving off, he determined upon an attack without waiting for Stevenson's arrival. To get at the enemy it was necessary to cross the river which was on his right; although assured by his guide that it was impassable, he conjectured the existence of a passage from the appearance of two villages immediately opposite each other on the two banks of the river. He found his conjecture was correct, and his troops, when they had crossed the river, exactly occupied the space between that and another stream on which Assye stands. His two flanks were thus covered. He there with 4500 men entirely defeated Sindia's army, numbering more than 30,000. At the close of the day he found himself in possession of nearly 100 cannon and the whole of the camp equipage. The General mentioned it afterwards as the bloodiest battle for the numbers that he ever saw; the killed and wounded among the English amounting to more than 1500, a third of their entire force. The Mahratta army separated into two divisions, one division under the Rajah of Berar retiring westward as though to attack Poonah. Leaving Stevenson, therefore, to follow the northern division under Sindia, Wellesley hastened in pursuit of the Rajah. Sindia, being close pressed by Stevenson, begged for a truce; but as it was found that his troops were still serving in the army of the Rajah of Berar, and

Battle of
Argaum, Nov.
29.

that the truce was merely deceptive, the pursuit was recommenced, and the enemy brought to a final engagement on the plain of Argaum, where they were again entirely defeated. The war in the Deccan was closed by the capture, by the combined armies, of Gawulgur, near the sources of the Taptee river.

Subsidiary
treaties with
Sindia and
Berar.

Two days afterwards, on the 17th of December, the Rajah of Berar submitted, and before the end of the month Sindia also consented to treat. By these treaties

the province of Cuttack was annexed to the English possessions, Sindia was driven entirely from the Deccan, and lost some strong places in the Douab. Both princes entered into subsidiary arrangements, and promised to admit no foreigners but English to their confidence.

These treaties were the consequence of the combined campaigns of Wellesley and Lake; for during the brilliant campaign of Assye in the Deccan, Lake had been carrying on war with equal success in the valley of the Ganges. The French province in the Douab had given but little trouble. Perron had retired from one of his fortresses, Coel, without fighting; his second stronghold, Alleghur, had been captured; his troops had indeed remained to fight, but he had himself surrendered to the English. The capture of Alleghur had been followed by a great victory over the Mahrattas within sight of Delhi. Lake had entered that capital, restored the aged Shah Allum to the Mogul throne, and attached to the English by so doing the whole Mahomedan population of India. He had won further victories at Muttra and Agra on the Jumna, and finally, on the 1st of November, at the same time that Wellesley was carrying out the pursuit which preceded the battle of Argaum, won the great battle of Laswari. The secondary attacks had been no less successful. While Murray had captured Baroach and subjugated the rest of Sindia's possessions in Gujerat, Harcourt had secured Cuttack at the mouths of the Mahanadi and the great temple of Juggernaut. The subsidiary treaties signed at the close of the year were the consequences of this series of victories. In reward for their services Lake was raised to the Peerage and Wellesley made a Knight of the Bath. Holkar alone remained unsubdued. The following year, 1804, he was again in arms, and though thoroughly defeated by General Lake, succeeded in obtaining the support of the Rajah of Berhampoor, and prolonged the war till the close of the year 1805.

Lake's
successes in
the Douab.

Conclusion of
the war.
1805.

The success in India was no doubt of great importance both in sustaining the courage of the people and in cheering the last days of Pitt; but he was not destined to close his life in happiness and triumph. He lived, indeed, long enough to see the great coalition for which he had been working completed, and to receive the adhesion to it of Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Naples; he lived long enough to see the English again triumphant upon the ocean, to hear the news of the greatest victory which had ever attended their arms, and to rejoice at the dispersion

Sad close
of Pitt's
career.

of the threatening cloud which for more than a year had hung over the country. But he also lived just long enough to see, as far as his foreign policy was concerned, the whole of his careful structure dashed to pieces, and the complete triumph of his arch enemy at the battle of Austerlitz.

If the close of his life as a foreign minister was sad, a still thicker mist of misfortune hung over the last years of his home government. The man on whom he most relied in the ministry was his old friend Lord Melville, who had fairly justified his confidence by the energy and success with which he had reconstituted the navy. It was through him that the Opposition found means to inflict a deadly blow upon the minister. Lord St. Vincent, though his general administration had been weak, had been laudably anxious to improve the condition of the Admiralty, especially

in regard to its expenses. He had therefore established a commission of naval inquiry, which from time to time sent in its reports. The last of these, the tenth, had been sent in in February 1805. Even before its publication it was understood to reflect upon Lord Melville's conduct as Treasurer of the Navy, an office which he had held along with several others in Pitt's first administration. On one point he had certainly shown remissness. He had allowed Mr. Trotter, Paymaster of the Navy, to pay public money to his own account at his banker's, and to use it as his own. No loss had accrued to the State in consequence; but no doubt it was a highly censurable misapplication of public funds. But beyond this, it was asserted that Lord Melville had himself acted in a similar way, and undoubtedly there were certain sums unaccounted for. Lord Melville's own account of this matter was, that since his retirement from office he had destroyed all old vouchers; but that even if he possessed them, as he at that time held various offices, and did not keep the accounts entirely separate, he would not have been able to give a satisfactory account without disclosing confidential transactions of Government. This no doubt meant that the money had been employed for some secret service; but his enemies did not scruple to say that he had appropriated it to his own uses. Upon the report Mr. Whitbread founded a parliamentary attack upon Melville, and gave notice that he would bring in a vote of censure upon the 8th of April. Government had now to determine what they would do. Pitt and his own immediate friends, entirely disbelieving the charge against Melville, resolved to withstand it openly. But there was a division in his own Cabinet. Lord

Attack on
Lord Melville.

Naval inquiries.
Feb. 1805.

Sidmouth and Melville were great enemies, and, declaring that he regarded it as impossible for Melville to clear himself, Sidmouth warned Pitt that if he persisted in defending him he should be obliged to resign. As this would have been complete ruin, Pitt yielded to a middle course, and determined to request that the inquiry might be referred to a select committee. On the 8th the great debate came on. It was plain that the question would rest with the votes of the independent members, and when Wilberforce, whose character carried great weight, declared that he must support the vote of censure, those members who were pledged to neither party were induced to follow his lead. The anxious moment for division arrived, and the numbers were declared to be equal—216 having voted on either side. The Speaker was then called upon to give his casting vote. The scene is thus described by Lord Fitzharris:—"I sat wedged close to Pitt himself the night when we were 216; and the Speaker Abbot, after looking as white as a sheet, and pausing for ten minutes, gave the casting vote against us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead, and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks. We had heard one or two, such as Colonel Wardle, say they would see 'how Billy looked after it.' A few young ardent followers of Pitt, with myself, locked their arms together and formed a circle, in which he moved, I believe unconsciously, out of the House, and neither the Colonel nor his friends could approach him." The Opposition were not content with the vote of censure; although Melville at once resigned his office, Whitbread proceeded to move an address to the King that he should be removed from the King's Councils and presence for ever. The feeling of the House did not justify so extreme a measure, and the motion was withdrawn. But before long the minister thought it necessary so far to yield to public opinion as to have Lord Melville's name withdrawn from the Privy Council.

The disagreement between Pitt and Sidmouth upon Lord Melville's conduct terminated in the withdrawal of the Lord President and his followers from the ministry. On the appointment of Sir Charles Middleton, a very old man, to the Admiralty, in which he had been the constant assistant of Melville, Sidmouth took the opportunity of expressing his displeasure and resigned. The charge against Lord Melville was pressed to impeachment. He delivered a defence before the House

Vote of
censure against
Melville.
April 8, 1805.

Sidmouth
resigns.
July 7.

of Commons, but it was not regarded as satisfactory. The House of Lords were therefore called upon to decide the question, and when it subsequently came to the vote (June 12, 1806) a very large majority, on all the charges, declared the prisoner not guilty. But Pitt did not live to hear either this declaration of the innocence of his friend or to suffer from the desertion of his colleague Sidmouth.

Parliament
prorogued.
July 12, 1806.

The impeachment was not carried up to the Bar of the House of Lords till the 26th of June; on the 12th of July Parliament was prorogued, and Pitt did not live to see the opening of another session.

While misfortune was thus following the minister in Parliament, his great plans of European policy had been continued and had at last met with success. In fact, in this matter Napoleon had been his best ally, and had been gradually forcing the great powers of Europe into hostility. The ill feeling which had arisen between the Emperor Alexander and Bonaparte in the preceding year had been increased by subsequent events, and the Czar had been gradually taking up a position of more defined hostility. On the 24th of May 1804, he contracted a defensive alliance with Prussia, though not intending immediate war if it could be avoided. The murder of the Duc d'Enghien and the violation of neutral territory had forced him further in the same direction. So strongly had he resented this act, that it was through his representations to the Diet of Ratisbon (July) that Austria and Prussia, who would otherwise have passed it over in silence, were induced to take any notice of it, and at length, finding his indirect action through the German powers of no avail, he had remonstrated directly with France and withdrawn his ambassador from Paris (Aug. 18). Prussia, though pursuing throughout a weak and vacillating policy which had induced Haugwitz to retire from office, also expressed its disapprobation of Napoleon's conduct by a change of ministry. But instead of seeking to allay its fears, Napoleon still further excited its jealousy by intriguing with the smaller States of Germany, and making a violent inroad into the territory of Hamburg (Oct. 25), to carry off thence the English minister. Austria too, though restrained by her weakness from overt action, in November contracted a treaty with Russia similar to that of Prussia. Very little was wanted to bring all three powers into open hostility with France.

The character of Alexander gave indeed to Napoleon an opportunity which he ought to have seized. He was full of high-flown

notions for the regeneration of Europe, for the more equitable division of states, and some generally established system of public law. With some such scheme his minister Nowosiltzoff came to England in 1805. Pitt speedily modified his views, and proved to him that before so grand a scheme could be realized the practical work to be done was to insist upon the establishment of the terms of the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. Accordingly, on the 11th of April, the Treaty of St. Petersburg was signed. The two countries pledged themselves to support a general European league, for the purpose of demanding the evacuation of Hanover, Italy, and Elba, the real independence of Holland and Switzerland, and the complete establishment of the kingdom of Naples: they especially pledged themselves not to interfere with the internal government of France, and to close all questions by a general European congress. As England refused to evacuate Malta, the Czar declined to ratify the treaty, and determined to make one more effort singlehanded to avoid war. For this purpose he despatched an ambassador with much more favourable terms than those implied in the late treaty. But Napoleon declined to see him for two months, and in those two months he had had himself declared King of Italy (May 26), had accepted the offer of the Doge of Genoa to comprise the Ligurian Republic in his Italian kingdom (June 3), had created Lucca into a principality for the husband of his sister Eliza (July 21), and had received an ambassador from the Court of Naples with the most stinging threats and insults. The Russian ambassador was therefore recalled, and, though without declaration of war, the coalition was in fact in existence, and arrangements for a general attack upon France began. The coalition was thus the fruit rather of Napoleon's conduct than of Pitt's diplomacy; the occupation of Hanover, the violation of the neutral territory of Baden, the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, the establishment of the kingdom of Italy, the annexation of Genoa and Lucca, and virtually of Holland and of Switzerland, supplied ample reasons to excite the alarm of Europe and to drive the powers into coalition.

But while the coalition was forming, and Napoleon seemed wantonly to be insulting Europe and ignoring the danger of exciting fresh enemies, he was in fact urging on with all rapidity his schemes for the invasion of England, which he probably hoped might be so successful as to paralyse all action on the part of the European powers. The constantly repeated representations of his naval officers had forced him, much against his

Treaty of
St. Petersburg.
April 11, 1805.

The coalition
practically
formed.
Sept. 1805.

Napoleon
prepares to
invade England.

will, to believe that his descent upon England would be impracticable unless secured by the presence of his fleet. In spite of the general voice of those who knew the condition of the French navy, he determined to act with his fleet on the same principles as he would have acted with his army; a gigantic combination of various squadrons was to be effected, and a fleet great enough to destroy all hope of opposition to sweep the Channel. For this purpose the eighteen ships of the line at Brest under Admiral Gantheaume, the squadron at Rochefort under Villeneuve, and the Toulon fleet under Latouche-Tréville, were to unite. The last mentioned admiral was intrusted with the chief command. Sailing up the coast of France, he was to liberate from their blockade the squadrons of Rochefort and Brest, and with their combined fleets appear before Boulogne. But Latouche-Tréville died, and Napoleon intrusted his plans to Villeneuve. Those plans, all of them arranged without regard to the bad condition of the French ships, or to the uncertainty of the weather, were frequently changed; at one time Villeneuve from Toulon, and Missiessy, his successor, at Rochefort, were to proceed to the West Indies, drawing the English fleet thither; then Gantheaume was to appear from Brest, throw troops into Ireland, and thus cover the flotilla. At another time, all the fleets were to assemble at the West Indies, and, joining with the Spanish fleet at Ferrol, appear in the Straits of Calais.

To complete this last measure Villeneuve set sail from Toulon on the 30th of March 1805, joined Gravina at Cadiz, and reached Martinique on the 13th of May with twenty ships of the line, and seven frigates. His voyage was so slow that Missiessy had returned from the West Indies to France, and the junction failed. In hot pursuit of Villeneuve, Nelson, who had at length found out his destination, had hurried. At Martinique Gantheaume, with the Brest fleet, should have joined Villeneuve; unfortunately for him Admiral Cornwallis blockaded his fleet. Villeneuve therefore had to return to Europe alone, sailing for Ferrol to pick up a squadron of fifteen ships. He was then, at the head of thirty-five ships, ordered to appear before Brest, liberate Gantheaume, and appear in the Channel. Back again in pursuit of him Nelson sailed, but supposed that he would return to the Mediterranean and not to Ferrol; he therefore again missed him; but as he had found means to inform the English Government that Villeneuve was returning to Europe, Calder, with a fleet of fifteen ships, was sent to intercept him. The fleets encountered

Nelson's
pursuit of
Villeneuve.
May 1805.

off Cape Finisterre. The French had twenty-seven vessels, Calder but eighteen, and after an indecisive battle, in which two Spanish ships were taken, he was afraid to renew the engagement, and Villeneuve was thus enabled to reach Ferrol in safety. However, all the operations towards concentration had led to absolutely nothing, and the English fleets, which the movements towards the West Indies were to have decoyed from the Channel, were either still off the coast of France or in immediate pursuit of the fleet of Villeneuve. Nelson returned to Gibraltar, and as soon as he found out where Villeneuve was, he joined his fleet to that of Cornwallis before Brest, and himself returned to England.

The day before Calder had also left nine ships with Cornwallis, who had thus a fleet of thirty-five vessels. He divided them into two equal parts, sending one to Ferrol, and keeping the other to guard Gantheaume in Brest. Meanwhile Villeneuve had not been able to get ready for sea till the 11th of August. Had he then sailed he would probably have encountered with his own nineteen ships Cornwallis' fleet of thirty-five vessels off Brest. Had he indeed postponed his sailing for a few days he would have found Cornwallis' fleet separated, but even then it was improbable that he would have escaped one or other of its divisions. But in fact he did not know of its division, and therefore, acting in the belief of the union of the great fleet off Brest, he was afraid to venture northwards, and with the full approbation of his Spanish colleague Gravina, determined to avail himself of a last alternative which Napoleon had suggested, and sailed to Cadiz. This was a fatal blow to the gigantic schemes of Napoleon. Up till the 22nd of August he still believed that Villeneuve would make his appearance, and in fact wrote to him that day at Brest, closing his letter with the words, "England is ours." As the time for his great stroke drew near he grew nervously anxious, constantly watching the Channel for the approach of the fleet, and at last, when his Minister of Marine, Decrès, told him that the fleet had gone to Cadiz, he broke forth in bitter wrath against both his minister and Villeneuve, whom he accused of the most shameful weakness.

Failure of
Napoleon's
schemes.
Aug.

But Napoleon was not a man who let his success be staked upon one plan alone. Though studiously hiding from his people the existence of the coalition, and not scrupling to have recourse to forged letters and fabricated news for the purpose, he was fully aware of its existence. He knew too of the movements of the armies of Austria and Russia, and had already taken some steps to meet them.

Without much difficulty, therefore, he at once resigned his great plans upon England, and directed his army towards the eastern frontier, determined to wipe out by a great campaign, in which the chances were all in his favour, the disgrace and ridicule of his long-threatened but abortive attack upon England. The largest and best part of the Austrian army was in Italy under the Archduke Charles. On the Inn there were barely 80,000 men, commanded by General Mack. The Russians had yet far to go before they could form a junction with the Austrian troops, and Napoleon, when he first changed his plan on the 25th of August, intended to march by the most direct route to meet the Austrians, and if possible prevent them from crossing the Inn. For this purpose he could bring, counting the army of occupation of Hanover, nearly 200,000 men into the field. The passage of the Rhine was open to him; it was no longer necessary as of old to fight his way through the Black Forest. By pursuing a direct course he would be able to pick up the troops who were in Hanover on his way, and bring his whole army to bear at once upon the Inn. The Austrians, however, little calculating on the rapidity of his movements, believing that the army was engaged on the northern coast, and desirous of securing the assistance of the Bavarian army of 25,000 men, rashly crossed the Inn on the 7th of September, and advanced to Ulm. Their movements were accurately known to Napoleon, who had sent Murat in disguise into Bavaria to watch them; and when he heard that they had taken up their position so far in advance of their base of operations, he formed his great plan for surrounding and capturing the whole army at Ulm.

While Napoleon was thus hurrying off to destroy the Austrian troops, Nelson, having heard of the destination of Villeneuve, and feeling that the fleet he had so long pursued was his fair prey, offered his services to Government. They were gladly accepted, and on the 13th of September he left his home for the last time to take command of the fleet off Cadiz. Thus, each on its own element, the two great nations of Europe, commanded by the two great leaders of the day, were engaged almost simultaneously in undertakings of the last importance, and almost simultaneously the results of those undertakings became known. On the 19th of

Capitulation
of the Austri-
an army at Ulm.
Oct. 19.

October, Mack, finding himself surrounded and cut off from Vienna, with all hope of relief gone, capitulated at Ulm, and his whole army of 30,000 men laid down

their arms before the enemy. On the 21st of the same month the English and French fleets encountered just within sight of Cape Trafalgar, outside the Straits of Gibraltar.

The fleet of the English numbered twenty-seven vessels, Villeneuve had the command of thirty-three, without reckoning five frigates and two smaller ships. In other respects, in ability of seamanship, and in knowledge of the management of guns, the English were undoubtedly superior. Some days before the battle Nelson had conceived and made known his plan of action. The assault was to be made in two lines; at the head of one Nelson was himself to break the line in the centre, while Collingwood led the second to the attack of the rear squadron. The French were formed in one line, and were sailing in a southeasterly direction. Nelson's plan was therefore calculated not only to destroy the enemy, but also to cut off his retreat from Cadiz and the north. This part of his plan Villeneuve saw through and avoided. He changed the direction of his line, so that the rear squadron became the leading squadron, and the road to Cadiz was kept open. In this order, in full sail, with the wind in their favour, the English attacked and broke the French line. All the advantages of this well-known manœuvre were gained, and by half-past five in the evening, of the thirty-three vessels of the enemy eighteen were in the hands of the English, eleven with difficulty retreated towards Cadiz, and four others, which had formed the leading squadron of the French, were standing out to sea, only to be captured a few days afterwards by another fleet. But the victory was dearly won. Nelson, who had appeared as usual with his orders on his coat, had formed a mark for the riflemen with whom the rigging of the French ships was filled. He fell early in the action, but lived long enough to hear of his complete victory. He died thanking God he had done his duty, and even to the last, mindful of the safety of his fleet, giving orders that it should at once anchor to await a gale whose approach he had foreseen. The storm came as he had expected; a considerable part of our prizes was lost, and three of the French fugitives were wrecked before they reached the port of Cadiz. Of the whole fleet eight vessels alone escaped, which remained blockaded in Cadiz till they fell a prey to the Spanish insurgents.

But though the sea thus passed entirely under the command of the English, though all chance of invasion had disappeared, a crushing blow upon the Continent shattered for the time all hope of permanent opposition to the

Battle of
Trafalgar.
Oct. 21.

Battle of
Austerlitz.
Dec. 2, 1805.

advance of Napoleon. The catastrophe at Ulm was followed by a rapid advance upon Vienna. The wisdom Napoleon had shown in concentrating his troops for one great and decisive blow at once bore fruit. The army of Italy was obliged to retreat before the advance of Massena, in time to defend if possible Austria itself. It was too late even for that, and it was compelled to withdraw into Hungary, for the Emperor, desirous of saving the Viennese from the horrors of a siege, had withdrawn with his troops into Moravia, in the hopes of there meeting the main body of the Russians whom Alexander was bringing to his succour. Thither Napoleon pursued him, and there, with his back to the citadel of Brünn, not far from Olmutz, he brought on the great battle of Austerlitz, and before the close of the day the forces of the coalition were completely beaten, losing upon the field 27,000 killed and wounded, 20,000 prisoners, and 133 pieces of cannon.

While these stirring events had been happening, the health of the English minister had been sensibly declining. Cheered for a moment by the news of Trafalgar, clouded though they were by the death of Nelson, the rapidly-occurring disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, and the dissolution, by the Treaty of Presburg, of the coalition he had so laboriously established, went far to render fatal the disease which was already threatening him. He returned from Bath, still hoping against hope that he might be present at the opening of Parliament, withdrew for quiet to his villa at Putney, and there died on the 23rd of January 1806.

The death of Pitt was followed by the break-up of his Cabinet, which was not so constituted as to be able to stand without him. The King did indeed attempt to continue it under the leadership of Lord Hawkesbury; but upon his refusal to accept the responsibilities of the Premiership, the King was obliged to have recourse to the Opposition, and to summon Lord Grenville to his Councils. The admission of Grenville to the ministry implied the admission of Fox; the close political alliance they had formed, the determination they had already expressed, when rejecting Pitt's offers, never to join in any separate arrangements, rendered it quite impossible for either to accept office without the other. In spite, therefore, of the King's anger and dislike, he was compelled to admit his old enemy Fox to the ministry. The basis on which Grenville and Fox had been united in opposition was the strong belief which both felt that in the present crisis a ministry of a broad and national character was required. On this principle they formed

Death of Pitt.
Jan. 23, 1806.

New ministry.

their new administration, which was known by the name of "the Ministry of all the talents." Lord Grenville became First Lord of the Treasury; Earl Spencer and Mr. Windham, members of Pitt's first administration, Secretaries for the Home and War departments; Fox became Foreign Secretary, and his friends Earl Fitzwilliam and Grey (now Lord Howick), the one Lord President of the Council, and the other First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Moira, Master-General of the Ordnance, represented the friends of the Prince of Wales; while Lord Sidmouth became Lord Privy Seal, and as he insisted on bringing one friend with him into the Cabinet, introduced with questionable wisdom Lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice. It has since this time been generally held that such a position is incompatible with high judicial duties. Lord Henry Petty, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Before the ministry went out all due honour had been paid to the late minister; a public funeral and monument had been voted, together with the sum of £40,000 for the payment of his debts.

The character of Fox as a statesman was now upon its trial. After thirty years of exclusion from office, in perpetual opposition to the King and the general feeling of the upper classes, Fox had at length an opportunity of proving the justice of the reliance which men of liberal opinions had always placed in him. Large-hearted, with great warmth of personal affection, and general love of the human race, he had uniformly opposed war, had constantly declared that either the mismanagement or ill-will of the ministers had been the main obstacle to peace: he had believed devoutly in the excellence of the Revolution, traced its excesses to the wanton opposition of the crowned heads of Europe, and still persisted in believing that straightforward and friendly negotiations would bring about a right understanding with Napoleon. The brief period which elapsed between his acceptance of office in January and his death on the 13th of September, sufficed to prove to him the futility of his hopes; and the ministry found itself obliged to take up identically the same position as that of their predecessors. Like his great rival, he closed his life in the midst of the unutterable sadness caused by the complete frustration of those plans on which, according to his view, the welfare of his country rested, with this additional bitterness in his cup that upon him was forced the conviction, not only that circumstances were too strong for him, but that the optimism which had been the very breath of his political life rested upon no solid ground, and that the work to which he had devoted himself, and the maintenance of which

Character
of Fox.

had perpetually debarred him from a share in the government of the country, had been wholly misdirected. That destruction of illusions which comes to most men in their youth fell upon him when he was already breaking with age and disease, and when he must have been conscious that no time was left him to correct the errors into which he had been led. It is difficult to conceive a sadder close to a noble political career than that which fell upon the minister as he discovered too late that the practical logic of facts contradicted all those high aspirations which had throughout guided his conduct. So complete, however, was the proof afforded him by his short ministry of the futility of his hopes, that his friend Lord Howick, after just a year of office, was compelled to declare of the late negotiations that "there never was any opportunity of procuring any such terms as would have been adequate to the just pretensions and consistent with the honour and interests of this country; 'one thing is clear, the progress of Bonaparte has never yet been stopped by submission, and our only hope therefore is in resistance, as far as we can resist his ambitious projects.'"

The negotiations of which Lord Howick thus confessed the disastrous conclusion were opened by Fox almost immediately after his accession to office. A few days after his appointment an unknown person called upon him, and disclosed a plan for the assassination of the Emperor. With natural indignation, Fox caused the man to be apprehended, and while warning Bonaparte that the law of England prevented his lengthened detention, he promised that it should be long enough to enable the Emperor to provide against the nefarious plan. It is not improbable that the whole conspiracy was devised by Napoleon himself for the purpose of opening a negotiation with Fox, in whom he believed he had a sincere well-wisher, and on whose simple-hearted optimism he believed he could play. He caused a copy of a speech to reach Fox in which he expressed his willingness to make peace with England on the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens. This led to a direct negotiation between Fox and Talleyrand, in which the English minister, in accordance with his views, attempted, as he said, to act upon the assumption that the countries would treat as two great powers, despising any idea of chicane. But this was not at all Napoleon's view of negotiation. His diplomacy constantly assumed the same form—separate treaties with different members of the coalition, and the hurried continuance of aggression during the time that negotiations were pending, so as to compel the treating power either to accept the aggressions

Negotiations
for peace.
March.

or to break off the treaty. This had been his plan before the Treaty of Amiens, and this he had just repeated after the battle of Austerlitz.

Prussia was already so far pledged to join the coalition that it was on the point of receiving the first payment of a subsidy from England. But Bonaparte succeeded in inducing the vacillating court to break with both its allies. Two separate treaties were made, one at Schönbrunn, by which Prussia withdrew from the coalition, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with France, receiving Hanover in exchange for Anspach, which was to be restored to Bavaria, and the Principality of Neuchatel, which was to be annexed to France, and the other at Presburg, in which Austria, having lost all hope of any assistance Prussia might have rendered, was induced to accept the most disastrous terms. The kingdom of Italy was to receive Venice and the Adriatic provinces; the three German powers which were consistently friends of France—Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Baden—obtained portions of the German dominions of Austria; the royal title was secured to Bavaria and Wurtemberg; the rights of the Empire over the immediate nobility were renounced; the reorganization of Italy was admitted; and Austria even agreed not to interfere in the affairs of Naples. On these terms the constitution of the Germanic Confederation was guaranteed. It is needless to point out what a seed of hatred was sown by these treaties, in which one of the German powers was humiliated by its ignominious bargain, the other driven almost to despair by the ruthless manner in which it was pillaged.

It was shortly after this that Pitt died and Fox entered office. There were left of the coalition England and Russia, with whom Napoleon had now to deal. Fox felt, as any honourable man must have felt, that it was his duty to stand by his allies, and to engage only in negotiations in common with them. Napoleon, on the other hand, pursued his old policy, and determined to treat separately; but while treating he continued the work on which he was then engaged—the erection of a number of small independent kingdoms and principalities in vassalage to France. In February and March he overran Naples and established his brother Joseph as king. In March he ordained a similar fate for Holland, and before June had established his brother Louis there. Numerous other principalities were called into existence for his relations and marshals, and the work was completed by the organization in July of the Confederation of the Rhine, consisting of Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and several other

Treaty of
Schönbrunn,
Dec. 15,
and Presburg,
Dec. 26, 1805

Napoleon
erects
dependent
kingdoms.
1806.

smaller states, who acknowledged the protectorate of France, and promised to keep on foot an army of 63,000 men at Napoleon's disposal.

While thus proceeding with his aggressions he was treating with both Russia and England. To the letters of Fox had succeeded personal negotiations between Talleyrand and Lord Yarmouth, who had been detained a prisoner after the Peace of Amiens. The terms which were first offered to Lord Yarmouth show the contempt with which Bonaparte regarded Prussia, the change in the terms as the treaty continued shows how little intention there was of really coming to an honest arrangement, should it prove possible to separate the interests of Russia and England. At first Talleyrand told Yarmouth that no difficulty would be found in taking Hanover, which had already been given to Prussia, and restoring it to England, or in giving Sicily back to the King of Naples. Sicily indeed Napoleon had not yet conquered; but as the separate treaty with Russia advanced and became more possible, Yarmouth found the terms changing. He was told that Sicily was to be conquered and added to the kingdom of Joseph; and finally, when the treaty with Russia was provisionally signed, although Yarmouth had been assured that the constitution of Germany should be unchanged if peace were made, the Confederation of the Rhine was called into existence. Fox's eyes had been almost opened by this time. The refusal of Sicily, the separate peace with Russia, the interference with the constitution of Germany, led him to see that his friendly negotiations were not likely to lead to much result. He therefore sent Lord Lauderdale, with fuller authority than Lord Yarmouth, to re-establish the old basis of negotiation. His complaints were listened to, but there were no signs of withdrawal on the part of France. As for the compensation of the King of Naples, it was desirable enough, but it must not be at the expense of France. He might perhaps have Albania, which belonged to Turkey, or Ragusa, which belonged to Austria, or the Balearic Isles, which belonged to Spain. While affairs were in this unpromising situation news arrived that the Czar had entirely rejected the provisional treaty his minister had signed, and almost immediately afterwards Fox died. The diplomatic intercourse continued about a month longer, and was then broken off.

Fox's friends thus learnt the error of their previous views, and the necessity of carrying on the war with vigour; but Fox's ministry was

Progress of the negotiations.

Negotiations broken off. Death of Fox.

not entirely without fruit. As he had himself stated, the second great object of his life was the abolition of the slave trade. For upwards of thirty years the horrors of slavery had occupied the minds of a large section of benevolent men in England. In 1783 the Quakers had petitioned against the slave trade. From that time till 1788, Clarkson, a young Cambridge man, had devoted his life to collecting evidence on the horrors of the trade. He had succeeded in interesting in his cause Pitt, Fox, and, before all, Wilberforce; and in that year Pitt had brought the matter before Parliament, and a resolution had been carried to take the slave trade into consideration. Circumstances and the interests of public business had prevented Pitt from entering fully into the plans of the abolitionists, although Wilberforce was constantly urging him to do so. Still, again and again, in 1792 and 1796, Bills had been carried in favour of abolition in the House of Commons, though subsequently defeated in the House of Lords. In 1804, on Pitt's resumption of office, Wilberforce renewed the question, which had been allowed to slumber by the Addington Cabinet, and a Bill for abolition, or rather suspension of the trade for a term of years, was again carried. In the House of Lords it was again postponed, but Pitt tried what could be done by a royal proclamation, which was issued to prevent the trade at all events in the conquered colonies, the possession of which had greatly increased the trade, so that nearly 60,000 slaves were yearly imported in British vessels. In February 1805 a larger measure had been rejected in the House, but on the accession to office of Fox, who was known to be more enthusiastic on the matter than Pitt had been, the hopes of the abolitionists rose high. Nor were their hopes disappointed, though the party against the measure was strong. The West India merchants were all against it, and a number of Tories, with the King at their head, regarded slavery as a natural and scriptural institution by no means to be lightly touched. On the 10th of June 1806, Fox pledged the House of Commons, almost without opposition, to take measures as speedily as possible for abolishing the trade. Even in the House of Lords the minister found that there would be no serious opposition, and determined to produce a Bill to prohibit the slave trade entirely. This Act prohibited slave trading from and after the 1st of January 1808, but as the punishments were only pecuniary, it required a new Bill, introduced by Mr. Brougham in 1811, making slave trading felony, to secure its final extinction. These Bills did not abolish slavery, but only the slave

Abolition of the slave trade.

trade. Fox did not live to bring in the Bill, but it was produced by his colleague Lord Howick, afterwards Lord Grey, on the 2nd of January 1807, and in spite of the opposition of the royal dukes, of Lord Eldon and of Lord Sidmouth (Feb. 3), the Bill was passed by a majority of sixty-six. When it was brought to the House of Commons (Feb. 23) it met with quite an enthusiastic reception, and was passed by an overwhelming majority of 283 to 16. The Bill was rapidly hurried through its other stages, in order that the ministry which had been successful in passing it might have the honour of completing it; for before the royal assent was given it was well known that the Grenville ministry had ceased to exist.

The Abolition
Bill passed.
March 26, 1807.

The cause of this rapid termination to a ministry which had begun under such good auspices was the attempt again to bring forward the Catholic claims, against which the King was set with immovable obstinacy. Grenville's conduct was dictated by high policy, and in itself wise, although, if we regard the minister as a mere party politician, in the last degree indiscreet. As he himself told the King, he and the majority of the Cabinet thought that in the present critical state of England it was most necessary to secure content and unanimity at home, and to be in a condition to use to the full the military capacity of every class of his Majesty's subjects. For this reason he was desirous of removing so much of the disabilities both of the Catholics and of the Dissenters as affected their military position. There seems, however, to have been some complication in the matter. The Irish Catholics, headed by Lord Fingal and Mr. O'Connor, were preparing a great petition, demanding not only change in the army regulations, but the admission of Catholics to the offices of sheriff and to corporations; and although Grenville was careful to forestall the presentation of their petition and to avoid all appearance of compromise, it is probable that his measure was in fact in some degree a concession to prevent further agitation; besides which he could not help feeling that the just expectations of the Catholics had not been satisfied at the Union. By a law passed in Ireland in 1793 the Roman Catholics had been permitted to hold rank in the Irish army up to the rank of colonel; but certain restrictions had been laid on their holding staff appointments. By the Union the two armies of Ireland and of England had been made one, and the anomaly had therefore arisen, that officers capable of holding their rank while in Ireland were

Fall of the
Grenville
ministry.

Revival of the
question of
the Catholic
claims.

incapable of so doing when they came to England. The ministry determined to remedy this glaring anomaly, and at the same time to remove the disabilities which tended to exclude the English Dissenters from the army. For that purpose a clause was added to the Mutiny Bill of the year. Some of the High Tories in Parliament, such as Lord Eldon and Mr. Perceval, thought it unnecessary, and the King's friends, as Lord Sidmouth and Ellenborough were called, offered some opposition, but on the whole the proposal was regarded as reasonable. The intention was notified to the Viceroy in Ireland, and the King himself was finally induced to consent, at the same time declaring that he would not allow any further step in the matter. The question then arose in Ireland as to whether the new clause retained the restrictions as to rank or not, and the majority of the Cabinet determined that they were removed, and that the whole army and navy were thrown open to the Catholics. This determination was laid before the King, and for some reason or other he took no notice of it, conduct which the ministers (although the Bill undoubtedly exceeded what the King had already accepted) construed as giving the royal consent. It was then thought better to make a separate Bill instead of merely adding a clause to the Mutiny Act; Lord Howick took the Bill to the King, and understood that he had his consent. But meanwhile Lord Sidmouth had had interviews with the King, and attempted to rouse his fears, and for the same purpose had sent in his resignation. Even more than this, Lord Malmesbury and the Duke of Portland thought they saw an opening for dislodging the ministry, and between them concocted a letter, exaggerating the difficulties of the situation, and containing an offer on the part of the Duke of Portland to form a ministry according to the King's wishes. Thus, apparently alarmed as to what he was doing, and feeling his hands strengthened by the Duke's offer, the King sent for the ministers, and told them he did not agree to anything beyond the completion of the Act of 1793. As soon as this determination of the King was known, the conduct of all Pitt's friends was fixed, and although they were at that moment thinking of joining the ministry, they now expressed their determination to oppose the Bill; the whole party felt itself bound by Pitt's promise that the question should never be moved; so strong was this feeling that even the ministry expressed themselves willing to drop their Bill. But in dropping it they were guilty of a most impolitic act. They drew up a minute of the Cabinet, reserving to themselves the right of avowing their sentiments if the petition from the Catholics,

which was at that time in preparation, was presented, and of submitting to the King from time to time such measures as they deemed advisable for the good of the country. Upon this the King demanded from them a withdrawal of their minute, and a written declaration that they would never offer him any advice upon the subject of Catholic concession. It was of course impossible for any constitutional ministers to give such a pledge; and it was upon this point—a point of real constitutional importance—that the Cabinet were dismissed. On the 19th of March the Duke of Portland received orders to form a ministry in consultation with Lord Chatham. The health of the Duke was such that his Premiership could be little more than nominal. Indeed, from the first he suffered Lords Hawkesbury and Eldon in fact to supersede him, and when Mr. Perceval became Chancellor of the Exchequer he virtually assumed the lead of the new administration. Canning became Foreign Secretary, Lord Hawkesbury Home Secretary, and Castlereagh Secretary for War and the Colonies.

We have here, then, the final triumph of the policy of George III.

Constitutional
importance of
the question.

It was again his personal wish which overthrew the ministry, it was again the underhand intrigues of those professing to be his friends which strengthened his hands in doing so, and we again find such things mentioned as that the nephews of the Duke of Portland had had his distinct orders to vote against the ministers' Bill should it be produced. The same exercise of prerogative that secured the ministry of Pitt and supported the feeble ministry of Addington now again introduced into the ministry men entirely after the King's own heart—pledged to oppose the great Liberal measures of the day, and, say what they would, really answerable for the unconstitutional pledge the King had demanded from his late ministry. The conduct of the incoming ministry was not allowed to pass without comment. Attempts were made in both Houses to establish two points of constitutional law now absolutely received—first, that it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the Crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering to the King any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare and security of the Empire; and, secondly, that it was impossible for the King to act without advice. In upholding this last point, Sir Samuel Romilly asserted that there could be no exercise of prerogative in which the King could act without some advice. No constitutional doctrine is

more important than this, for without it the King, who theoretically can do no wrong, would be answerable for his own acts. On a motion by Mr. Brand supporting these doctrines, the Opposition thought themselves secure of a majority. But so great was the royal influence, so strong the Protestant feeling of the country, that they found themselves in a minority of more than thirty. A dissolution of Parliament followed on the 27th of April. And as the King, in the speech with which Parliament was closed, appealed as it were to the constituencies for the vindication of his conduct, the personal loyalty of the people, combined with their attachment to the old cry of Church and State, placed the ministry in possession of a majority which secured its permanence.

During the last days of the Grenville ministry it had been compelled to pursue the warlike policy of its predecessors, and had exhibited an incapacity which might have been expected from so mixed a body acting upon compulsion, and in contradiction to its preconceived ideas of policy. The renewed war which at once followed upon the cessation of the negotiations undertaken by Fox was on this occasion directed towards a new enemy. We have seen the contempt with which Bonaparte habitually regarded Prussia: his conduct seems to have been wilfully directed to drive that country into war, and it is interesting to observe that it was this unjustifiable conduct which gave the first obvious proof of the changed character of his policy, and roused that animosity, not of the Court, but of the people assaulted, which finally caused his ruin. All his late acts had tended to the detriment of Prussia. By the Confederation of the Rhine the constitution of Germany, in which Prussia might at all events have claimed some voice, was entirely changed; French fortifications had been raised on the German side of the Rhine at Mayence, and the fortress of Wesel had been re-established; the very bribe with which the apparent friendship of Prussia had been secured had been tampered with. Hanover, which in the winter had been given in full possession to Prussia, was in June without scruple offered to England; as a sort of counterpoise to the Rhenish Confederation, the King of Prussia had been invited by Napoleon to form a Confederation of the North; but he soon found how illusory the offer was, for he was everywhere practically thwarted by the diplomacy of the French. The Court, the army, and the official class smarted under the disgrace of the Treaty of Schönbrunn; and when Napoleon showed the temper in which he intended to interfere in Germany,—by the apprehension (in a neutral town which chanced to

Continuation
of the war.
1806.

be occupied by French troops) of the bookseller Palm, and his cold-blooded murder on the charge merely of selling a book exciting the national feeling of Germany,—the popular anger grew so high, that the King of Prussia was obliged to act with some energy, especially when the young Queen put herself prominently forward as the leader of the national war party. A declaration of war with France was the consequence

But it was too late to be of any use. The French army, considerably more numerous than any troops Prussia could bring against it, was already in Franconia, a few marches from the frontier. There was no time to put to good account the strong national feeling which had been excited. Prussia could rely upon its army alone, and though strong in the military reminiscences of the Great Frederick and admirably appointed, the Prussian troops had not seen much war; the generals were old men wedded to obsolete traditions, while the King, in his anxiety to please Napoleon, had even gone so far as to discharge many of his troops in the previous year. The consequence

Mismanagement
of Prussia.

of an encounter between such an army and the veterans of Napoleon might have been foreseen. The catastrophe was hastened by the bad arrangements of the generals. The King and his Court and crowds of enthusiastic nobility were with the army, but the chief command was in the hands of the Duke of Brunswick, an old man past seventy. Anxious to incorporate the troops of Hesse-Cassel, he repeated the error of the Austrians of the previous year, and advancing far beyond the Elbe, which forms the only good line of defence of which Prussia can boast, he took up a position between Eisenach and Weimar, covered by the Thuringian Forest, behind which the French could make any dispositions for the assault they pleased. The mistake was much too obvious to escape the eyes of Napoleon. His army passed rapidly through the defiles which lead to the upper waters of the Saal, and proceeding down the course of that river, interposed themselves between Brunswick and the Elbe. Perceiving too late his false position, the Duke attempted to withdraw towards Magdeburg. With the larger portion of his army he found himself stopped near Auerstadt as he approached Naumbourg on the Saal, by the division of Davoust, while the Prince of Hohenlohe, with a smaller division

Battle of
Jena.
Oct. 14, 1806.

of the army, who was to have followed him, was fallen upon and overwhelmed at Jena by Napoleon himself with the greater part of his army. Beaten back from Auerstadt, Brunswick retired towards Weimar, only to meet the fugitives of Hohenlohe's army and their victorious pursuers. His

troops were involved in the disaster, the whole Prussian army was broken and destroyed, and that one day's defeat drew with it the destruction of the monarchy. Such fugitive detachments as still kept together were one by one destroyed, and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph (Oct. 27).

The temporary annihilation of Austria at Austerlitz, and the complete overthrow of Prussia at Jena, had made Napoleon master of nearly the whole of Europe. Nothing is more remarkable than the rapid expansion of his ambition; each new success seemed to supply him with a new starting-point for further schemes. His mind, in spite of its practical character, had a strong tendency towards romance; as in his youth he had been fired with the idea of a great Eastern monarchy, so now, as circumstances had been favourable to him, the idea of repeating the rôle of Charlemagne, and the re-establishment of the Empire of the West, seems to have been prominent in his mind. Already, in his dealings with the Pope, in the Confederation of the Rhine, and in the creation of vassal kingdoms, he had shown his wish to imitate the conduct of that great ruler. The idea was confirmed by the conquest of Prussia, and strengthened by a petition from one of his armies that he would take the title of Emperor of the West. Russia was the only opponent left upon the Continent. If Russia could be either conquered or won over, not only would he have been in truth the Western Emperor, but he would have the means, as he believed, of wreaking his vengeance upon his detested rival England, which still refused to yield to his ascendancy. Already in fact, he believed that this vengeance was in his grasp.

The Berlin
Decree.
Nov. 21, 1806.

On the 21st of November he issued the extraordinary measure known as the Berlin Decree. Even during the negotiations with Fox he had insisted upon Prussia closing against English traffic the mouths of the Elbe and Weser. The measure had not been a success, 400 Prussian vessels had been seized in reprisal, and the mouths of the North German rivers declared in a state of blockade. That blockade had been real. But the Emperor now, as he said by a just use of the law of retaliation (while he was unable with safety to place a single ship upon the ocean), declared that the whole of the British Isles were in a state of blockade, forbade on the part of all his dependent countries any commerce or correspondence with them, declared every subject of England found in a country occupied by French troops a prisoner of war, and all English merchandise, even all private property of Englishmen, confiscated. Thus was established what is known as the Continental system. It laboured

under three disadvantages. In the first place, it was absolutely impracticable, Europe could not be supplied without England, as Napoleon himself found in the course of the year when he authorized the clothing of his own army with English cloth; secondly, it enabled England by retaliatory measures to destroy every mercantile marine in Europe except its own; thirdly, it was so distressing and vexatious, and interfered so wantonly both with private property and the supply of necessities for the people, that, more than anything else that Napoleon did, it excited popular indignation against him, and tended to his downfall. And yet it was not without a certain plausible excuse, which rested on the difference then existing between the laws of war as carried on by land and upon the sea. By land the property of an enemy was not considered lawful prize unless it belonged to the hostile government itself; by sea the property of peaceable merchants was liable to seizure and confiscation. By land no one was considered a prisoner of war unless taken with arms in his hand; by sea the crews of merchantmen were imprisoned as well as those of armed vessels. The second point which formed Napoleon's excuse was the extension given by England to the right of blockade. These two points afforded the pretext under which the Decree was promulgated, and was declared to be a fundamental law of the French Empire, till England should recognize the laws of war to be the same by sea and by land, and should consent to restrict the right of blockade to fortified towns actually invested by a sufficient force. In issuing his Decree, then, Napoleon put on a specious appearance of magnanimity, and took upon himself the part which he was fond of assuming, that of champion of the rights of nations against the tyranny of the English.

The necessity under which England as a belligerent lay of employing to the full the power which usage gave it of necessity inflicted considerable inconvenience upon neutral powers. The retaliatory measures which the Government thought it wise to take still further injured the neutrals, and threatened almost to

Orders in
Council.

annihilate the American trade. A series of orders in Council was issued, extending from January to November 1807. By the first of these orders vessels were forbidden to trade between any ports in the possession of France, or of her allies if under her control. By the second, issued in November, after the extension of the Continental system to the Mediterranean, general reprisals were granted against the goods, ships, and inhabitants of Tuscany, Naples, Dalmatia, and the Ionian Islands. By the third,

all ports from which the flag of England was excluded were declared in blockade, all trade in their produce unlawful, and their ships a prize, while all vessels carrying certificates of origin (a measure which Napoleon had insisted upon to prevent evasion of his system) were declared liable to capture. By the fourth, another plan of evasion was forbidden; the sale of ships by a belligerent to a neutral was declared illegal, because the French had managed to preserve much of their commerce by fictitious sales, enabling them to continue their business under neutral flags. The Americans were the chief sufferers by these orders, and the irritation already felt by them was so increased that it ultimately ripened into war. Their effect
on America.

Their two special grievances were the constant search of their vessels for deserters, and the refusal of the British authorities to recognize their customhouse arrangements. By the English law as then existing an English subject could not get rid of his nationality. But America was full of English and Irish emigrants and deserters from English ships, and the Americans had the constant mortification of seeing even their war-ships stopped and searched, and the asylum of their flag violated by the apprehension, under the rough justice of English naval officers, of many of their best seamen. By the neutral laws direct trading between the colony of a belligerent and its mother country was forbidden, but neutrals might trade for their own supply with the colonies. More than this, if they imported from the colonies more than they wanted they might re-export it even to the mother country; the proof of a *bona fide* interrupted voyage was the payment of the customhouse dues in the ports of the neutral. But these dues were in America paid not in money but in bonds, which were cancelled when the goods were re-exported. The payment of goods was therefore fictitious, and English officials refused to recognize them. The irritation produced by these two causes was but slightly allayed by negotiations in 1809, and, as will be subsequently mentioned, the people, especially the Southerners, forced the States into war in 1812.

To enable Napoleon to carry out his idea either of a Western Empire or of the complete annihilation of English trade it was necessary that war with Russia should continue. As a means for injuring that power he had already held out hopes of restoration of liberty to Poland, and in December he was received as a national saviour at Warsaw; but some remnant of the Prussian army had formed a junction with the forces of the Czar, and Benigsen, in command of the combined armies, refused to give the French a resting

time in their new quarters. Napoleon had again himself to take the field. The allies fell back northwards to Eylau, not far from Königsberg, and there, on the 7th of February, was fought a great battle, which, for almost the first time, the French could not claim as a victory. Their exhaustion was great. Three times within seven months fresh conscriptions had been ordered in France. The firmness of the Russians at Eylau gave rise to well-grounded hopes that the chance of checking Napoleon had arrived, but money and reinforcements of troops were sorely wanted.

But at this critical moment the Grenville ministry exhibited to the full its incapacity for carrying on war. The Emperor of Russia was told that he need expect no great assistance from England, and money was doled out to him with ridiculous parsimony. There was indeed in England a total misapprehension of the necessities of a great war. Since the time of Marlborough and Queen Anne the idea of war on a large scale, except upon the sea, seemed to have wholly disappeared from the minds of the public men of the country. Even the great successes of Chatham had depended principally upon his good fortune in securing the alliance of Frederick the Great, and now all the resources of England were frittered away in a ridiculous series of small expeditions. When a concentration of troops and a frank and open-handed assistance to its allies might have saved Europe, the English Government taught them by its conduct, that while urging them to fight it would practically desert them at the moment when its assistance was wanted, and spend its men and money on such isolated expeditions as the attack on Buenos Ayres, Alexandria, or upon the Dardanelles. These were the three military projects of the Grenville ministry.

In 1806 the English had recaptured from the Dutch the Cape of Good Hope. Sir Home Popham, who commanded the fleet, without orders from Government, determined upon a similar assault upon the Spanish colonies in America, and proceeded to capture Buenos Ayres. He thence wrote home a triumphant letter calling upon the English merchants to come to the magnificent new market he had opened. His triumph was of short duration. The colonists rallied under command of a French colonel, the city was recaptured, and the troops compelled to surrender as prisoners of war. In February 1807, 3000 men were sent out under Sir Samuel Auchmuty to assist Popham. Too late to save Buenos Ayres, he attacked and captured Monte Video. Before his success

Battle of
Eylau.
Feb. 7, 1807.

Incapacity of
the Grenville
ministry.

Expedition to
Buenos Ayres.
May 1807.

was known fresh reinforcements were sent out under General Whitelocke, with orders to assume the chief command, and with Popham's forces recapture Buenos Ayres. The attempt was a disgraceful failure; the troops were ordered to enter the city with unloaded muskets, and to rendezvous in the central square. The effect of so strange an attempt at street fighting may be easily conjectured. From the side-streets, housetops, and barricades thrown up across the roads, a destructive fire was kept up. Though Auchmuty met with some success, by nightfall 2500 of the English were either killed or prisoners, and Whitelocke was glad to accept the freedom of the prisoners both of the present engagement and of the past year, and to withdraw his troops, surrendering Monte Video and all he had conquered. In the judgment of the court martial which tried Whitelocke he was held totally unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever, and the popular voice changed his name to General Whitefeather.

During the continuance of the great European war the friendship of Turkey had been a constant object with the great powers. The ambassadors from Russia, France, and England had used all their powers of persuasion and menace to secure the adhesion of the Sultan. Before the end of the year 1806 the threats of Russia had had the effect of driving the Sultan to the friendship of France, and the Porte had declared war with Russia just after the battle of Jena. Wanting his troops for the defence of his own country, and being at that time in close friendship with England, Alexander requested the English Government to take charge of his interests at the Turkish capital, and despatch a fleet to oblige Selim to give up his friendship with France. The plan, being one which could be carried out by the navy, suited the policy of the Grenville Government, and orders were sent to Lord Collingwood, then cruising off Cadiz, to send a squadron to the Dardanelles. He was not allowed to choose his own commander, but received orders from home to appoint Sir John Duckworth. Nothing could be worse managed than the expedition. Collingwood had given strict charge to Duckworth not to be drawn into negotiations. But when the passage of the Dardanelles, at that time almost unfortified, was forced, Duckworth, forgetful of Collingwood's advice, suffered himself to be entangled in negotiations. Sebastiani, the French ambassador, aroused the temper of the Turks, and instructed them in the best manner of fortifying their

Turkey declares
war against
Russia.

Expedition to
the Dardanelles
Feb. 1807.

coasts. The English fleet was in danger of being shut up in the Straits. It became necessary to withdraw; but that step was no longer easy. On the 1st of March the fleet sailed back through the Dardanelles. Batteries had been erected at every point, and though the fleet succeeded in running the gauntlet through the terrible fire, with the loss of only some 300 men, it found itself entirely prevented from any return. The object of the expedition had completely failed, and the only resource left was to keep the Turkish fleet blockaded.

In connection with this expedition a body of troops had been despatched under General Fraser to capture Alexandria. It was hoped that on the receipt of the news of Duckworth's expected success, it would have been able to advance to the reconquest of Egypt. Want of food necessitated an attack upon Rosetta. It was undertaken in the same foolish spirit as Whitelocke's attack upon Buenos Ayres. Entangled in the streets, the English soldiery were shot down in great numbers, and with the loss of a third of his troops the general in command withdrew to Alexandria. A subsequent effort was made to besiege Rosetta in form, but the forces of the Pasha of Egypt proved too strong for the besiegers; with heavy loss they withdrew to Alexandria, and in August 1807 were compelled to evacuate the country.

The only gleam of success which attended the military operations of the Grenville ministry was gained in the south of Italy. It will be remembered that immediately after the battle of Austerlitz the kingdom of Naples had been appropriated by France. Sicily, however, was not conquered, and in that island there was an English army commanded by Sir John Stewart. Urged to do something for the assistance of the Neapolitan Court, he landed in Calabria in July, and there fought and won the battle of Maida, in which the French general Reynier was completely beaten. The forces at Stewart's command were insufficient for the reconquest of the country, which fell again into French hands on the retirement of the English, after a lengthened opposition on the part of the peasantry.

The attempt made at the Peace of Westphalia to establish the balance of power in Europe, and to secure the rights of small states, had proved unsuccessful. It had been rudely shocked by the career of Frederick II., and almost annihilated by the partition of Poland. A spirit of jealousy and a desire for selfish aggrandizement had taken possession of the

Expedition to
Alexandria.
March to
August.

Expedition
to Sicily.
July, 1806.

Complete dis-
solution of the
coalition.

great reigning houses, and had proved a fatal obstacle to the formation of loyal coalitions for a general purpose. It is to this that may be traced the failure of united effort in the last war, and the terrible reverses which both Austria and Prussia had undergone; England had in the same spirit just been frittering away its strength in attempts to secure the mastery of the sea, and the opening of new markets for her trade; thus left without the assistance they had a right to demand, the Russians were completely defeated at the battle of Friedland (June 14). It was now the turn for Russia to seek its own ends, and to secure them by deserting its allies. Disgusted with the lukewarm assistance afforded by England, attached to the principles of the Armed Neutrality, and eager to carry on its schemes of aggression against Turkey, the Czar allowed himself to be dazzled by the flattering offers of Napoleon. The Emperor had found his difficulties increase with his empire; he had discovered that the Russians were more difficult to conquer than the Austrians or Prussians, and he was now willing to purchase the friendship of the Czar and his assistance against England by an arrangement by which Alexander should be Emperor of the East, while he kept for himself the envied position of Emperor of the West.

The meeting between the Emperors took place, as upon neutral ground, on a raft in the middle of the Niemer at Tilsitt. "I hate the English as you do," Alexander is reported to have said. "Then," replied Napoleon, "peace is made;" and the two Emperors set to work to arrange Europe according to their own fancies, upon the common basis of dislike to England, and under the showy pretext of checking her overweening pride upon the sea. As Russia was fighting not for herself but for her allies, a treaty of peace and amity was all that was wanted between her and France, and of course the lately conquered King of Prussia had to pay the price of the treaty, the terms being chiefly in favour of France. Prussia was deprived of all its provinces between the Rhine and the Elbe, and of its Polish possessions. The former were incorporated with Hesse, Brunswick, and a part of Hanover, to form a kingdom of Westphalia, which was given to Jerome Bonaparte; the latter were formed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and given to the King of Saxony, one province only excepted, which was given to Russia, nominally to cover the expenses of the war. All the alterations which Napoleon had effected in Europe were accepted; the Duchies of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg were restored to their possessors, on the condition that the French

Treaty of
Tilsitt.
July 7, 1807.

should hold their ports till the conclusion of a general peace; Silesia and the German provinces on the right bank of the Elbe were restored to Prussia, but a military road was allowed to Saxony through Silesia, to afford the Saxon Prince access to his new dominions. Prussia was, however, to acknowledge the Berlin Decree, to reduce its troops to 42,000 men, to pay France £6,000,000 of money, in addition to the charges of the war, amounting to about £20,000,000, and to leave Berlin and its chief fortresses in the hands of the French till the debt was paid; as the yearly revenue of Prussia was not much more than £3,000,000, this promised to be for some time.

But the real point of the treaty was its secret articles, which were dimly suspected at the time, and the existence of which has subsequently been fully proved. By these articles, if England had not consented by the 1st of November to conclude peace—recognizing that the flags of all Powers ought to enjoy an equal and perfect independence on the seas, and restoring all conquests won from France or its allies since 1805—Russia was to make common cause with France against her, and oblige the Courts of Lisbon, Stockholm and Copenhagen to join in the alliance. In exchange for this, which was to wreak Napoleon's vengeance upon England, it was stipulated that if the Porte did not accept the mediation of France, France would make common cause with Russia against the Porte, and would agree to take from the Turks all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, with the exception of the town of Constantinople and Roumelia. Napoleon had thus thrown over, for his own advantage, the Poles, on whose hopes of liberty he had traded, and the Turks, whom he had induced to declare war with Russia; Spain and Portugal were left open to his ambition; Sweden was placed at the disposal of Russia, which was likewise rid of all difficulty from Poland.

The conduct of Alexander has an appearance of extreme treachery.

Only a few days before he had written to the English King that "there was no salvation to himself or to Europe but by interminable resistance to Bonaparte;" moreover, he did not refuse to accept a considerable portion of the territories of his ally the King of Prussia. His apologists assert that his readiness to accept Napoleon's terms was assumed to afford him an opportunity for strengthening himself for future opposition to French aggrandizement. More probably he was led away, partly by his peculiar enthusiastic temperament, which made him wish to have a large share both in the establishment of peace and in the rearrangement of Europe, and

*Secret articles
of the treaty.*

*Conduct of
Alexander.*

partly by an undercurrent of ambition which laid him open to offers securing him the acquisition of Poland, and the command both of the Baltic and the Black Seas.

Already, before the signing of the Peace of Tilsitt, information had been brought to Canning, our Foreign Minister, that the fleets of Portugal and Denmark were to be taken by the French and used for an assault upon England. The secret articles of the treaty vindicate the truth of this information, and justify in some degree the immediate action which the English Government took upon it. For although there seems to be proof that the Danes themselves were anxious to maintain their friendship with England, it was more than probable that they would be unable to resist the combined pressure of Russia and France. Refusing the mediation offered by Russia, unless England was put on a fair footing with France by a frank disclosure of the nature of the late treaty, the English Government despatched a squadron to require the immediate surrender of the Danish fleet. It was no doubt a harsh measure, rendered still harsher by the courageous conduct of the Danes. Although Copenhagen was unprepared for an attack, the demand was refused, and it was found necessary to bombard the city. The effect of this step was, on the one hand, a surrender of the whole Danish fleet, which was brought to England, and on the other, to make Denmark, whatever its previous intention may have been, a close ally of France. In a second direction the consequences of the treaty became immediately obvious. Russia demanded of Sweden her adherence to the Continental System. Christian IV., the king of that country, was chivalrous and impetuous to the verge of madness. He refused all solicitations to forsake his alliance with England, and became entangled in a war with France and Russia at once. When scarcely strong enough to defend his own country, he began an assault upon the Danish province of Norway, and consequently lost all his territory in Pomerania and Finland, which amounted to nearly a third of his kingdom. Sir John Moore, with an army of 10,000 men, were sent to his assistance, but found him so wild and unreasonable that he thought it better to sail home without even landing his troops. Frightened at the eccentricities of their sovereign, the Swedes removed him from the throne, setting up his uncle in his place.

In the North, then, the Treaty of Tilsitt had produced the effect which Napoleon had desired. Advantage had been taken of the

CON. MON.

*Consequences
of the Peace
of Tilsitt.*

*Capture of the
Danish fleet.
Sept. 8.*

*War between
Russia and
Sweden.
Oct. 31.*

[2 H]

bombardment of Copenhagen, which was held to be a fresh proof of the lawless ambition of England, to oblige Austria, Russia, and Prussia all to declare war with England. Denmark had joined the French alliance, Sweden had been compelled to forego the friendship of England. But there still existed one part of Europe where the Berlin Decree was unacknowledged, and the blockade of the British Isles was thus incomplete; this country was Portugal.

Napoleon had long had his eyes fixed upon the Peninsula; by the Treaty of Tilsitt it had in fact been delivered into his hands as Finland into the hands of Alexander. The condition of the Peninsula was very favourable to his schemes. Charles IV., a weak old man, was on the throne, governed by his wife and by her favourite minister Godoy, the Prince of the Peace. In strong opposition to his father and to the Queen was Ferdinand, the Prince of Asturias. Both parties intrigued for the support of Napoleon, but Godoy had been able to offer the more tempting bait. Napoleon had induced the Prince of Asturias to enter into communication with regard to a marriage with a lady of the Bonaparte family. The secret correspondence had been brought to the knowledge of the King, and made use of by him and his minister to affix a charge of treason upon the Prince, and to imprison him for having conspired to drive his father from the throne. By the people the story of the conspiracy was regarded as a calumny of the minister to destroy the Prince, and fearful of the storm he had excited, Godoy now attempted to mediate a reconciliation between the King and his son. The Prince in his imprisonment was induced to write penitential letters, and a solemn pardon was given. But though the attempt to remove the Prince had thus failed, Godoy's own connection with Napoleon, who had probably been at the bottom of the late affair, was almost immediately shown by the publication, on the 29th of October, of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. This treaty disclosed the bait with which Godoy had been enabled to secure the alliance of Bonaparte. He suggested that France and Spain should join in appropriating Portugal if only he were allowed a principality out of the spoil. The house of Braganza was to be dispossessed; the northern province of Portugal was to be given to the King of Etruria,¹ whose own province, Tuscany, might thus be appended to the Italian kingdom; Godoy was to be rewarded with the principality of Alentejo and Algarves.

¹ The representative of the Bourbon Dukes of Parma and Placentia. His father had received Tuscany, with the title of King of Etruria, in exchange for his Duchies, by the Treaty of Lunéville.

Continental
System acknow-
ledged every-
where except
in Portugal.

Condition of
the Peninsula.

Some excuse was of course wanted for this wanton attack upon Portugal. It was found in the way in which the Court of Lisbon obeyed the demand addressed to it after the Peace of Tilsitt, to close the ports of Portugal against England, to detain all Englishmen resident in Portugal, and to confiscate all English property. Meanwhile all Portuguese merchant ships in the ports of France were to be detained. The Prince Regent of Portugal was not strong enough to resist the demand. He obeyed the first order, without however forfeiting the friendship of England, which confessed the coercion laid upon him. To the other two demands he also at length conceded, but not till he had given plentiful warning to the English to withdraw and to sell their property. The delay was, however, sufficient to afford Napoleon the pretext he wanted.

While negotiations were still proceeding with Portugal, the real intention of the Emperor—to appropriate both that country and Spain—became obvious. For this purpose nearly 30,000 French troops were to enter Spain, and 40,000 more were assembled at Bayonne. While Junot, with "the first army of the Gironde," poured through Salamanca (in October 1807), and proceeded to the conquest of Portugal, the domestic quarrels of the Spanish Court continuing, the 40,000 men assembled at Bayonne moved in two armies into Spain, and while apparently preparing to follow Junot, really occupied the line of mountains north of Madrid, and cut off that capital from the northern provinces, which were thus practically conquered without a blow. In March 1808 riots both in Madrid and Aranjuez, ending in the abdication of Charles and the accession of Ferdinand, gave the French, now under the command of Murat, an excuse for crossing the mountains by the Pass of Somo Sierra and occupying Madrid. By a series of shameless intrigues Napoleon attracted both Ferdinand and his father to Bayonne. Ferdinand was there induced to restore the crown to his father (May 5), who abdicated a second time, placing the crown in the hands of Napoleon. Napoleon immediately established his brother Joseph upon the vacant throne (June 15).

But the Spaniards, especially the Castilians, were a people of high temper; in spite of a century's degradation, certain remembrances of a former greatness hung about them. They saw with scorn and disgust the treacherous conduct of their own rulers, who were handing them over, bound

Napoleon's pre-
text for war
with Portugal.

Junot's army
enters Spain.
Oct. 18.

Ferdinand VII.
succeeds
his father
Charles IV.
March 19, 1808.

Murat occupies
Madrid.
March 23.

Napoleon places
Joseph on the
throne.

Insurrection in
Spain.

hand and foot, to a foreign prince, whose very virtues rendered him doubly detestable to them; for the rule of the French meant splendid and centralized organization, restraint, self-denial, and wise government, very much opposed to Spanish feeling. While their rulers were basely truckling to the invader the people rose; the flame of insurrection spread far and wide; great riots in Toledo and Madrid were followed by similar exhibitions of national anger throughout the country, and Napoleon's armies, though they found no regular opposition, though intrigue and treachery had apparently removed all obstacles, found themselves in the midst of a hostile population, and masters only of the ground on which they stood. To meet this new difficulty the fertile mind of the Emperor had at once a plan ready. Madrid was to be a centre from which should radiate in all directions expeditionary armies to suppress the insurrections,

*Operations of
Napoleon's
three armies
from Madrid.*

Madrid itself resting for support on France. To hold the communications between Madrid and France therefore became a prime object. This work was intrusted to Bessières, while Duhesme operated in Catalonia, and expeditions were sent out from Madrid against Valencia under Moncey, and against Andalusia under Dupont. Bessières, though his general Lefèbvre failed before the desperate energy of the Saragossans, thoroughly defeated the Gallician troops under Blake and Cuesta at the Rio Seco. Duhesme effected nothing, and was obliged to raise the siege of Gerona. Moncey, though he reached the town of Valencia with success, was unable to take it, and had to retreat. Dupont pushed at first as far as Cordova, but losing heart, and badly supplied from Madrid, also attempted to retreat, was pursued by the Spaniards, and compelled to lay down his arms with 18,000 men, after the battle of Baylen, before he could recross the Sierra Morena. Unsuccessful, therefore, on all sides, and though victorious yet hard pressed upon the North, the French were obliged to retire, and King Joseph, evacuating Madrid, withdrew behind the Ebro.

*Joseph evacuates
Madrid.
Aug. 1, 1808.*

*The Portuguese
royal family
emigrate to
Brazil.
Nov. 29, 1807.*

Meanwhile Junot's army had proceeded direct to Portugal with orders to occupy it by the 30th of November 1807. As Junot approached the capital, the Prince Regent, acting under the advice of Lord Strangford, the English ambassador, determined to leave his European dominions and to transfer the apparatus and seat of government to Brazil. On the 29th of November as many as 15,000 persons were carried by the English fleet down the Tagus. The last ship had

hardly sailed when Junot arrived. He had wished to stop and reorganize his troops in Salamanca, but pressed by the Emperor, he hurried forward in spite of the difficulties of the way, and marched upon Lisbon with only a few thousand weary and travel-worn soldiers. He however met with no opposition there, and after the manner of Napoleon's lieutenants, at once set about Gallicizing the country. The Portuguese army was chiefly sent away to France. The police in the hands of the French was well administered, and though the people of Lisbon obeyed unwillingly, order was successfully maintained. The position of Spain and Portugal was thus closely analogous; in both cases the people had been deserted by their natural rulers, in both cases the consequences were the same. The insurrections in Spain were followed by similar movements in Portugal. The people took the government into their own hands, and a popular Junta was established at Oporto under the influence of the Bishop.

*Junot's army
occupies Lisbon.
Nov. 30.*

The insurrection in Spain had been observed with enthusiastic admiration by the people of England. It seemed at last as if that popular insurrection against the tyranny of Napoleon, which had long been expected, had arrived. Nevertheless, the total absence of central authority produced its inevitable effects upon a country so ill ruled and so ignorant of self-government as Spain. Ambitious men everywhere laid hold of the local authority, and irresponsible juntas arose. The provincial feeling, always unreasonably strong in the Peninsula, found full vent. Junta disputed with junta, and the whole country was involved in the wildest anarchy. None the less the feeling of the English people was a true one. Napoleon had reached the point when he came into collision with that very power which formed the basis of his own success—the power of the people. Already his behaviour in Germany had excited among the lower classes enthusiastic feelings of hatred to their conquerors and of desire for national liberty; and the outbreak of the Spanish insurrection added fresh vigour and raised fresh hopes in the lovers of liberty throughout the whole of Europe. To the English Government the arrival of two Asturian envoys in the month of June seemed to offer an opportunity which had long been wanted of giving a national and unselfish character to our opposition to the great conqueror. In the course of time it afforded also a battle-ground on which at length the military power of the country found room to move in larger and

*Enthusiasm in
England for
the Spanish
insurrection.*

*Asturian envoys
arrive in
England.
June 1808.*

more combined action, than in the feeble expeditions of the earlier part of the war. But as yet this was not foreseen. For some years the great war in the Peninsula was starved, while money was lavished upon useless and isolated efforts in other parts of the Continent; it was only slowly and by degrees that the genius, the steadfastness, the success, of Wellington taught England the necessity of large and well-continued efforts in one direction. The Asturian envoys were received with enthusiasm not only by the Opposition but by the Government. But the opportunity offered was not wisely made use of. Spain was inundated with agents of no political ability, who were deceived by the boasting assertions of the Spaniards. Money and arms were sent over in lavish quantities to be left unopened on the quays, appropriated by the rival juntas for their own personal or local advantage, or to fall into the hands of the enemy, and the Spaniards, who did little or nothing for themselves, were taught to demand the assistance of England as a right.

The position of Portugal seemed to offer a more favourable ground for action, and thither it was determined to send an English armament. But the Government could not yet conceive of war upon a large scale, and in entire ignorance of the real condition of Spain believed that a mere handful of English troops, aided by the boasted enthusiasm of the Spanish nation, would be able to withstand the enormous armies Napoleon was ready to pour into the Peninsula. The army at first sent was little better than an expeditionary force. A body of troops ready at Cork for war in South America were despatched under Sir Arthur Wellesley, at that time Secretary for Ireland; but by some ridiculous mismanagement two senior officers, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Governor of Gibraltar, were put over his head, and Sir John Moore, who was despatched with a second body of troops to reinforce him, though he had served as commander-in-chief both in Sicily and Sweden, also found himself in a subordinate position. The expedition touched first at Corunna, but was persuaded by the members of the local junta to proceed to Portugal, where they declared the numerous Spanish army was already collected, and whither they promised speedily to send reinforcements. Upon reaching Oporto, however, the commander found that there were no Spanish troops in the north of Portugal, neither were there any Portuguese troops; but upon the river Mondego there appeared to be a disorganized body of about 5000 men, representing 40,000 for

An English
force sent to
Portugal.

whom the Bishop of Oporto had received accoutrements. With them there were some 10,000 peasants without arms. Wellesley had now a choice left. He might land north of Lisbon and act against Junot, or proceed to Cadiz, and joining Spencer, who had a small command there, act against the French in Spain. He preferred the first alternative, and determined to land at the mouth of the Mondego, near Figueras. He sent to Cadiz for Spencer's troops, but fortunately that general, on hearing of the victory of Baylen, had already determined to sail for the Tagus. The two corps when joined amounted to about 12,000 men. The landing of the English at the Mondego confined the operations to that tongue of land which lies between the sea and the Tagus in its south-westerly course, and which is terminated by the city of Lisbon.

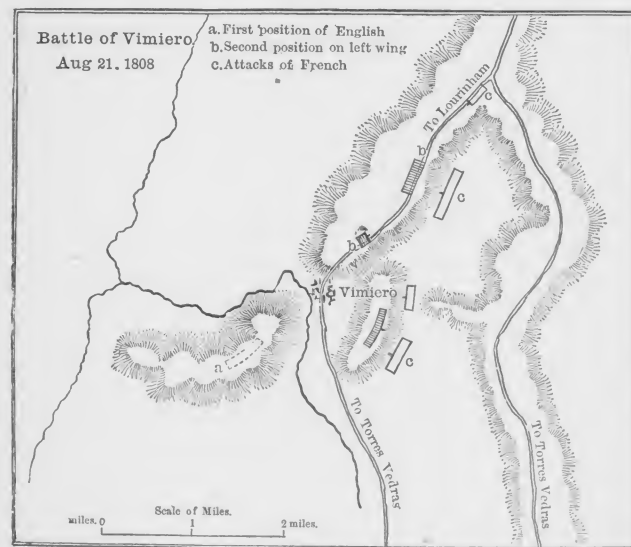
Wellesley lands
at Figueras.
Aug. 1, 1808.

Wellesley determined to strike rapidly, and bring affairs in Portugal to a crisis at once. Therefore, although deserted by the Portuguese troops, he advanced directly southward towards Lisbon. Junot's troops were somewhat scattered, and the temper of the people prevented him from energetic action. He proceeded, however, to concentrate his troops, and while this movement was going forward the English army came into contact with one of his divisions under Laborde, occupying a strong position at the end of a valley leading from Obidos to Rorica. Here, after a sharp contest, the French general found himself out-flanked by the hills which line the valley, and withdrew, allowing Wellesley to proceed. Meanwhile Junot had been continuing his concentration, and had collected 14,000 men at Torres Vedras, to bar the road to Lisbon. Sir Harry Burrard, Wellesley's superior officer, had now arrived at the coast, and Wellesley begged him to allow Sir John Moore's division, on its arrival from England, to land on the Mondego river, and cross the tongue of land to the Tagus, thus cutting off the natural line of retreat into Spain, which would be up the valley of that river. He then proceeded to advance against Junot. But Burrard, a commonplace general, disregarding his advice, determined to bring Sir John Moore up as a reinforcement, and forbade Wellesley to undertake any offensive movement till that general's arrival.

Combat of
Rorica.
Aug. 17.

Wellesley was therefore obliged to return to his army, which was in position at Vimiero. A little hill covered the village to the front. On either side of it ran a chain of heights, from which on the east a branch ran off southwards. There was a direct road between

Vimiero and Torres Vedras, and a second road from Torres Vedras to a place called Lourinham ran along the top of the branch ridge crossing the main ridge. On the hill before the village and upon the ridge to the west Wellesley took up his position, expecting



to be attacked on his right. But early on the 21st the French came into view on the Lourinham road, and as they pressed forward evidently threatened the left, and not the right, of the English position. A considerable body of troops was therefore moved from the right to the left ridge, a movement unobserved by the French, for the valley between the armies was thickly wooded. For the same reason a ravine which rendered the left wing nearly unassailable was unobserved by the French. Junot directed two main attacks, upon the central hill and upon the left ridge. The attack upon the centre was defeated, for it was open on the flank to the fire of an English brigade moving to the left, which halted half-way up the

Battle of
Vimiero.
Aug. 21, 1808.

hill when the strength of the central attack was seen; the left attack was ruined by the ravine. Meanwhile troops had been sent to turn the English left by the Lourinham road and to advance along the left ridge, which the French believed almost unoccupied; but, as has been mentioned, it was now covered with troops, and Ferguson's brigade beat the assailants back, and pursued them along the ridge till he had wholly separated them from the rest of the French army. They must have capitulated had not an unexpected order arrived to halt. Sir Harry Burrard, who had been on the field all day, had just assumed the command, and the change of leaders became at once perceptible. When the battle was over, thirteen guns, and many prisoners, including a general, were in the hands of the English, and the French had lost between 2000 and 3000 men.

The road to Torres Vedras from Lourinham, on which the beaten French army had collected, was two miles longer than the direct road from Vimiero. Wellesley designed to push forward with his victorious army, part of which had not been engaged, to forestall the French at Torres Vedras, and cut them off from Lisbon, a measure which, had Sir John Moore been landed from Mondego, must have completed their ruin. Again the prudence of Sir Harry Burrard thwarted Wellesley's plan. He was compelled to allow his army to rest in their old position. Sir Harry Burrard having thus spoilt a great victory, was almost immediately superseded by the arrival of Sir Hugh Dalrymple. Their combined wisdom allowed an advance upon Lisbon, but insisted on bringing Sir John Moore to join the army. While this was being settled, an envoy arrived from the French offering to treat, and finally the convention known as the Convention of Cintra was entered into, in many points against Wellesley's advice. It stipulated for the evacuation of Portugal, but for the transport of the whole French army, with their guns and horses, to France. It was at first suggested that the Russian fleet, at that time in Lisbon, should be regarded as in a neutral port; but as some English regiments had got possession of the mouth of the river, and had hoisted the English flag, this claim was overruled, and Siniavin, the Russian admiral, with his fleet, passed into the hands of the English.

It was not to be supposed that Napoleon would calmly watch the defeat of his troops even in an obscure corner of Europe, still less when their defeat seemed to thwart the completeness of his system, and was connected with events which had driven his brother from his throne. Though he knew

Convention
of Cintra.
Aug. 30.

Napoleon's
position in
Europe.

that conquered Prussia beneath the surface was glowing with inextinguishable hatred, and though Austria, in spite of the war against England in which she was nominally engaged, was strengthening her army and re-establishing her finances in a way which seemed to threaten fresh efforts at freedom on her part, he determined to turn the full strength of his Empire upon the devoted Peninsula. He felt that so long as his friendship with Russia existed, so long as the Peace of Tilsitt held firm, his position was tolerably secure. He therefore renewed his alliance with Russia at a meeting with the Czar at Erfurth (Oct. 12), and suddenly ordered the widely scattered divisions of the grand army to concentrate on Paris preparatory to marching into Spain.

Unconscious of the coming danger and of the vast strength of its enemy, the central Junta at Madrid went on with its ill-arranged preparations to secure the freedom of Spain, and with its idle boasts as to the strength of the national armies. The English Government had not yet lost faith in Spanish assertions, nor learnt the absolute worthlessness of Spanish generals and armies; the fables of the Junta gained credence, and while all the other generals who had gone to Portugal were recalled, some 25,000 men were intrusted to Sir John Moore, with orders to advance into Spain and assist the Spanish troops, which were now occupying the valley of the Ebro and closing the French frontier. Even had the Spanish troops been worth anything, there was an absurd disproportion between the forces prepared and the scene of action for which they were intended. Nor did this weakness fail to strike military men. The Duke of York, though by no means a first-rate general, called the attention of Government to the wide dissipation of the Spanish troops, and the great distance of Portugal from the scene of action, and gave it as his opinion that to employ less than 60,000 men was merely to waste them. The Government refused to listen to his advice, Lord Castlereagh, the War Minister, was unmoved, and Moore was sent forward to certain failure. With a raw commissariat, and ill supplied with money, although it was at that very time being lavished upon the Spaniards, he embarked upon his dangerous march through a country where the roads were so bad that his artillery to reach Salamanca had to proceed all up the valley of the Tagus almost to Madrid and come back to meet him at Salamanca, where he was to be joined by reinforcements from England under Sir David Baird. Moore's concentration at Salamanca was wholly based on the supposition

Preparations
in Spain.

Sir John
Moore's march
to Salamanca.
Oct.

that the Spanish armies were strong enough at all events to retard, if not wholly to resist, the invasion of the French. Yet the grand army was rapidly approaching, and before long the forces collected upon the frontier rendered resistance hopeless. In September arrangements were made for the incorporation of the troops coming from Germany with those already in Spain, and eight great corps d'armée, commanded by six French marshals and Generals Junot and St. Cyr, besides the Imperial Guard, were collected to bear down all opposition.

While Moore was painfully completing his concentration at Salamanca, Napoleon himself arrived at Vittoria, and almost immediately the Spanish troops, which the English general was to support, were scattered to the winds.

Napoleon
arrives at
Vittoria.
Nov. 5, 1808.

From his central position the Emperor was able to concentrate his chief force now on his right, now on his left. In a rapid succession of victories Lefèbvre and Soult destroyed the armies upon the left and centre of the Spanish line, and on the 11th of November Blake was entirely ruined at Espinosa. Immediately the whole strength of the French army was turned against the right, and on the 23rd of the same month Lannes crushed Palafox and Castaños at Tudela. All the boasted armies of Spain were thus swept away as it were in a moment, and Napoleon advanced upon Madrid, forced the passage of the Somo-Sierra, and after some slight opposition took possession of the capital on the 4th of December. The news of the defeats of Espinosa and Tudela reached Moore at Salamanca before his artillery had joined him. He resolved to await its arrival, and then to retreat.

Destruction of
the Spanish
armies. Napo-
leon at Madrid.
Dec. 4, 1808.

Meanwhile, although Napoleon at the head of nearly 400,000 men was pressing onward rapidly to Madrid, in a few days to drive the members of the supreme Junta fugitives to Badajos, the old system of misrepresentation was kept up. Mr. Frere, the English plenipotentiary, had been persuaded to share in the illusions of the Junta, and he wrote peremptory letters, urging Moore to advance, and to rally the Spanish armies around him behind the Tagus. But news had at length reached Moore that those Spanish armies did not exist; the national excitement he had been taught to expect was nowhere visible, and he presently heard that the capital itself was in the hands of Napoleon. For 25,000 or 30,000 English soldiers to oppose the grand army with Napoleon at its head was simply ridiculous;

their retreat was a matter of necessity. But Moore determined before retreating to relieve if possible the pressure upon the south of Spain, by pushing forward against Soult and threatening the French communications with France. In acting thus he judged that Napoleon was far more likely to direct his efforts against the English force than to spend his time in subduing the southern provinces, which would easily fall into his hands afterwards. He therefore advanced towards the Carrion river, where Soult had collected his army. The measure succeeded. Napoleon heard of the advance on the 21st; dismissing all thought of the Spaniards, he checked the further advance of his troops, and turned all his attention to crushing the English. On receipt of the news that Napoleon had left Madrid, Moore, who had been hoping to strike a blow before the arrival of Napoleon, at once began his retreat. He was closely followed by Soult, while Napoleon, forcing the passes of the Guadarama, which were deep in snow, came up from the south upon his flank. The retreat was attended with great difficulty. Moore's troops were young, the subordination was not perfect, and the enemy pressed him close; and at length, on the 1st of January, Napoleon and Soult formed a junction at Astorga, and their combined army amounted to 70,000 men. In ten days Napoleon had moved in the depth of winter 50,000 men across 200 miles of hostile country. But Moore's rapidity had spoilt the effect of even this stupendous march; he had already passed Astorga.

There news reached the Emperor of the approaching declaration of war from Austria, and he found it necessary to resign the command to Soult. Some of his troops he took with him; but Soult himself, and Ney, who supported him, still commanded upwards of 60,000 men, by whom the pursuit was recommenced. Amid many scenes of disorder the English army pursued its career towards Vigo, where it was expected that the fleet would be ready to receive it. But information was brought that the harbour was not fit for the embarkation of troops. The line of retreat was therefore changed to Corunna. At Lugo, so close was the pursuit that Moore thought it necessary to prepare for battle, and the troops, though they had suffered much and become disorderly in retreat, at once showed that their spirit was unbroken. To the number of 16,000 they formed willingly and regularly in array of battle. But as the French did not attack, and as the supplies would not permit of more than one great battle, the army

Sir John

Moore's retreat.

Napoleon

leaves Spain.

being now concentrated and encouraged, Moore marched off at night, and resumed his course towards the sea. Although the movement was executed in the midst of a heavy storm, and though so much disorganization followed that the loss between Lugo and Betangos was more than in all the former part of the retreat, from thence to Corunna, the army being collected, marched in good order. As they approached the port, to their horror they discovered that the fleet had not arrived. Contrary winds were still detaining it at Vigo, "and the last consuming exertion made by the army was rendered fruitless." Battle was after all necessary. Large magazines of arms and ammunition left unappropriated and undistributed by the Spanish authorities, though their armies were in desperate want, were found and destroyed. The horses, many of them already broken down, were put to death. Soult's army, almost as exhausted by pursuit as Moore's by retreat, did not assemble till the 12th, but it was not till the 14th that the English transports arrived. The cavalry, who had lost their horses, the sick, and fifty pieces of artillery, were put on board, and preparations made for covering the embarkation of the troops. The ridge on which Soult's army was drawn up overlooked and commanded the position of the English, and some generals were desirous even then of entering into negotiations to secure the safe withdrawal of the army. Moore would not hear of it.

It was determined that upon the evening of the 16th the embarkation should take place, but about the middle of the day the French army began the attack. Even in the last hour of retreat the English showed their strength; the assaults of the French were repulsed on all sides, and when night closed they were everywhere falling back in confusion. Moore had fallen in the battle, and the command devolved on Hope. Had he known that Soult's ammunition was nearly exhausted he would have continued the strife, and the disaster of the French would have been complete. As it was, he held it wiser to embark the English army during the night, an operation which was performed successfully and without confusion. The loss of the English was estimated at 800, that of the French at between 2000 and 3000. But though, no doubt, the battle of Corunna was an English victory, it was advantageous only in allowing the army to be withdrawn, and left the north-west provinces of Spain and the north of Portugal open to the French. Sir John Moore, whose character as a soldier had already been acknowledged, decoyed by false

Moore reaches
Corunna.
Jan. 10.Battle of
Corunna.
Jan. 16.

hopes and misled by false information, had yet nobly succeeded in withdrawing for a time the pressure of the French from the south of Spain, and in the midst of overwhelming difficulties had saved the British army and closed his career with a brilliant victory.

The Convention of Cintra and the retreat of Sir John Moore, the greatness of which was not understood, discouraged the English ministry with regard to its policy in the Peninsula. The cause of the Spaniards was however so

Discouragement
of the English
ministry.

popular that it was not deemed advisable wholly to desert them. For three months after the convention Portugal had been left a prey to its own anarchy, but in December Sir John Cradock was sent out to command the English troops. The armaments which had been sent to Cadiz having failed to effect anything there, collected at Lisbon. The Portuguese were at length wise enough to demand an

Beresford
made com-
mander of
the Portuguese
army.

English general for their army, and Beresford was sent out to take the command, and thus something like order was re-established. But Napoleon had commanded the conquest of Portugal, the troops of Victor threatened it in the valley of the Tagus, while Soult had entered it from the north and mastered Oporto. Refusing to act with insufficient troops, and waiting for reinforcements, Sir John Cradock had wisely taken the position to defend Lisbon from the advance of Victor, and was stationed at Lumiar and Sacavem just above Lisbon. It was

Wellesley
arrives.
April 22, 1809.

in this position that Wellesley found the English army when he came to take the command on the 22nd of April. With his arrival begins what is properly called the Peninsula War, a war which, by constantly sapping the strength of Napoleon, by exhibiting the possibility of his defeat, and by showing him and his rule, in opposition not to a government, but to a people, was to do more than anything else to complete his final overthrow.

But the English ministry, even while continuing the war, by no means regarded it in this light. Their hopes were not unnaturally turned rather to political coalitions in Europe and to expeditions which appeared more directly to attack the heart of the French empire. Moreover, political feeling in England was strongly excited. Though

Division of
opinion in
England.

there was a general desire for the continuation of the war, there was no unanimity as to the means of carrying it on, or as to the people by whom it should be carried on. Every disaster was exaggerated for political purposes, every obstacle thrown in the way of ministerial action. Our system of

party government is not well suited either to great European combinations (because the open hostility exhibited to the ministry of necessity gives an appearance of uncertainty to our engagements) or to the carrying on of war where secrecy is necessary, and where reliance upon those to whom the war is intrusted is required. In domestic affairs its effect is different, and at this time the Opposition was doing good service in bringing abuses to light and rendering salutary reforms necessary. Early in the spring they found grounds for assailing the ministry in the conduct of the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief, who was accused by a certain militia colonel, Wardle by name, of being influenced by his mistress, Mrs. Clark, in his appointments, while her favour was said to be procured by money.

The scandal excited was great, and the immoral details of the story were in everybody's mouth. The inquiry made it evident that Mrs. Clark's influence had been

Scandal of
the Duke
of York.

used, but it was not so clear that the Duke had ever himself acted otherwise than conscientiously. The majorities in his favour, however, were so small, that he felt it necessary to resign his office, and Sir David Dundas was appointed in his place. Before long his accuser was himself sued by a tradesman for the price of goods with which he had furnished a house for Mrs. Clark. This gave such an air of malice to the charge, and displayed Colonel Wardle's desire for purity in so strange a light, that it greatly lessened the feeling against the Duke, who was before long restored to his office.

This quarrel, in addition to the case of Lord Melville, excited attention as to the general purity of the administration. Considerable sums of money, amounting to nearly £20,000,000, were unaccounted for. Nor did a committee of inquiry, though it sent in its report, throw much light on the matter. But in March the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a Bill to prevent the sale and brokerage of office. Among other matters, attention was drawn to patronage in India, and Lord Castlereagh confessed to having purchased a seat in Parliament for a friend by a gift of an

Charges against
Lord Castle-
reagh.
May.

Indian writership. Lord Castlereagh's frank confession induced the House to resolve that no criminating resolution was necessary. Again in May a fresh charge was brought involving Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval also. They were charged with procuring the election of a certain Mr. Quintin Dick, and of afterwards influencing his vote. They were acquitted by a large majority. None the less, Romilly remarks in his Memoirs, "the decision of this night, coupled with some that had lately taken

place, will do more towards disposing the nation in favour of a parliamentary reform than all the speeches that have been or will be made in popular assemblies." This question of parliamentary reform was now again beginning to occupy the public mind. Though still commanding majorities, the Cabinet was not at one with itself, and before the year was over the ministry had to be reorganized.

But meanwhile the war was proceeding in its course. The threatening news from Austria which checked Napoleon in his pursuit of Moore proved true. The cruelty and injustice of the attack upon Spain, and the spectacle of a people in revolt, had strongly excited the feelings of Germany.

Earnest men of all ranks had enrolled themselves in the secret society known as the Tugendbund, which was shortly to show its strength. The same feeling of hostility to France had shown itself in irresistible force in Austria, smarting under its repeated disgraces. There the Court and Government put itself at the head of the movement, and the Archduke Charles, who was regarded as a military genius, issued a proclamation declaring that the liberty of Europe rested with the Austrian arms. There was no regular coalition formed, but Austria felt that it could rely upon the friendship of England (although still nominally at war with it), of Prussia, where the popular feeling ran high, and probably even of Russia. Armies numbering more than 200,000 men were set on foot, and on the 9th of April Austria declared war against Bavaria, an ally of France. The generals left in charge of Napoleon's army in Germany somewhat mistook his orders, and the Archduke succeeded in forming a partial concentration of his troops and occupying Ratisbon. The arrival of the Emperor on the field soon changed the face of affairs. A series of battles was fought; the left wing of Charles's army was separated from the right, and his forward advance entirely frustrated by defeats at Abendsberg (April 20), Eckmühl (April 21), and Ratisbon (April 22). Napoleon again advanced to Vienna. But there he found the Archduke Charles still fronting him upon the northern side of the Danube, and the great bridge which crosses the river at Vienna broken down. Near that city the course of the Danube is divided by an island called Lobau, about three miles in length. Napoleon constructed bridges at the

Battle of
Aspern.
May 22, 1809.

island, and brought his army across them into the level called the Marchfeldt on the northern side. There was fought the great battle of Aspern. Victory declared for neither party, and Napoleon found himself in an awkward situation,

for the river had risen, and aided by the efforts of the Austrians, had swept away the bridge, and he was thus cut off from reinforcements. He contrived to get back to Lobau, and there awaited his opportunity.

His position was indeed precarious. The secret societies had shown themselves, and a partisan insurrection had broken out under Colonel Schill and the Duke of Brunswick in Saxony and Westphalia. It was premature, and without much difficulty suppressed. The Tyrolese too, headed by Andrew Hofer, an inn-keeper of the valley of Passeyr, had burst into revolt; 25,000 Bavarians which marched to suppress them had been beaten back. Again and again in the mountain passes they encountered and defeated both the French and Bavarian troops. The revolt was unsuppressed, when Napoleon determined to break from his difficult position. In July, while pretending to build a massive bridge across the river, he brought his army rapidly across it on a temporary structure. The Archduke, who had expected to attack the French while crossing, had now to fight another pitched battle, and two vast armies, numbering together between 300,000 and 400,000 men, encountered each other upon the tableland of Wagram. The French gained a hard-won victory. The Archduke was pursued to Zmaim, in Moravia, and there an armistice was made which ripened subsequently into the Peace of Vienna, signed on the 14th of October, by which fresh territory was torn from Austria for the advantage of Bavaria, France, and Russia; the kingdom of Spain was recognized; the insurgents of the Tyrol deserted, and a further pledge for the maintenance of the Continental System given. The close of the year was marked by a still further act of wickedness on the part of Napoleon, and a stronger proof of how completely he had deserted the principles of the Revolution. On the 6th of December he divorced his wife Josephine, and entered into negotiations, which were completed the following year, for his marriage with Maria Louisa, an Austrian princess.

Revolt of
the Tyrolese.

Battle of
Wagram.
July 6, 1809.

Peace of
Vienna.
Oct. 14, 1809.

The armistice of Zmaim was entered into on the 12th of July. On the 27th of that month, the very day on which the news of the armistice reached England, a great expedition left for the mouth of the Scheldt, for the English ministry had not deceived the hopes of the Austrians, and were determined to undertake what they hoped would prove a diversion in their favour. For this purpose all the strength of England was to be employed. 40,000 soldiers were to be carried across in 400 trans-

The Walcheren
expedition.
July 1809.

CON. MON.

ports under the charge of no less than 245 armed vessels. Yet, great as was the effort, the commonest precautions were neglected. Although it was well known that the climate of the islands at the mouth of the Scheldt was pestiferous, the medical officers were not consulted, none of the proper medicines were sent, and the force was accompanied, in spite of the protest of the surgeon-general, by only one hospital ship. Moreover, the pomp and publicity with which the expedition, which was intended to be secret, was prepared deprived it of much of its value; and lastly, Court and ministerial favour secured the command for Lord Chatham, Master-General of the Ordnance, a man wholly unfitted for an important command. At length, after much delay caused by the want of harmony between the two branches of the service, the fleet set sail. It was the opinion of the best officers of the army that Antwerp might have been at once secured by a *coup de main*, yet it was determined to proceed more regularly and with deliberation; and Flushing (which, as the dykes had been cut, was

Flushing taken.
Aug. 15.

regarded as impregnable) was taken in two days after the arrangements for the attack had been completed. It was not till the 21st of August that Lord Chatham began to think of moving towards Antwerp. But, as by that time the enemy's squadron had been withdrawn up the river to the city, and the intermediate fortresses had been so strengthened as to render the advance difficult, absolutely nothing further was even attempted. The army was kept lying in the plague-stricken swamps of Walcheren. Fever began to make fearful ravages. On the 29th Chatham wrote home that he could do no more—that already 3000 of the troops were sick. By September 11,000 men were stricken, and the great bulk of the army was ordered home. Lord Chatham, taking with him as many of the sick as he could, accompanied it. 15,000 men were left till the end of the year. Though the fever still spread with fearful rapidity, the only remedy supplied was a quantity of Thames water, which was constantly sent out. The roofs of the huts had fallen in, the men were removed to the churches, and the churches proved damp and worse than the roofless huts. At last 100 bricklayers were sent from England to repair the huts; the bricklayers were speedily themselves in hospital. The death rate was now 200 or 300 a week; and so terrible was the effect of the fever, that before the next June, of the 40,000 troops sent out 35,000 had been in hospital. Nor did this great folly produce the smallest effect on the general war. Even had the expedition not been so delayed that the Austrian armistice was already signed when it sailed, it could have done no good. Napoleon

himself wrote of it, "Before six weeks, of the 15,000 troops which are in the Isle of Walcheren not 1500 will be left, the rest will be in hospital. The expedition has been undertaken under false expectations and planned in ignorance."

While wasting their strength in this idle display, the ministry were being taught, had they been willing to learn, where English forces might have been wisely employed. In Portugal, Wellesley, on taking the command, had marched against Soult in the north, had brought his army across the Douro in face of the French, who were occupying Oporto, had recaptured that city, and driven Soult to a desperate retreat. By extraordinary vigour and good fortune, Soult, though there were traitors in his camp, contrived to extricate his army, but Portugal was free. And Wellesley, victorious in the north, and deceived by the constant false information of the Spaniards as to the weakness of his enemies, determined to turn his arms against the other French army which was threatening Portugal in the valley of the Tagus. He was there to act with the Spanish army under Cuesta, an old man of crabbed temper and of great self-conceit. Victor's army fell back before the advancing English from Talavera behind the Alberche river.

Wellesley
victorious in
Portugal.

By this march Madrid was threatened, and Joseph collected for its defence the troops of Victor, Sebastiani, and his own guard, amounting to about 50,000 men. As Wellesley had with him less than 20,000 English troops, and as he could place no reliance upon the Spaniards of Cuesta though they were nearly 40,000 in number, it was a bold resolve to march against Victor. But Wellesley was ignorant of the extreme danger of his movement. Constantly misinformed by the Spaniards, he believed Soult's army in Castile and the plain of the Douro to consist of about 15,000 men; in reality it was more than 50,000 strong. With these it was possible, collecting them at Salamanca, to cross the mountains separating the plains of the Douro and the Tagus, to pass between Wellesley's troops and Portugal, and thus placing him between two armies, each virtually superior to his own, entirely ruin him. Ignorant as yet of the character of the Spaniards, Wellesley could not believe that he should be kept uninformed, nor could he believe that the Spanish troops supplied to occupy the passes of the mountains, and restrain, or at least check, Soult's movements, would give ground without striking a blow; nor, before entering on his enterprise, could he have conceived that his army would have been systematically kept without food. It is nevertheless true that the

Wellesley
marches
towards
Madrid.

greatest difficulty was found in procuring rations, which often consisted merely of a few handfuls of grain, while the Spanish troops were very fairly fed. Victor and the King had taken up a position beyond the Alberche stream, a little river flowing from the north into the Tagus above Talavera. Beyond that stream, Wellesley, when he found how he was treated, positively refused to move. Beginning to appreciate the character of the Spanish troops, he urged Cuesta not to venture on a forward movement without him; but the obstinate old man persisting in passing the Alberche, was roughly handled by Victor, and only saved from the consequences of his rashness by English assistance.

Soult had informed Joseph of his great plan. All the King had to do was to remain quiet, and check the advance of the English till Wellesley was caught in the trap. But there was a second Spanish army apparently threatening Madrid from the south. It might well be that before Soult's arrival the capital would be lost, although, if Soult's plan answered, it would be immediately regained. The King could not bring himself to bear even the temporary loss of his capital, especially as the hospitals and supplies for his army were there. He therefore rashly listened to the advice of Victor, which was contrary

Battle of
Talavera.
July 28, 1809.

to that of Jourdan, his proper military adviser, and determined to attack the English. The position of Talavera is about two miles in length, crossing the plain from the river Tagus to a small range of hills which bounds the valley; beyond this range is a second valley of about half a mile in extent, and then come the mountains. The key of the position is the highest of the secondary hills, and this Wellesley occupied. The Spaniards he placed behind entrenchments in Talavera. Victor made a second error in making two preliminary attacks upon the key hill. Though these attacks failed, he still believed he could carry the position, and Joseph yielded to his desire for a general engagement. This was fought on the 28th of July. The advance of the French light dragoons so frightened the Spaniards that many regiments at once turned and fled, carrying the news down the valley that the English army was destroyed. Such as remained in their strong position proved sufficient to hold it, and were not seriously molested. The whole brunt of the battle fell upon the English in the centre and left wing. At one moment the centre was broken through, and disaster might have followed had not Wellesley at once seen what was wanted, and sent the 48th regiment down from the hill, though the fighting there was severe, and re-established the battle

in the centre. An extraordinary and reckless charge of the 23rd light dragoons across an apparently impassable ravine, though carried out with the loss of almost half their number, had the effect of paralyzing a whole division of the French army, which was attempting to turn the English left by the valley between the hills and the mountains. When the evening closed the French had been defeated at all points, and the English remained masters of their position.

But by that time Soult had come almost unopposed through the mountains from Salamanca to Placentia and the direct road to Portugal was closed. All hopes of rendering the victory useful were therefore gone, and Wellesley was compelled to cross to the south of the Tagus, and take refuge among the mountains. After considerable loss and much suffering from the abominable usage he endured from the hands of the Spaniards, he came to a fixed determination that he would never again act in concert with them, that henceforward his first duty lay in saving Portugal, from which, if events favoured him, he might ultimately advance with an English and Portuguese army, and do for the Spaniards what they were totally unable to do for themselves.

The victory of Talavera was a great one, and the English ministry recognized it as such by raising Wellesley to the Peerage as Viscount Wellington. Nevertheless it was open to the cavils of the Opposition, for it could be truly urged that it had not produced any permanent advantage, and had been followed by a somewhat disastrous retreat. In Parliament some Opposition speakers even went so far as to urge that the name of the commander should be omitted from the vote of thanks to be given to the army. But it was in fact the weak war administration in England which rendered it useless. Our resources had been wasted in the pompous and ridiculous Walcheren expedition, and in a second expedition, almost as useless, which was despatched to Italy, where it was unable to effect anything, and had to withdraw to Sicily.

Effect of
the victory
in England.

When Wellington withdrew from Talavera, after waiting some time on the Guadiana, he took up his position in the more northern part of Portugal, near Almeida, preparing for the defence of the country. During his inactivity there the advance of the French was nearly unchecked. They marched into Aragon and Catalonia, and defeated an army of 50,000 Spaniards at Ocana (Nov. 20), thus throwing open the province of La Mancha, and obtaining an opportunity for further advance into Andalusia.

French victories.
Nov. 1809.

This province was also overrun, with the exception of Cadiz, which was saved by General Albuquerque. The invasion thus formed itself into three defined divisions; an army for the invasion of Portugal, an army for the completion of the conquest of Andalusia, and an army in Catalonia, while the King and his Imperial Guards formed an army in the centre. Having thus borne down all opposition in Spain, Napoleon's intention was to overrun Portugal in the following year. His army for the purpose was placed under the command of Massena, while Soult was intrusted with the operations next in importance, and directed against Cadiz.

The assault which Wellington had been long preparing to resist was now to come. The ministers in England—in part despairing of his success, in part unable to comprehend the greatness of his schemes—distinctly told him that he must rely upon himself. But, with extraordinary steadfastness and courage, he undertook the task. Ever since the October of the preceding year he had foreseen what would happen; he had known that in all probability his troops would be outnumbered, and that he should be unable to make head against the vast armies which Napoleon might set at motion against him. He had therefore designed a great defensive scheme, so that if the worst came to the worst he might still have some place to which to retire and avoid the necessity of evacuating Lisbon. He had therefore turned the promontory between the Tagus and the sea into a vast fortification. During the time of his delay on the

Wellington
fortifies the
Lisbon
promontory.
1810.

Guadiana, and while wintering near Almeida, thousands of Portuguese workmen were turning the hills into impregnable fortresses. This great work, known as the lines of Torres Vedras, was threefold. The outer line, twenty-nine miles in length, extended from Alhandra on the Tagus to the mouth of the little river Zizandra close to Torres Vedras. The second, twenty-four miles in length, and which was intended originally to be the strongest of the two, was from six to ten miles in rear of the first, reaching from the Tagus at Quintella to the mouth of the St. Lorenza. In addition to this, a small fortification was erected to cover an embarkation in case the other two lines were forced. It enclosed an entrenched camp and Fort St. Julian, and was two marches in rear of the first line. Time had allowed Wellington so to strengthen the first line that it subsequently proved sufficient for all purposes. The General's great cares during the winter had been,—first, to instruct the Portuguese authorities to insist upon the inhabitants destroying all villages, mills, and crops

in the course of the invading force when it should appear; secondly, to get the half-trained militia of the country over which he held command employed in such a manner as to oblige the French to act in a mass and prevent detailed fighting; and thirdly, so to arrange his troops that while spread abroad, for greater ease in procuring provisions, they should yet be within easy distance for concentration. He thus waited, fully prepared to carry out his great scheme when Massena should think fit to strike the first blow. So determined was he to adopt a waiting policy, that he even allowed the great fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, the key of that part of Spain, to be taken before his eyes. Meanwhile he had to listen calmly to the assertions of the Opposition in Parliament, that no British soldier would leave the Peninsula but as a prisoner, and to see the City of London addressing the throne to inquire into his conduct, and protesting against conferring honours and distinctions on a general who had exhibited nothing but useless valour.

Ciudad Rodrigo fell on the 11th of July. It was not till September that the great attack began. Then Massena, with an army of 65,000 men, set forward towards Lisbon by the valley of the Mondego, having been informed by friendly Portuguese that the road was easy, and that there was no important position between him and Coimbra, where he believed he could forestall Wellington. An accident lost the English commander the advantage that any opposition from the fortress of Almeida might have given him. The explosion of a magazine rendered the capitulation of the fortress necessary almost immediately. In spite of Massena's attempts to deceive him as to the road he intended to pursue, in spite of the distance at which some of the English troops were stationed, Wellington contrived to collect his army and to place it between Massena and Coimbra. Down the valley of the Mondego the march was continued. The orders for the destruction of the property were carried out as far as possible, and crowds of wretched fugitive peasants accompanied the army. A panic began to spread in Portugal. The intriguing regency did not carry out the orders for destruction with sufficient activity. There was yet enough food left between Mondego and the lines to supply the French during the ensuing winter. To raise the temper of the country, and to excite the people to the voluntary destruction of their property, Wellington was compelled (in entire opposition to his original plans) to fight a great battle with the advancing French. He selected the ridge of Busaco,

Massena
advances
against him.
Sept. 1810.

Battle of
Busaco.
Sept. 28, 1810.

which almost closes the valley of the Mondego, just north of Coimbra, as his battlefield. The English and Portuguese there stood at bay, and the French were completely defeated. The moral effect was all that could be desired—the Portuguese troops thenceforward became fitting comrades for the English, and the waning trust of the people was restored; but as a military operation it effected nothing. Massena found a pass through the hills upon his right, which enabled him though beaten to continue his advance, and Wellington, not attempting to attack him, fell back, giving orders to the Portuguese militia to close upon the French rear. Thus harassed in his progress, Massena arrived before the famous lines (of the existence of which he had only heard five days before), only to find them thoroughly occupied by the English troops. Against the works he could do nothing; his operations were in fact reduced to a blockade. Massena's object, therefore, was to feed his army till reinforcements arrived, Wellington's, by closing up the Portuguese militia behind the French army, rapidly to reduce it to starvation. The expected reinforcements did not come, and on the 14th of November Massena, who had lost upwards of 30,000 men since he had entered Portugal, was obliged to draw off his army and begin a retrograde movement; he moved leisurely, hoping to strike another blow before he finally withdrew, but when reinforcements arrived for the English he retreated with some haste to Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. The operations were closed by the combat of Sabugal (April 3, 1811), where Massena was again worsted, and after which he finally withdrew from Portugal.

Massena
retreats.
Nov.

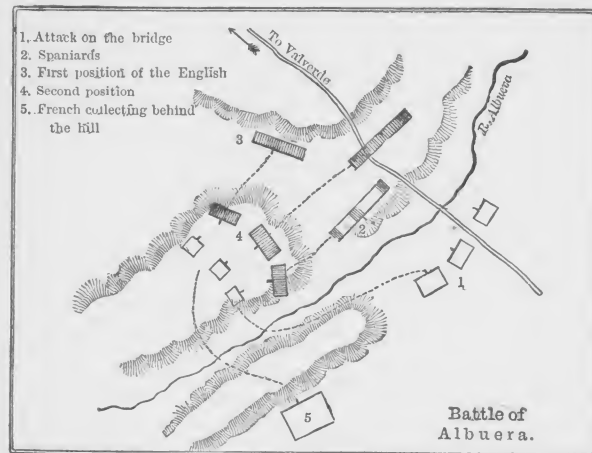
While Massena was attacking Portugal, Soult had been vigorously prosecuting the siege of Cadiz, and had there made dispositions which would probably have ended in its capture, when he was ordered to assist Massena, for the Emperor was more anxious to put an end to the regular warfare in Portugal than to complete his conquests in Spain. Portugal is assailable either by the northern line from Salamanca, which Massena had followed, and which was covered by the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, or by a line south of the Tagus through Estremadura and Alemtejo, which is covered by Badajos and Elvas. In this latter direction Soult had marched; the fruit of his operations were the victory of Gebora (Feb. 19), where the Spaniards were completely defeated, and the capture of Badajos. The two great frontier fortresses between Spain and Portugal were thus in the hands of France. But the departure of Soult from Cadiz encouraged Graham, who commanded the English in that fortress, to attempt to drive Victor, who

was left in command, from his lines. A combined force of about 12,000 men sailed from Cadiz southward, intending to march upon the back of the French lines. Victor, marching out to defend them, was defeated at Barosa (March 5) by the vigour and generalship of Graham, La Peña, the Spanish commander, as usual, adding nothing to the victory, and failing when the victory was won to put it to any use. The battle was however so severe a threat that Soult, not wishing to lose all the fruit of his former arrangements, withdrew from his attack on Portugal. Yet, as both Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo were in the hands of the French, in the following campaign there were two scenes of operation of which those fortresses were the centres.

The ministry in England had at last begun to feel some confidence in their general, but they would have been content with the successful defence of Portugal. Not so Wellington; his mind was full of great projects for the relief of Spain. The ^{Wellington's} great plans. two points on which the French pressure was strongest were Catalonia and Cadiz; and Wellington, believing that Massena, although his troops had been again raised to 50,000 men, would not be in a fit state for immediate action, had it now in his mind either to invest Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, betake himself with much of his army to Badajos, unite with the English and Portuguese troops there, and assault Soult in Andalusia; or to engage in a still more magnificent plan,—to march his army right across Spain, taking Madrid on the way, which would cut off the resources of Soult's army and oblige it to withdraw, and then upon the eastern coast to enter into communications with the English troops at that time in Sicily, and, working from a new base of operations, to attack the French in Catalonia. In either case the capture of Badajos was necessary, as its possession by the French was a constant threat to the Spaniards in Cadiz and to the southern provinces of Portugal. Wellington therefore, leaving the blockade of Almeida in the hands of Spencer, went to Elvas to arrange with Marshal Beresford, who commanded the troops in that direction, for the siege of Badajos. Before his arrangements were completed he was hastily summoned again to the north, where Massena had unexpectedly shown signs of activity, and was moving to relieve Almeida. Wellington was in time to check him at the hard-fought battle of Fuentes Onoro (May 5), which was followed by the evacuation of the fortress. He then returned to superintend the more important operation of the siege of Badajos. But before he arrived the operations had been interrupted. Soult had advanced to succour his late prize, and Beresford had

Battle of
Albuera.
May 16, 1811.

thought it necessary to fight a battle with him at Albuera. This battle, one of the bloodiest ever fought, took place on the 16th of May. The English and their allies had about 30,000 infantry and



2000 cavalry, but of these only 7000 were English, and the Spaniards were not to be trusted. Soult had with him only 19,000 good infantry and 4000 cavalry, but Beresford's faulty arrangements almost neutralized the superiority in forces. The English position was a ridge, in front of which ran the Albuera river. In the centre were the village and bridge of Albuera, through which ran the road to Valverde over the ridge. This road being Beresford's only line of retreat, he regarded a hill in the centre which defended it as the key of his position, and there put his best troops, intrusting the right to the Spaniards under Blake. He also neglected to place any troops across the river, and the enemy's movements were entirely hidden by the wooded heights on that side. For a direct attack Beresford's dispositions were correct, but upon his right a tableland stretched so far back as to command the Valverde road and to look along the back of the English position. Soult saw that by mastering this height he would cut off the English from retreat, oblige them to form a wholly new front, and in all probability destroy them. He therefore secretly, under cover of the hills, massed his troops upon his own left, and while a sufficiently important assault was made upon

the bridge to attract Beresford's attention, the bulk of the French army rapidly proceeded to place itself at right angles to the English position upon the tableland. The main point of the battle was in the struggle for the possession of this vantage-ground. In vain Beresford entreated Blake to change his front and cover the right. The Spanish general insisted that the real attack was upon the village. Beresford himself took the command of the Spanish troops, the change of front was effected, but even then they could scarcely be induced to move. At length the English second division moved from the centre and mounted the hill. But, brought too recklessly into action, they suffered much. Scarcely a third of the regiments remained standing, and Beresford was already thinking of retreat when Colonel Hardinge induced Cole with the fourth division, and Abercrombie with the third brigade of the second division, neither of whom had been much engaged, to advance to the rescue. At the head of 6000 men Hardinge advanced to cover the hill. The crowded formation of the French, who were in column, impeded their movements, and the advance of the English was so irresistible, that at length, unable to open out, they gave ground, and in the words of Napier, "slowly and with a horrid carnage were pushed by the incessant vigour of the attack to the furthest edge of the hill," and at length "the mighty mass, breaking off like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the steep; the rain flowed in streams discoloured with blood, and 1800 unwounded men, the remnant of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill." In four hours nearly 7000 of the allies and 8000 French were struck down. The victory was however won, and after occupying a threatening position during the 17th, on the 18th Soult marched away. The advantages of this bloody battle were little or none.

Yet though the battles of Fuentes Onoro and Albuera produced little result, although the French continued their successes in Catalonia, and Spain seemed entirely at their disposal, their position was by no means wholly prosperous. The broken armies of the Spanish had formed themselves into guerilla bands, their useless generals were superseded by daring partisan commanders, and troops wholly untrustworthy in pitched battles proved masters of the art of wild irregular warfare. It was only in large masses that the French were safe; yet, as Napoleon always acted on the principle that war should support war, and allowed only £80,000 for the maintenance of his armies in Spain, which at that time amounted to more than 300,000 men, the dispersion of the forces

was an absolute necessity in order that food might be procured. No courier could be despatched except under escort; letters to Paris were guarded at first by 1400 dragoons, subsequently by 3000. Moreover, Joseph and the Emperor were not at one. The Spanish King did not wish to rule only as the agent of his brother in a conquered country, and at length the vexatious tyranny of Napoleon pressed so heavily upon him, that he went to Paris and resigned his crown. He was induced to take it back again, but the mere fact of his visit, coupled with Wellington's success and the late victories, which were complete if not decisive, raised the spirits of the patriots and increased the energy and number of the guerillas. Moreover, affairs in Europe were beginning to take a turn which compelled Napoleon to act with less vigour in the Peninsula. His marriage with the Austrian archduchess was a deadly insult to the Czar, for a princess of whose house he had previously been negotiating; the Continental System was becoming almost unbearable, coupled as it was with the French occupation of the northern ports of Germany; and the addition of territory to the Duchy of Warsaw seemed to threaten a restoration of the Polish kingdom, and to be a violation of the Treaty of Tilsitt. The estrangement of the Czar was becoming so evident that Napoleon's mind began to turn more and more towards an expedition against Russia. The number of troops in Spain was lessened, and first-rate soldiers withdrawn to give place to new conscripts.

But, in spite of this relaxation, this year forms in the opinion of the great historian of the war its most critical period. For Wellington was miserably supplied from home, and sickness was rife among his troops, so that he could not bring more than 8000 men into the field, while the Portuguese Government, quarrelling with him, frequently refused supplies, and so starved their own troops, that instead of 40,000 soldiers who had been available on Massena's advance, only 19,000 badly-fed men were now with the army, and against this weakened force a new combination of the French had been arranged. The battle of Albuera had been followed by a renewal of the siege of Badajos. Want of proper material rendered the progress of the siege slow, and Marmont, who had succeeded Massena in command of the army of Portugal, was ordered to co-operate with Soult coming from the south to relieve it. Their junction was effected and the siege was raised. To all appearance therefore the battle of Albuera had been a French victory, and two armies instead of one appeared to threaten Portugal

Position of
Wellington.

by the southern line. Wellington had brought his troops down and offered the combined generals battle upon the Caya. But, ignorant of the weakness of the English, and imposed upon by the confident front which Wellington with astonishing boldness showed them, the battle, which might easily have been decisive of the fate of the Peninsula, was refused by the French generals, and Soult moved southward, while Marmont returned to occupy the valley of the Tagus.

The French refuse the battle at Caya.
June 1811.

This critical year of 1811 was a bitter disappointment to Wellington. He had hoped that his period of inactivity was over, that the defensive might have been changed to an offensive warfare. The blunders of his subordinates, the wretched jealousies of the Portuguese regency, and the poor support he received from home, had rendered his efforts futile. He still found himself when the year closed obliged to be contented with preserving his defensive attitude in Portugal. It was even worse than this. The French had succeeded in completing the conquest of the east of Spain, and the army of Suchet had advanced as far as Valencia; while in the north Asturias and Galicia had again fallen into their hands. Some gleam of success had indeed been visible in the south, where Hill had checked Drouet in Estremadura, and where Soult had been beaten off in his attack upon the little fortress of Tarifa. But the reorganization of the French army (especially of the great army of the centre), and the threatened reappearance of Napoleon upon the scene, rendered the close of the year one of gloom and despair.

Yet events were occurring in Europe which allowed Wellington still to hope. Already before the end of the year 1810, the appropriation by Napoleon of the estates of the Duke of Oldenburg, a relative of Alexander, had induced the Czar to declare his freedom from the Continental System. It had become evident to him that, sooner or later, war would be forced upon him, and he had entered into open preparations. Under one pretext or another Napoleon had also been strengthening his troops upon the eastern frontier of his dominions, and though the forms of friendship were still kept up, it was plain that before long the two empires would be plunged into hostilities. During the whole of 1811 remonstrances and recriminations had passed between the courts. Alexander had at first intended to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, where the influence of Napoleon was still great, and to begin offensive movements. The success of Wellington at Torres Vedras is said to have suggested to him and to his counsellors

Threatened war between France and Russia.

the more prudent method of attracting the French into the heart of Russia, and of allowing the weather and the natural difficulties of the country to have their full force as his allies. He knew that, in spite of the marriage of the Austrian archduchess with Napoleon, he could rely upon the friendship of the Court of Vienna should any opportunity arise of successful opposition to France. Prussia likewise, since the battle of Jena, had undergone a complete though silent revolution; feudalism had been almost destroyed, the peasants given a share in the property of the land, and the bourgeois at least endowed with some degree of self-government; the people and the government were absolutely at one. While ostensibly restricted to the treaty number of 42,000, the army had been practically increased to 150,000 men; and, by an extraordinary effort of patience and good administration, the broken nation had been re-established. There, too, it was certain that any successful effort to check Napoleon would be hailed with delight. But Napoleon, observing that Russia did not take the initiative, and seeing that both Austria and Prussia were to all appearance still at his service, forgetting the lesson which he should have learnt from Spain, that the enmity of the people is more to be feared than the enmity of the government, seemed irresistibly led to the war which was to complete his ruin. In August 1811 there took place another of those scenes which had so frequently preluded war. At a public meeting of ministers in the Tuileries the Russian ambassador had to undergo a violent attack from the Emperor. From that moment all Europe knew that the war with Russia was determined on. It was upon the certainty of the approach of this event and the nature of the French warfare in Spain that Wellington rested his hopes.

Marmont's army had been moved for the sake of procuring food into the valley of the Tagus, which was thus called upon to support two armies, that of the centre and that of Portugal. Wellington did not believe that it could do this for long, but while the armies were there barring the valley of the Tagus offensive movements of any importance were impossible, as Soult and Drouet occupied the south, and the northern army in Asturias, capable of being reinforced by Marmont, prevented action in the valley of the Douro. But meanwhile Ciudad Rodrigo was not itself within immediate reach of the covering army; a sudden attack and capture of this fortress would almost certainly bring Marmont northward to save the neighbouring country and to relieve the valley of the Tagus. Even a weak army covered by the fortress

Wellington's
plan for the
campaign of
1812.

would probably be able to make good its position, while Wellington himself marching southward might also capture Badajos, and thence defeat Soult and Drouet in Andalusia. With infinite pains to avoid discovery he ripened his plan; preparations were secretly made at Almeida and at Elvas for the two sieges, and the first rapid blow was successfully struck, and Ciudad Rodrigo captured (Jan. 19). It had the effect expected; Marmont collected his troops at Salamanca, the scattered detachments of the French were everywhere drawn in, Hill's southern army was moved towards the north, and Wellington was sufficiently strong to fight a battle if necessary. Marmont for the present resigned the fortress and again distributed his troops. Wellington then proceeded to strike his second blow. Leaving one division behind him, with some Spanish troops and Portuguese militia, he moved southward, and at length succeeded in storming Badajos also, though with fearful loss (April 6). He acted with unusual skill, and the charge against him of having foolishly wasted life in the siege proves upon examination to be utterly groundless; for it was the extreme rapidity with which the fortress was captured which prevented Soult from coming to its relief. But again the fruits of his success were snatched from him; he was unable to follow out his plan of driving Soult from Estremadura, for he was badly seconded by the troops he had left in the north; Marmont, though somewhat slowly, had begun to carry out Napoleon's orders to regain Ciudad Rodrigo and to invade Portugal, and Wellington had to make all haste back to re-establish his affairs there. His rapid appearance from the south on Marmont's flank compelled that general to retreat, but the opportunity of a southern war was over, and the English army was again spread along the whole line of Portugal, but with this important advantage that the two key fortresses of Spain were now in its hands.

Capture of
Rodrigo and
Badajos.

It was as yet only the spring, Wellington had to choose in which direction he would arrange the ensuing campaign. He determined to make his attack on the northern line; a victory over Marmont would throw open the road to Madrid, and Soult would either have to retire from the south or be cut off from his communications. A portion of his army might indeed be sent to assist Marmont; but the harvest in the valley of the Douro is considerably later than in the south, and it was impossible that a large additional number of troops should be subsisted for at least a fortnight to come. Thus for a while he could act against

Wellington's
attack on
the northern
army.

Marmont alone. Further to secure his position, he strengthened the army under Hill in the south, planned and executed an extraordinary capture of the French lines of communication at Almaraz, thus rendering the intercourse between the two armies lengthy, and at the same time re-established the bridge of Alcantara, close to the Portuguese frontier, by which his own communications with Hill were rendered ten days nearer. It was thus against an army of about equal numbers with his own, but isolated for the present at all events from reinforcements, that Wellington advanced. Salamanca and its forts were captured, and Marmont fell back before him.

But his advance was not all triumphant, Marmont succeeded in turn in obtaining the ascendant. By a series of clever movements he compelled Wellington to retire, and moving towards the right flank of the English, seemed to threaten the communications between Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, while he kept himself in communication with the central army under the king. Wellington saw that retreat was necessary, and he intended to return to Portugal. But Marmont was not contented with this success. He was eager to fight before his junction with the king, and brought on a battle beyond the Tormes, just south of Salamanca. The English occupied a sort of basin in a loop of the river; about the centre was a hill called the

Battle of
Salamanca.
July 22, 1812.



Arapiles; round the southern edge was a ridge which led to the point where the road by which the English must retreat ran. Marmont, hoping to envelop the English, sent forward his left along the ridge.

Wellington saw the advantage thus offered. Holding the Arapiles with his left, he fell on the flank of the advancing column, while Pakenham faced it upon the ridge. The French left was thus entirely destroyed, their attacks upon the central hill were unsuccessful, their confusion was increased by the loss of their commander, who was wounded early in the day, and it was only because a Spanish garrison which should have cut off their retreat across the Tormes at Alba had been withdrawn without Wellington's knowledge that their army escaped destruction. As it was, Clausel, who had succeeded Marmont, was able to bring off the greater part of his troops in safety.

The arrival of reinforcements under Sir Home Popham on the north of Spain had drawn a certain portion of the French troops in that direction, and against a weakened and defeated army Wellington proceeded in his triumphant advance toward Madrid. Joseph again left the city and retreated to Valencia, and with all the signs of wild rejoicing the conqueror was received in the capital of Spain. The effect of the late battle was exactly such as had been anticipated—King Joseph, acting as commander-in-chief, ordered Soult to evacuate Andalusia and the south. It was in vain that that general pointed out the possibility of holding his position there, and intreated the king to come with the other armies to his rescue: the orders were peremptory, and much against his will Soult withdrew and effected a junction with Joseph and Suchet in Valencia. The south and centre of Spain thus seemed clear of enemies, but the hold of the French was as yet shaken only, not broken; for in fact though Wellington's march had forced his enemies in two directions (Clausel, with the remainder of Marmont's army, having retired north, while the king withdrew south-east), such were their numbers that each division became the centre of an army as powerful as his own. Indeed, the very effect of his victory in drawing Soult from Andalusia had concentrated a vast power in Joseph's hands. Wellington was, however, aided by two circumstances. An expedition had been sent to Sicily under Sir William Bentinck; a portion of it under Maitland was landed at Alicante, and kept Suchet and the Catalan army in play, while Sir Home Popham did the like for the army of the north.

Of the two armies against which Wellington had to contend by far the largest was the army of Soult and the king, on the south-east. On the other hand, Clausel's forces were

Wellington
enters Madrid.
Aug. 12, 1812.

His great plans
thwarted.

CON. MON.

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beaten and retreating, so that it appeared to the general better to leave a detachment under Hill to cover Madrid, while he himself repaired with the bulk of his army to strike a final blow at Clausel by the capture of Burgos, intending to return at once and with his whole combined forces fight a great battle with Soult and the king before the capital. Again events occurred, upon which he could scarcely have calculated, which thwarted his purpose. The Spanish army, which had been intrusted with the duty of guarding his communications with Salamanca and of completing the capture of the fortresses of the Douro, and some English forces which had been left to assist it, were so badly handled that the retreating army was in fact left unmolested, while extreme want of money and political difficulties hampered Wellington's own march. Clausel, too, proved a general of great ability; his retreat up the valley of the Arlanzon towards Burgos was a masterpiece; while, to crown all, the resistance offered by Burgos and the deficiency of proper artillery proved greater obstacles than had been expected. The delay thus caused allowed the French to recover; the crisis was met with energy, fresh troops were poured across the frontier; Souham, who took the chief command, found himself at the head of a force almost double that of Wellington; and as Soult began to draw towards Madrid from Valencia, thus threatening the safety of Hill, there was no course left but to summon that general northward, and to make a combined retreat towards Salamanca and Portugal. It was not the most glorious passage of our arms. Want of pay and some other causes had somewhat slackened the discipline of the troops, and though no disaster occurred, and though the French were more than once checked, there were scenes of wild disorder and insubordination which called forth stern reprimands from the general.

This was the last of Wellington's retreats. Events in Europe lessened the power of his enemies; while fighting for his very existence on the main continent of Europe, Napoleon could not but regard the war in Spain as a very secondary concern, and a great many old and valuable soldiers were withdrawn. The jealousy which existed between Joseph and the generals, and the dislike of the great generals to take upon themselves the Spanish war, threw it into inferior hands for some little while, and there is little more to chronicle than a succession of hard-won victories. Moreover, Wellington's position was in other ways much strengthened; he had received from the Brazils full power of action in Portugal, at Burgos he had been made commander-in-chief of the

He retreats
to Portugal.

Improvement in
his position.

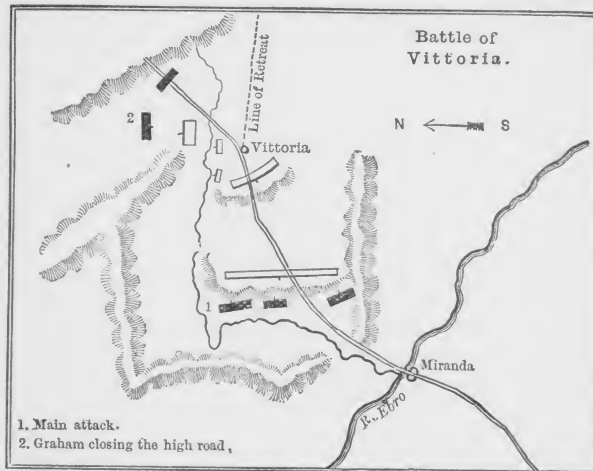
Spanish army, while the changes in the ministry at home, though they had deprived him of his brother's assistance, had yet been on the whole favourable to him; his greatness and success had become the chief support of the ministry. He had, moreover, by his personal authority established discipline in the Portuguese army, had used his power and influence to supply the commissariat and other trains, and even the Spanish troops which had been placed at his disposal had been brought into something like order. The whole active force of the French had been reduced to 197,000 men, while Wellington had contrived to prepare 200,000 allied troops for the campaign, although it was chiefly upon the 70,000 Anglo-Portuguese that he relied. The English fleets covered the coast, and every port thus became a little centre of action. A vigorous insurrection had arisen all along the northern provinces; and it was this more than anything else which decided Wellington's course of action. While leaving troops to occupy the attention of the French in the valley of the Tagus, he intended to march northwards, thus avoiding the obstacles offered by the passage of the Douro and Carrion, connect himself with the northern insurgents, and directly threaten the communications with France, either fighting for or turning every position in which the king might try to intercept him.

His movements, which had to be effected with considerable secrecy, were well carried out; the various divisions of his army met at Toro on the Douro. As he had expected, the French had to fall back before him; he compelled them to evacuate Burgos and attempt to defend the Ebro. Their position there was turned, and they had again to fall back into the basin of Vittoria. This is the plain of the river Zadora, which forms in its course almost a right angle at the south-west corner of the plain, which it thus surrounds on two sides. Across the plain and through Vittoria runs the high road to France, the only one in the neighbourhood sufficiently large to allow of the retreat of the French army, encumbered with all its stores and baggage, and the accumulated wealth of some years of occupation of Spain. While Wellington forced the passage of the river in front south of the great bend, and drove the enemy back to the town of Vittoria, Graham beyond the town closed this road. The beaten enemy had to retreat as best he could towards Salvatierra, leaving behind all the artillery, stores, baggage, and equipments.

The offensive armies of France had now to assume the defensive and to guard their own frontier. Before advancing to attack them

Battle of
Vittoria.
June 21, 1813.

in the mountains, Wellington undertook the blockade of Pampeluna and the siege of St. Sebastian. It was impossible for the French



any longer to regard diplomatic or dynastic niceties. Joseph was superseded, and the defence of France intrusted to Soult, with whom the king had hopelessly quarrelled. He proved himself worthy of the charge. A series of terrible battles was fought in the Pyrenees, but one by one his positions were forced. With fearful bloodshed, St. Sebastian was taken, the Bidasoa was crossed (Oct. 7), the battle of the Nivelle fought and won (Nov. 10), and at length, in February, the lower Adour was passed, Bayonne invested, and Soult obliged to withdraw towards the east.

But by this time events on the other side of France had changed the appearance of the war. Napoleon's threatened invasion of Russia had taken place; the defensive plan adopted by the Russians proved successful. The Emperor had himself hastened back to Paris after the conflagration of Moscow, while his ruined and broken army struggled home through the terrible suffering of the Russian winter. As Alexander had foreseen, the reverse of the French had been followed by the defection at first of Prussia and shortly afterwards of Austria. The powers of Europe were thus again formed in a

Battles of
the Pyrenees.
1813.

coalition. With such troops as he could collect, Napoleon had hurried, in the summer of 1813, to the very furthest confines of Germany, and fought the great battles of Lutzen and Bautzen. But the flower of his troops had been lost in Russia, his armies were no longer what they had been. His enemies in vast numbers began to gather round him. Though victorious at the gigantic battle of Dresden (Aug. 24, 1813), he was unable to make a final stand against the vast armaments of the coalition. Several of his lieutenants were defeated, and at length (Oct. 19), the battle of Leipzig, after three days of fighting, ended in his complete defeat. It is said that on the two sides the killed and wounded amounted to 110,000 men. The victorious allies swept onwards, and just at the close of the year 1813 entered France. The spring of the following year was occupied by the brilliant campaign in which Napoleon exerted all his genius in vain to check the huge masses of the invaders. While Wellington was making good his position in the south of France, in spite of the ability which he displayed, Napoleon was being constantly driven backward upon the east. The effect could not but be felt by the southern army, and Soult deserves great credit for the skill with which he still held at bay the victorious English. He was however defeated at Orthes (Feb. 27), lost Bordeaux (March 8), and was finally driven eastward towards Toulouse, intending to act in union with Suchet, whose army in Catalonia was as yet unbeaten. On the heights upon the east of Toulouse, for Wellington had brought his army across the Garonne, was fought, with somewhat doubtful result, the great battle of Toulouse. The victory has been claimed by both parties; the aim of the English general was however won, the Garonne was passed, the French position taken, Toulouse evacuated and occupied by the victors. The triumph such as it was had cost the victors 7000 or 8000 men, a loss of life which might have been spared, for Napoleon had already abdicated, and the battle was entirely useless. This was the last action of the Peninsula War, in which, after years of steadfast resistance, the English had at length triumphantly swept the French from the Peninsula, and done their full share in the great events which temporarily closed the career of Napoleon.

The negotiations which had terminated in the abdication of Napoleon had, as far as England was concerned, been carried on by the same ministry which had had the duty of conducting the war. The Tory party which

Battle of
Toulouse.
April 10, 1814.

Long tenure
of power of
the Tory
party.

the French Revolution and the policy of Pitt had called into existence, robbed of the better and more liberal elements which the presence of Pitt himself and his friends had introduced into it, had succeeded in spite of its defects and of various opportunities for a change in continuing its hold upon the Government. There was at first one important member of it who kept up something of the views of Pitt. This was Canning, the Foreign Minister. But the presence of so incongruous an element tended rather to the weakness than to the strength of the administration; nor is it certain that in the present crisis of Europe his views were such as to render him the most efficient minister. Castlereagh, a man of narrower views and of much inferior talent, acted as War Minister. Between him and Canning a strong antagonism arose. Canning's errors were those of a liberal and noble mind. He was anxious to see the Spaniards carry out their insurrection as much as possible by their own means, and the wish led him to believe the false tales of their patriotism and resources with which the braggart spirit of the Spaniards supplied him. This credulity was strengthened by the reports of Mr. Frere, whom he had sent to the Peninsula as ambassador, and he was thus induced to misapply the wealth of England, and to misuse the opportunities which his position as Foreign Minister gave him, so as seriously to weaken the hands of Wellington. His desire for the political regeneration of Spain blinded him somewhat to the military necessities of the time, which required that our general should be invested with almost absolute authority, and the arrangement of political matters postponed till after the favourable conclusion of the war. But though he thus not unfrequently threw obstacles in Wellington's way, Canning by no means approved of the inefficient administration of Castlereagh, and the constant starvation of the military side of the Peninsula War. So far had the quarrel with the War Minister extended that Canning had contrived, not perhaps so openly and straightforwardly as could be wished, to extort from the Prime Minister a promise that Lord Castlereagh should be removed from his responsible situation, failing which he declared that he would himself withdraw. His support was so necessary to the Prime Minister that he had persuaded him to remain in office. But Canning had throughout privately expressed the strongest disapprobation of the Walcheren expedition, and when its failure became known, and when inquiries upon the subject brought to light the fact that, while sitting in the same Cabinet with Castlereagh, he had

Policy of
Canning.

Canning's
quarrel with
Castlereagh.

been in fact intriguing for his dismissal, the quarrel came to a point. Sharp words were exchanged between the ministers, and the consequence was a duel (Sept. 22), in which Canning was slightly wounded. It was of course impossible for the antagonists to serve longer in the same ministry. They both resigned, and their example was followed by the Duke of Portland, whose failing health had from the first rendered him unfit for his position, and whose weakness was exhibited in allowing so grave a quarrel to spring up within the limits of his Cabinet. It became necessary to reconstitute the ministry, and after a fruitless negotiation with Lords Grey and Grenville—with so little reality in it that Grey did not think it worth his while to come to London on the subject—Perceval, who had long been the most important person in the Cabinet, assumed the nominal direction, and Lord Wellesley, who had lately been serving as ambassador in Spain, where he had superseded Mr. Frere, was induced to accept the ministry of foreign affairs. Lord Castlereagh was succeeded by Lord Liverpool at the War Office, with Lord Palmerston as under secretary. The reconstruction of the ministry made no difference in its general tendencies. The introduction of Lord Wellesley was indeed a slight improvement; he entered the ministry chiefly for the purpose of supporting his brother's views in the Peninsula. This to the best of his abilities he did, but he was constantly thwarted by the mediocre men with whom he was joined, and with whom he was never able to work comfortably. By far the ablest and best writer in the Cabinet, his despatches were constantly criticised and altered. His colleagues could not understand the greatness of the openings afforded in the Peninsula, and after two years of office he withdrew (Feb. 19, 1812). The opportunity occurred in a great ministerial crisis caused by the renewed insanity of the King, which it was believed must have produced a change of ministry. The Regent, however, retained Mr. Perceval in office, and upon his death Lord Liverpool was called to succeed him, and continued in office till 1827, so that in fact from the fall of the Grenville ministry to that date, though with some change in the *personnel*, there was a continuance of the Tory rule.

In November 1810 the King, who had never thoroughly got over the failure of the Walcheren expedition, and the disgrace of Lord Chatham and the Duke of York, was still further shaken by the death of the Princess Amelia, and before long it appeared that he had become hopelessly insane. After

Reconstruction
of the ministry.
Oct. 1809.

Continuation
of the same
ministry till
1827.

Illness of
the King
Nov. 1810.

several prorogations it was resolved (December 20) that it was the duty of Parliament to supply the existing defect in the organization of Government. A precedent for the action of the ministry was drawn from Pitt's conduct under similar circumstances in 1788. It was determined to reproduce, though in a somewhat modified form,

*The Regency Bill.
Feb. 1811.*

the restrictions then laid upon the power of the Regent. But the Prince of Wales was by no means disposed to submit to these restrictions, and induced his brothers to join in a protest against them. Nor did the Opposition fail to see the probable advantage which would accrue to them from a more unlimited regency; they regarded it as certain that Grenville and Grey would be called to office, and they had no wish to curtail the power of the Crown when wielded by men ready to rectify the mismanagement under which they thought the country was suffering. But their hopes were destined to be speedily extinguished. In spite of his protest the Bill restricting the Regent was passed (Feb. 5), and the Prince took the oaths before the Privy Council. He had already made up his mind that it would be better to continue the present ministry, for a personal quarrel had arisen between him and his Whig friends. He had requested Grenville and Grey to draw up a reply to addresses from the two Houses which had been presented to him in January. They had found considerable difficulty in complying with his request, for Grenville had been a member of Pitt's ministry when he restricted the regency in 1788, while Grey then as now was a member of the Opposition; but by careful suppression of the difficulties, a reply was drawn out and submitted to the Prince. Such a compromise was not what he had expected; he summoned his friend Sheridan to assist him in criticising the reply. The paper was returned with pungent and witty marginal remarks, and a wholly different form of reply suggested. The Whig Lords took umbrage at the levity and rudeness of the Prince, and did not refrain from expressing their anger, a line of conduct which, as might have been expected, in the case of a man of such selfish and merely personal politics as the Prince, was warmly resented. Moreover, the flattery of the Queen, and the adhesion to him of his brothers, who wished for the continuation of the Perceval ministry, together with the falsely hopeful reports of the physicians, which led him to think that his regency would be a short one, induced him to accept the situation; and immediately after having taken the oaths he declared his intention to retain Mr. Perceval. Although at first expressing his dislike to his ministers, before long entirely won

The Perceval ministry continued.

over by their courtly language, he began to speak of his old friends as "the wicked politicians." The regency was at first fixed for one year only. At the end of that time, that is, in February 1812, after a few more overtures to the Whig Lords to form a coalition with his present ministry, which he must have known was impossible, the Prince allowed the ministry to continue as before, Castlereagh being readmitted to office, and Lord Sidmouth becoming President of the Council. The joy of Mr. Perceval at the happy issue of the affair was proportionate to the fear he had felt at the thought of losing office; but it was destined to be short-lived, for on the 11th of May, as he entered the House of Commons, he was assassinated by a lunatic of the name of Bellingham.

*Assassination of Mr. Perceval.
May 1812.*

Again there was much negotiation, and an attempt to introduce Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning to the ministry. Of course they could not serve with Castlereagh; they were then asked to form a ministry with Grenville and Grey, but these Lords objected to the Peninsula War, to which Wellesley was pledged. Grenville and Grey then attempted a ministry of their own, but quarrelled with Lord Moira on the appointments to the Household; and as an American war was threatening, and the ministry had already given up their Orders in Council (one of the chief causes of their unpopularity), the Regent, rather than remain longer without a ministry, intrusted Lord Liverpool with the premiership, with Castlereagh as his Foreign Secretary, and the old ministry remained in office.

Lord Liverpool made Premier.

Before the day of triumph of this ministry arrived, while Napoleon was still at the height of his power, and the success of Wellington as yet uncertain, England had drifted into war with America. It is difficult to believe that this useless war might not have been avoided had the ministers been men of ability. It arose from the obstinate manner in which the Government clung to the execution of their retaliatory measures against France, regardless of the practical injury they were inflicting upon all neutrals. The causes of irritation have already been mentioned. America, adopting the policy of England, had proceeded to retaliate; an embargo was laid upon trade both with England and France, and commercial relations with Europe practically broken off. An attempted arrangement between the two countries in 1809 had produced but little result. But though foreign trade had diminished, the demand for home manufactures in America had largely increased; the populations of the Northern and Eastern States were therefore

*War with America.
May 1812.*

satisfied with the existing state of things and decidedly averse to war, with its certain expenditure and probable injury to their manufactures. In the South the case was different. Without manufactures to supply the loss sustained by the restricted export of their tobacco and sugar, not in immediate contact with English territory, as were the Northern States, and led by an aristocratic and slave-owning race, the Whites of the South were inclined to war. The Presidents were Virginians, the Southerners had a superiority in Congress, and in May of 1812 it became plain that war must result unless the Orders in Council were repealed. But England was in confusion owing to the assassination of Perceval, and it was not till the middle of June, when war had been already declared, that Brougham's motion for the withdrawal of the Orders was carried. The concession, awkwardly made in the face of the American threats, came too late. The Americans had already made up their minds, and planned an invasion of Canada.

It was a war without great events. The attempts of the Americans upon Canada failed. Here and there a slight success attended the English arms, and the deep anger of our enemies was moved by the irksome blockade of their coast, and the employment of the savage Indian tribes as our allies. But if fairly successful on land, the English were to their great astonishment thoroughly worsted upon the sea. Ship after ship was taken by the American frigates. Nor was it till our commanders consented to recognise the fact that the classification of the two navies was wholly different, and that an American frigate was in tonnage and weight of metal a match for an English fifty-gun ship, that these disasters were brought to an end. It was an additional blow to the pride of England that the sailors by whom her ships were defeated were largely drawn from her own people. From the wretchedness prevalent in England, from high taxes, commercial difficulties, and the severe laws of impressment, men fled for refuge to America; and it is said that as many as 16,000 Englishmen were serving on board the American fleet.

The war was really so causeless and so prejudicial to the success of the allies in Europe, that the Emperor of Russia attempted, in 1813, to bring it to a close by mediation, and although his offer was declined, a negotiation was entered into at Ghent which ultimately proved successful. But before the negotiators advanced far in their labours the war threatened to assume a more serious character. On the cessation of hostilities in

Character of
the war.

Attempted
negotiations.

the south of France, a considerable number of the English troops were embarked at Bordeaux direct for America, without even being allowed to return home, and increased energy began to show itself in all directions. A large fleet under Rear-Admiral Cockburn, and a body of troops under General Ross, were despatched to the Chesapeake, and a combined attack by land and water was made upon Washington, the Federal capital. The success of the expedition, which was complete, was stained by the destruction of all public property, offices, and buildings in the city. Capture of Washington.

An outcry was raised, not only in America but in Europe, at what was regarded as an act of vandalism. It is said that the English Government had ordered it as a retaliation for the barbarities of the Americans on the Canadian frontier, and as it is confessed that private property was scrupulously spared, it may well be a question whether in fact such a destruction of national property is not a better manner of exhibiting the severity of war than the destruction of private property which so constantly attends it.

The capture of Washington was followed by other expeditions of a like nature with less satisfactory results. Large and systematic operations against a continent are at all times difficult, and certainly they were beyond the capacity of the English ministry as then constituted. They relapsed into all the old errors of the American War, and the military operations were reduced to mere piratical excursions. An effort was indeed made upon the only side where a base of operations existed, but on so small a scale and so badly directed as to be entirely useless. A combined attack by land and water was arranged against Plattsburg upon Lake Champlain. The dilatoriness of the commander, Sir George Prevost, allowed the flotilla to begin the fight unaided; it was completely beaten, and its destruction putting an end to all hope of success, the army withdrew. An attack on Baltimore met with no better fate, but the greater part of the province of Maine was taken and occupied. The arrival of the Peninsula troops, no longer well commanded, had produced but little effect; the negotiations at Ghent were gradually drawing to a conclusion. The Convention was signed on the 24th of December. It was, as might be expected from the temper of the two nations, little more than a compromise. The real points at issue were scarcely touched, the boundaries were left for future negotiation. Such as it was it came too late to save England from one more disaster. An expedition similar in character to those

already mentioned had been directed against New Orleans. The place was vigorously defended by General Jackson. Natural difficulties and mismanagement met the English at every turn. The earth was too sandy to allow of redoubts; while the Americans used cotton bales, which answered admirably as defences, the English found nothing better than barrels of sugar and molasses. When the storming parties reached the enemy's lines they found that their fascines and scaling-ladders had been neglected; the assault became impracticable. As the approach of the town had been completely exposed to the fire of the enemy, very heavy loss had been sustained, three English generals, and among them Sir Edmund Pakenham, had been killed, and Lambert, who had succeeded to the command, thought it better to withdraw the army.

The American War was thus still at its height when the ministry had been called upon to arrange the fate of the late Conqueror of Europe. When the allies, in their advance towards France, had assembled at Frankfort, not yet certain of success, and conscious that their work would be easy could they separate Napoleon's interests from those of the nation, they had offered to negotiate at a general Congress upon the fixed condition that France should abandon Italy, Holland, Germany and Spain, and confine itself to its natural boundaries. Napoleon, suspecting not without reason their intentions in accepting the Congress, had refused the conditions. His refusal had been followed by a very able proclamation of the allies, separating the interests of the ruler from that of the people, and promising that France should retain its just weight in the balance of nations. Conscious of the effect of this declaration, which exactly suited the feelings of the majority of Frenchmen, Napoleon hastened to accept the conditions. But he was told it was too late. Traitors had already informed the allied sovereigns that they were strong enough to avoid compromise. The great campaign which followed had shown how much could yet be done by the Emperor's genius. Again negotiations were opened at Châtillon; Napoleon expressed the utmost readiness to accept the terms of Frankfort. But the ultimatum of the allies had now risen, the Rhine boundary was no longer to be conceded. Napoleon could not make up his mind to allow France to issue from the war less than when he had first taken possession of the Government. The Treaty of Châtillon was broken off and war was again resumed; and as though to express the completeness of their determination, the allied sovereigns entered into a treaty at Chaumont (March 1), by which

Abdication of
Napoleon.

they bound themselves together for twenty years, promised each to supply 150,000 men, to which England was to add a subsidy of £5,000,000. The knowledge of this treaty made Napoleon feel that some desperate stroke alone could save him. He passed with his forces into the rear of the allies; he was nearer, as he himself said, to Vienna than they were to Paris. The movement put them in great perplexity. To leave so formidable a person upon their communications seemed too dangerous a step. Again treason served them in good stead. Their friends in Paris, at the head of whom was Talleyrand, urged them at once to move upon the capital. Joseph Bonaparte, who had been left in charge there, with Marmont and Mortier, fought a last battle before the very walls. Joseph lost heart, and ordered the marshals to capitulate, the army was withdrawn behind the city, and Paris was in the hands of the allies. This was fatal to all Napoleon's hopes. He came to Fontainebleau, there found himself gradually deserted, heard how his marshals one after the other had joined the victorious allies, and on the 4th of April signed his abdication, consenting to withdraw to the Isle of Elba, which was to be constituted into a principality for his convenience. He was to be allowed 400 soldiers, his wife and child were to be placed in possession of Placentia and Parma, and he was to retain the title of Emperor. In the settlement of the affairs of France and Europe he was to have no voice. The last stroke of ill-fortune seemed to have come upon him when his Austrian wife, overpersuaded by her relations, deserted him, and set off with his young son to Vienna. During his ten months' residence in the Isle of Elba the settlement of Europe was being carried on by the diplomatists of all the powers assembled at Vienna.

Thus the Tory ministry seemed at last to have reaped the fruit of their lengthened efforts, and to have justified their long retention of office. But we shall look in vain for any merit in their policy but one, and that is steadfastness. The accidental discovery, for it was little more, of a general of surpassing genius had enabled them to hide under his greatness their own mediocrity; his skill had covered their constantly-repeated blunders, and fortune had supplied them with an enemy whose enthusiastic self-confidence, arbitrary temper, and insatiable ambition, had neutralized his transcendent genius, had forced upon them allies whom their own skill could not have secured, and had even alienated the people whose natural representative he was. With these advantages they had been able to obtain that success which a fixed line of

General sketch
of the Tory
policy.

policy even when itself erroneous not unfrequently secures. They had raised England to a position of the highest importance, the success of Europe against Napoleon was indisputably due to her. Yet it cannot be said that they were urged by patriotic motives. Throughout their conduct had been dictated by the interests of their class. They had recognized in Napoleon the great subverter of old institutions, the arch-enemy of the aristocratic order. It was in this capacity chiefly that they had pursued him with such firm and undeviating hostility. Of the events which took place during their ministry, of the successful skill and bravery of soldiers and sailors, of the establishment of national independence whether in England or on the Continent, all Englishmen may be proud. Those who, reading history by the light of subsequent events, still hold that a strong aristocratic element is a necessary ingredient of constitutional liberty will admire their motives. But to those who feel that growth and advance is the essential principle of the life of a nation, and that those only are good governors who are capable of understanding and of carrying out the necessities of advancing civilization, their sole claim to respect (and that is after all no small one) will be that they knew their own minds, and in spite of all difficulties realized their object.

The same motive of class aggrandizement which detracts from the virtue of the foreign policy of this ministry underlay the whole administration of home affairs. There was an incapacity to look at public affairs from any but a class or aristocratic point of view. The natural consequence was a constantly increasing mass of discontent among the lower orders, only kept in restraint by an overmastering fear felt by all those higher in rank of the possible revolutionary tendencies of any attempt at change. Much of the discontent was of course the inevitable consequence of the circumstances in which England was placed, and for which the Government was only answerable in so far as it created those circumstances. At the same time it is impossible not to blame the complacent manner in which the misery was ignored and the occasional success of individual merchants and contractors regarded as evidences of national prosperity. At the beginning of the year 1810, Perceval, who in the interest of the Government had been preventing as far as possible all inquiry into the Walcheren failure, was bold enough at the opening of the session to take credit to himself for that expedition, and to declare that the national prosperity was great, and that public works had been carried out as suc-

cessfully as in the times of profound peace. Such assertions could not have been made without some slight foundation. While the Continental System and the Orders in Council had together almost closed the European trade, certain other irregular doors had been opened; the removal of the Portuguese court to the Brazils had given hopes of an enlarged South American trade, and the two islands of Heligoland and Anholt had been fortified and turned into smuggling centres with some success. Certain public works, as the Waterloo and Vauxhall bridges, had been opened. But before the year was over the condition of the country surely proved that the prosperity boasted of was a mere phantom. The American trade proved ruinous to those who had rushed into it; the British goods on the Baltic had been seized and confiscated; the public works had been carried on by a lavish issue of paper money, which was now rapidly depreciating. A bad harvest came to increase the difficulties of the time. Early in the spring wheat was already at 102s. a quarter: though £7,000,000 worth was imported, it rose in August to 116s. But then, under the influence of a good harvest, it suddenly dropped to 94s.—thus the agricultural interest was also involved in ruin.

Under all these influences there was a collapse of credit. There were 273 stoppages of payment instead of the ordinary average of 100, and before the year ^{Depression} of trade. was out no less than 2314 commissions of bankruptcy were issued. This misery and depression lasted till the end of the war. Indeed, in the following years, 1811 and 1812, it was constantly increasing. The depression of commerce was so great and the collapse of credit so general that an advance of £6,000,000 to the merchants on due security was authorized by Parliament. The withdrawal of Russia from the Continental System, and its apparent inclination to throw off Napoleon's influence, slightly revived business. But this improvement was neutralized by the fearful winter and spring, which destroyed much of the harvest, and again raised the price of wheat. The apparent opposition between the interests of the manufacturing and agricultural classes was very curiously marked. A plentiful harvest in 1813, and the opening of many continental ports, did much to revive both trade and manufactures; but it was accompanied by a fall in the price of corn from 171s. to 75s. The consequence was widespread distress among the agriculturists, which involved the country banks, so that in the two following years 240 of them stopped payment. So great a crash

could not fail to affect the manufacturing interest also; apparently for the instant the very restoration of peace brought widespread ruin.

But whether for the moment it was the agriculturists or the merchants who suffered most, the lower classes were quite sure to suffer. Not only did the Continental System injure the great branches of English industry, the foreign corn ports were also closed. The increase of population since the large introduction of machinery in the last century had gone beyond the resources of home production. The high price of wheat has been already mentioned. Meat also went up from 4d. or 5d. to 10d. a pound. Considering the enormous rate of the price of corn, it was impossible to give wages sufficient to keep the operatives alive. Before the end of the year 1811, wages had sunk to 7s. 6d. a week. The manufacturing operatives were therefore in a state of absolute misery. Petitions signed by 40,000 or 50,000 men urged upon Parliament that they were starving; but there was another class which fared still worse. Machinery had by no means superseded hand-work. In thousands of hamlets and cottages handlooms still existed. The work was neither so good nor so rapid as work done by machinery; even at the best of times used chiefly as an auxiliary to agriculture, this hand labour could now scarcely find employment at all. Not unnaturally, without work and without food, these hand-

Misery of the lower classes.

The Luddite riots. workers were very ready to believe that it was the machinery which caused their ruin, and so in fact it was; the change, though on the whole beneficial, had brought much individual misery. The people were not wise enough to see this. They rose in riot in many parts of England, chiefly about Nottingham, calling themselves Luddites (from the name of a certain idiot lad who some thirty years before had broken stocking-frames), gathered round them many of the disbanded soldiery with whom the country was thronged, and with a very perfect secret organization, carried out their object of machine-breaking. The unexpected thronging of the village at nightfall, a crowd of men with blackened faces, armed sentinels holding every approach, silence on all sides, the village inhabitants cowering behind their closed doors, an hour or two's work of smashing and burning, and the disappearance of the crowd as rapidly as it had arrived—such were the incidents of the night riots.

Perhaps, however, the agricultural labourer was still worse off. While farmers were selling their corn at 112s., or even at 170s., the

quarter—while it paid to take in bits of open down land, get three crops off it without manuring, and then pass on to the next piece,—the wretched labourers were told that prices were so high that but little could be given them for their wages. The misery was therefore exceedingly great among them; and even worse than this, the Poor Law stepped in and destroyed their characters. For the wages were so low that they could not live on them, and they were forced to come upon the parish; and the old Poor Law, in the hands of the farmer guardians, enabled those very employers who kept the wages low to levy a rate upon their parishes to support those people whom they were starving, and to give outdoor relief in aid of wages. In other words, the employer had the right to compel the country to give him the money to pay his labourers enough to keep them alive. Selfish views, too, were mixed with false political economy. Many labourers made cheap labour; many hands, it was thought, made a strong country. So this strange grant in aid of wages came to be apportioned according to the number of the family of the recipient; and when the whole state of the nation pointed to the necessity of a curtailed population, a premium was given for its increase.

Misery of the agricultural labourer.

The termination of a war so new in its character, and so universal as that which for the last eleven years had been wasting Europe, brought with it great difficulties. On the one hand arose the question of the position to be taken up by the allies with regard to France; on the other, the reconstitution of Europe, completely dislocated by the policy of Napoleon. Both questions were rendered difficult of solution by the various interests and mutual jealousies of the powers of the victorious coalition. But, —while those European powers who had suffered most severely from the French arms, and especially Prussia, on which the vengeance of Napoleon had fallen most heavily, were desirous to treat France as a conquered nation, so to curtail its dimensions as to render it harmless for the future, and to lay such burdens upon it as might in some degree recompense them for their losses,—England, which had never felt the sword of the conqueror, and Russia, ruled by a Czar much influenced by notions of chivalry and magnanimity, had already determined upon an opposite course. Following the opinion of the founder of their party, the Tory Government which had succeeded Pitt declared its intention of acting towards France as towards a friendly power, and of allowing it to retain the same frontiers as in 1790. There was not much magnanimity in such

Difficulties attending the settlement of Europe.

conduct; the Tory party, the champions of legitimacy, could scarcely avoid restoring the Bourbons; their view of the balance of Europe rendered a powerful France almost a necessity; they could look for no continental acquisitions for England, and took care to secure the advantages they required for their maritime and commercial superiority in other directions. But, while restoring the Bourbons, the English Government found itself compelled by the temper of the time, the course of circumstances, and the liberal views of the Emperor of Russia, to restore them only upon conditions. A constitutional government was granted to France, ratified by a charter securing the chief personal and political rights of the people, such as the maintenance of the public sales during the Revolution, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press.

A France thus reconstituted, and holding friendly relations with the other powers of Europe, would naturally claim its share in the arrangements of the forthcoming Congress. It would probably have been wiser had the French Government postponed all definite settlements as to its future limits till that Congress met; the jealousies which existed between the allies and their conflicting claims would have afforded opportunity for securing favourable terms, for by the Convention, by which France had surrendered the territories held by her armies in Europe, her troops had been allowed to withdraw unmolested, and a powerful army could have been rapidly reconstituted. But the allies, guided by Metternich, the Austrian minister, and determined to keep as far as possible the management of the Congress in their own hands, insisted on the immediate conclusion

Treaty of
Paris.
May 1814.

of the treaty with France. Eager to gain popularity by the establishment of peace, the French Government yielded, and in May the Treaty of Paris was concluded. It was upon the whole more favourable than France, as a conquered nation, could have expected. The frontier of 1790 was even slightly increased: towards the north and towards the Rhine it was advanced so as to include several important fortresses, especially the strong place of Landau, and towards the Alps about half of Savoy was also included. The demands of Prussia for a contribution towards the expenses of the war were rejected by the influence of Austria and England, and the treasures of art collected by Napoleon's armies were allowed to remain in Paris. The one great loss sustained was the Isle of France. It was upon the sea and among the colonies that England looked for its reward; it retained Malta, to secure its influence in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope, which it had

won from the Dutch, and now, to complete its naval stations on the road to India, it insisted on the surrender of the Isle of France. The bases for the forthcoming Treaty of Vienna were also roughly laid by this peace. The published articles declared the independence of the States of Germany, the augmentation of Holland under the rule of the Prince of Orange, the independence of Switzerland and of the Italian States outside the limits of the Austrian possessions. Secret articles explained what these loose expressions meant. Belgium was to form the promised increase of Holland, and thus form with it a kingdom absolutely in the interest of England; the left bank of the Rhine was to supply compensations for the German princes (which meant that it was to be given to Bavaria in exchange for the Tyrol); the Po, the Ticino, and Lago Maggiore were to form the boundaries of Austrian Italy, which thus included the territory of Venice; and Sardinia was to receive Genoa in exchange for the portion of Savoy ceded to France.

The difficulties which were sure to attend the forthcoming Congress were already felt, and it was thought that the solution would be rendered easier by the establishment of personal relations between the powers of the coalition. Visit of the monarchs to England. Aug. 1814. The great monarchs of Eastern Europe were therefore invited to visit the Prince Regent in England. The Emperor of Austria declined to come, but the Czar and the King of Prussia accepted the invitation, and were received with great pomp and enthusiasm. Several weeks were passed in universal gaiety, but the political object of the visit was not attained. The Czar seemed more than ever to occupy the first place among crowned heads; and the dread of Russian influence, and the determination to oppose its claims in the Congress, were thus only rendered stronger.

The meetings at Vienna, at first appointed for August, had been postponed to September, and thither, after their visit to England, the monarchs themselves, and the ministers Congress at Vienna. Sept. 1814. who represented the various countries of the Congress, betook themselves. The interests of England were intrusted to Lord Castlereagh, a man of considerable firmness, but of mediocre ability, without accurate knowledge or broad views of the politics of Europe, and deficient in the conciliatory deportment so necessary for a successful diplomatist. The negotiators approached their difficult work in a spirit which promised no very good results. Almost of necessity the character of the Congress, and of the treaty it produced, belonged rather to the past than to the future. It was rendered

necessary by the changes created by the French Revolution, and was in the hands of a coalition called into existence to oppose the Revolution, and consisting chiefly of monarchs whose views were both absolutist and dynastic. The Czar alone had certain liberal tendencies, but they were so mixed with personal ambition as to excite mistrust instead of co-operation among the assembled negotiators. The Congress therefore assumed the form of an old European congress. It was occupied with the personal and peculiar interest of each sovereign, the increase of territory and influence of each nation, instead of attempting a settlement of Europe in accordance with any enlarged or general theory suitable to the great change and growth of ideas which had been at once the cause and effect of the Revolution.

As far as England was concerned, its interests had already been chiefly secured by the Treaty of Paris. The new kingdom of the Netherlands, it was thought, would be strong enough to hold the mouths of the great rivers of that country, and thus prevent any revival of the Continental System; the road to India was rendered safe by the possession of the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius, while Malta guarded English influence in the Mediterranean. The maintenance of the old European balance was therefore the chief object which Castlereagh had now in view, endangered chiefly by the overwhelming power of Russia, threatening alike the countries of Europe and our own Asiatic dominions. The haste with which the Treaty of Paris had been concluded tied the hands of France, which was represented by Talleyrand; and the very moderate ambition of Louis XVIII. limited the claims of that country to the completion of the downfall of the Napoleonic system by the removal of Murat from the kingdom of Naples, and the establishment of the Spanish Princess, the Queen of Etruria, in the Duchy of Parma, which had been promised to Maria Louisa, Napoleon's wife. Louis was also anxious to save if possible the kingdom of Saxony from annihilation. The really important questions at issue regarded the settlement of the East of Europe and the fate of Poland and Saxony, which appeared indissolubly connected, so closely were the Courts of Russia and Prussia united. The Emperor of Russia was a man of enthusiastic temperament and liberal theories, and at the same time of great ambition. He found satisfaction for both sides of his character in a plan for the reconstitution of the kingdom of Poland, with a liberal constitution, either under his own rule as king or under some prince of his house acknowledging his supremacy. To complete this project he required

The interests of the various countries at the Congress.

the possession of the whole of Poland, a reward which the overweening value he set on his own services to the coalition induced him to regard as by no means more than his due. Both Prussia and Austria would have been called upon to restore certain portions of Poland which had fallen to their lot in the different partition treaties, but he supposed that his own resignation of certain portions would counterbalance these sacrifices, while Austria would be well rewarded by the possession of Lombardy and Venice, and Prussia by the whole of Saxony. The adhesion of the Saxon king to Napoleon was thought to justify the sovereigns of the coalition in confiscating his country, which, with the approbation of Russia, was claimed in its entirety by the Prussian Government. It is plain that the claims of Russia and Prussia could not but be in the last degree objectionable to Austria. Absolutist in its tendencies, it cared nothing for the freedom of Poland, while the possession of territory continuous with the hereditary states of Austria would render Russia a most dangerous rival. At the same time, Prussia, the constant object of Austrian jealousy, if Saxony passed into its hands, would at once lose that broken and dislocated shape which had hitherto been its weakness, and would acquire a position in Germany which Austria could scarcely hope to equal. The policy of Austria was therefore clearly marked.

The position of England was not so obvious. It is possible to say now, guided by the light of subsequent events, and led by the spirit of freedom and nationality which has made such vast strides of late years, that the Government of England, the home of free institutions and avowedly the champion of national liberty, should have come forward even then in that capacity, should have rejoiced at the reconstitution of Poland, and have sought the unification of Germany by supporting the power of Prussia, and should have objected to the establishment of Austria in Italy, a country where her rule was certain to be disliked by the population. But the English Government at the time was a Tory Government, bent rather upon restraining than increasing popular tendencies, and under the dominion of three overmastering influences—the desire to secure England from any possibility of a renewal of the Continental System, an extreme jealousy of the pretensions and power of the Russian Emperor, and the wish to establish for some years at all events the peace of Europe. Its policy was therefore inconsistent and shortsighted, though good for the immediate object; fear of the advance of Russia made the English ministry blind to its duties towards Poland; the satisfaction and friendship of France

The policy of England at the Congress.

were more important than the rights of Genoa; the immediate balance of the powers of Germany was more important than the national aspirations either of Italy or of Germany.

It so happened that the views of France were at this instant similar to those of England. Before the formal opening of the Congress an attempt had been made by the four great powers to get the management of it entirely into their own hands. France would thus have been excluded from the settlement of Europe; but Talleyrand was not a man to bear quietly such an exclusion; he appeared as the champion of the smaller states, and succeeded in thwarting the efforts of the great powers. This, with other less important causes, had embroiled him with the Emperor of Russia, whose objects he was thus bent on thwarting. The King of Saxony was a friend and relative of Louis XVIII.; to save him and his country from destruction was a part of the French programme. It therefore suited Talleyrand to adopt the views of Castlereagh.

Thus Austria, France, and England, in conjunction with the smaller German powers, who looked with great dislike to the annihilation of one of the chief among them, were thrown upon one side, in opposition to Russia and Prussia. The arrogant and high-handed manner in which those two powers proceeded to take temporary possession of the countries which they claimed still further excited the anger of their opponents. So severe did the dispute grow, so indissoluble did the knot appear, that war between the powers themselves seemed threatening. The Treaty of Ghent and the conclusion of the English war with America allowed Castlereagh to act with more vigour, and in January a secret treaty was entered into between France, Austria, and England, by which each country agreed to supply troops to compel, if necessary, the adoption of their combined policy. Although this treaty was kept a secret, the firm attitude and the combination of the three powers were so evident

that, as neither party really wished for war, a compromise was discovered. About half of Saxony, with a third of its population, was taken from the King and given to Prussia, while the Czar, withdrawing from his extreme demand with regard to Poland, allowed the Duchy of Posen to remain in the hands of the Prussians, and a considerable portion of Galicia, together with the district of Tarnopol, to be retained by Austria, while Krakow was to become a free and neutral republic. Poland was thus in part reconstituted, but entirely in the hands of Russia. These great questions being settled, the arrangements upon the

The policy of France.

Division of the Congress.

Compromise agreed to.

minor points proceeded with some rapidity; the left bank of the Rhine was given to Bavaria and Prussia; Genoa passed to Sardinia; the two houses of Hesse were re-established; Luxemburg was given to the Low Countries; Mayence became a Federal fortress; the Tyrol was restored to Austria; Switzerland was re-organized chiefly in accordance with the arrangements France had made there; the conduct of Murat, who began to show a tendency towards Napoleonism, facilitated the restoration of the Bourbons in Naples; Parma was given to Maria Louisa for her life; and the Congress completed its work by two great declarations of principle, one securing the freedom of the navigation of rivers, the other expressing, what was very dear to Englishmen at the time, a universal disapprobation of the slave trade.

Before the conclusion of these questions Castlereagh had been compelled by the meeting of Parliament to return to England, and the Duke of Wellington had taken his place at Vienna. His work there was not completed when the news arrived that Napoleon had broken loose from Elba, and the Duke was wanted to take command of the allied army in Belgium. The renewal of the common danger produced a temporary harmony among the negotiators at Vienna. The chief questions were rapidly settled, and a joint proclamation, issued by the eight powers which had signed the Peace of Paris, declared Napoleon the public enemy of Europe. The Congress continued its sittings, but military preparations for the time absorbed all attention.

It was agreed to act in accordance with the Treaty of Chaumont, each of the four great powers supplying its quota of troops, or in the case of England an equivalent in money. While the Prussians and the English with their allies were to advance into France and the Netherlands, the other powers were to pass the Rhine and join in a great advance upon Paris. It was hoped that by the end of April 500,000 men would be ready for the great movement. The French Court had taken refuge in the Netherlands, and as the people of that country were already half inclined to join the French, it seemed certain that that country would be the chief seat of operations; the war there was intrusted to the Anglo-allies under Wellington, and the Prussians under Prince Blücher. The hope of speedy action was quickly seen to be vain. Since the peace many countries had disbanded their troops, many of the best English regiments had been sent to America, and in spite of its long experience, the English Government

Escape of Napoleon from Elba.

Military preparations against Napoleon.

showed its usual weakness in the war administration. Wellington was convinced of the necessity of postponing the opening of the campaign till June or July.

This delay gave Napoleon an opportunity of striking the first blow, and although he could immediately dispose of not more than 125,000 men, and although the English and Prussian armies amounted to 220,000, the arrangement of the allied troops gave him much hope of a successful campaign. Bent upon covering Brussels, uncertain where the blow which he felt Napoleon enters Belgium. sure would soon be struck would fall and in order to facilitate the subsistence of his troops, Wellington had spread his army over a long line of frontier, from the neighbourhood of Charleroi to Antwerp and Ostend. In like manner the Prussian corps were spread eastward from Charleroi to Liège. Trusting to the wide dissemination of the allied troops to render concentration difficult, Napoleon thought to push between the English and Prussian armies, and to crush them one after the other. With all his old skill, he rapidly collected his army on the Sambre, issued on the 14th June a stirring general order, and on the 15th attacked the Prussians at Charleroi, passed the Sambre, and drove them back along the Namur road to a position near Sombrefe, which Blücher had already appointed as a point of concentration should he be attacked from Charleroi. At the same time the left of the French army under Ney was sent directly northward along the road to Brussels, to clear it of English and prevent the junction of the allies.

Up to this point Napoleon's plans seemed thoroughly successful. He had already rendered any immediate junction of the armies difficult, if not impossible; with one part of his army he had already reached the chosen ground of the Prussians, and found it occupied by one only out of their four corps; with his left he had advanced to the position of Quatre Bras against the English, where as yet no considerable portion of the allies had arrived. But a strange slowness marks his course in this campaign. Instead of bringing up all his troops for an attack in both directions, in the early morning of the 16th, he allowed his main body to pass the night on the Sambre, while there was an interval of twelve miles between

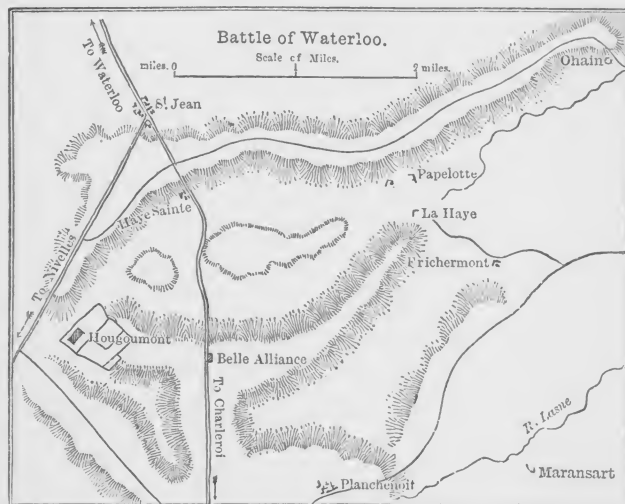
Battle of Ligny.

Ney's position and that of his rear. Consequently all the morning was passed in bringing up these troops, and it was past noon before either at Quatre Bras or Ligny any formidable attacks were made on the enemy. During that time two more Prussian corps had arrived at Ligny, and Wellington's troops

were hastening to support the small force at Quatre Bras. Napoleon therefore, instead of being able to destroy a single Prussian corps, found himself involved in a bloody and hard-contested battle. He was indeed victorious, but the victory was not of that crushing and decisive character which his precarious position rendered necessary for him. At Quatre Bras, instead of a brief skirmish Battle of Quatre Bras. which would have enabled him to give assistance to Napoleon at Ligny, Ney found it necessary to fight a battle, and that not a successful one. The Allies, who in the morning were scarcely 8000 strong, made good their position till reinforcements arrived. When evening closed their preponderance was such that Ney was compelled to withdraw his troops to Frasnes. So hard had he been pressed that he had found it necessary to summon to his aid the corps of D'Erlon, which almost at the same time received orders from Napoleon to fall on the Prussian right flank, and thus complete the victory of Ligny. Confused by these contradictory orders, D'Erlon's corps of 20,000 men passed the day, without striking a blow, between the two battlefields, in either of which his presence might have had a decisive effect. As it was, Napoleon overrated the success against the Prussians, and fell into a fatal error with regard to the line of their retreat. Convinced that they would fall back towards Namur and Liège, he detached Marshal Grouchy with 30,000 men to follow them in that direction, while he himself brought his main body to join Ney, with the intention of following Retreat of Blücher's army. and destroying the English, who were compelled by Blücher's defeat to fall back towards Brussels. But the Prussian generals, Blücher and Gneisenau, the chief of his staff, were not so easily shaken off. Determined still to afford assistance to their allies, they withdrew northwards towards Wavre, while Grouchy and his troops were in vain seeking them towards the east. From Wavre, which was reached late in the evening of the 17th, Blücher was enabled to assure Wellington of his approach, and to promise the assistance not of two divisions only, for which the English general had asked, but of his whole army. Relying on this promise, Wellington determined to fight.

To give time for the arrival of the Prussians it was necessary that his battle should be a defensive one. The position, Position of Waterloo. which he had long before studied and selected, was admirably adapted for the purpose. Nearly two miles south of Waterloo is the village of St. Jean, where the highroads from Charleroi and Nivelles towards Brussels join. Just south of this the undulating country forms a somewhat continuous ridge, lying east

and west, crossed at right angles by the Charleroi road. Along the south of the ridge lies a rich and cultivated valley, which in about a mile swells again into a corresponding range of elevated ground. Three or four farmhouses lie on the foot or on the southern slope of the northern line of hills, so that the position resembles, as Wellington said, a wall of a bastion with advancing angles. The



English troops were placed along the ridge, and occupied the farmhouses. The centre was placed between the two highroads, having in front the farm of La Haye Sainte standing on the western side of the Charleroi road. The right was covered by the château of Hougoumont, with stone buildings and enclosures, while the left stretched to the farms of Papelotte and La Haye. Wavre is about seven miles from St. Jean, directly to the east, and expecting the arrival of Blücher, Wellington allowed his left to be the weakest part of his line. His care for his right was indeed exaggerated; he thought it possible that an attempt might be made to reach Brussels by outflanking him in that direction, and before all things desirous of preserving the capital, he detached a body of 17,000 men to Hal (eight miles to the west of his position), and thus seriously and uselessly weakened his line of battle. The French position corresponded to the English. Its centre also lay on the Charleroi road

and the range of heights parallel to those occupied by the English, on which is the farmhouse of La Belle Alliance. Its right extended to Frischermont, opposite to La Haye, having somewhat in its rear the village of Planchenoit; the left reached beyond Hougoumont. In number the armies were not unequally matched. Wellington commanded about 68,000 men, Napoleon 70,000, but the English army consisted of troops of various nations, some of whom were thoroughly untrustworthy, and was inferior in cavalry by at least 3000 men, and in artillery by upwards of 100 guns.

By eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th the English were under arms, but Napoleon, ignorant of the movements of the Prussians, and anxious probably to excite the temper of his own troops, and display his power to those of the allies who were already wavering in their allegiance, delayed his attack till nearly mid-day, and employed the morning in a great review of his troops. The weather also on the 17th had been very stormy, the ground was saturated and heavy; and though this difficulty would likewise have affected his opponents, firm ground was no doubt more important for the attack than for the defence. It is probable that those wasted hours saved the English army, for the same condition of the ground told with terrible force upon the advance of the Prussians, who had to make their way through swampy defiles, where the artillery could scarcely be moved. Their advance was very slow, and nothing but the firm determination of their leaders to keep their word to Wellington would have enabled them to overcome the obstacles in their way. The battle began about half-past eleven by an assault upon Hougoumont, which Napoleon intended to carry, and thus mask his real great attack upon the centre and left of the English. The firm resistance of the garrison, consisting of a portion of the English Guards and the troops of Nassau and Hanover, frustrated this first move. The capture of the château, which should have been a mere preliminary step in the great plan, became an object in itself; fresh troops were constantly brought against it, it was as constantly reinforced from the English line, and throughout the whole day its defence neutralized a considerable portion of the French infantry. It was not till five o'clock that Napoleon brought a couple of howitzers to bear upon it. Though the buildings were speedily in flames, the defence was continued, and it remained throughout the day uncaptured. During the first attack upon Hougoumont skirmishing and firing had been going on along the whole line preparatory to the great movement against the left. That movement was rather hastened than post-

poned by a discovery which was made about one o'clock. About that time troops were seen moving near a wood to the north-east of the English position between Wavre and Ohain. At first Napoleon took them for the troops of Grouchy, to whom he had sent information of the true direction of the Prussian retreat. They proved however to be the foremost troops of Bülow's Prussian corps. But the Emperor, still believing that Grouchy would at all events prevent the arrival of the main body of the Prussians, determined if possible to complete the destruction of the English before taking notice of the approaching troops. At half-past one, under a furious cannonade, the first corps, D'Erlon's, marched against the English left between Papelotte and La Haye Sainte. Although their peculiar formation, in great closely-packed masses, exposed them fearfully to the fire of the English artillery, they pressed forward up the English slope, threw the first line, consisting of allies, into confusion, and were not repulsed till Picton brought up the main body of the English left, who charged them with the bayonet and drove them backward. As they were already shaken, the English heavy cavalry, the Household Brigade, and what is known as the Union Brigade, consisting of the Scotch Greys, the Enniskillen Dragoons, and Royals, charged with fearful effect. Carried away by their energy, they rode right up the French slope to the battery of La Belle Alliance; scattered and exhausted by their charge, they were fallen upon and very roughly handled by the French Lancers, and only saved from destruction by the advance of the English light cavalry. However, the first great attack of the French had been triumphantly repulsed, though with terrible loss. Both Picton and Ponsonby, who commanded the cavalry, were killed. It was not long before a second attack was made. Apparently about four o'clock, Ney was ordered to assault the centre and right centre of the English to the west of the Charleroi road. The attack was made chiefly with cavalry. Much of the infantry were indeed employed round Hougomont and in the attack of La Haye Sainte, which never ceased. For two hours the cavalry charges continued; they were opposed by the allied troops thrown into square, the squares being placed checkerwise behind the crest of the ridge. It is uncertain whether any squares were broken; it is certain at all events that though the line on the whole held firm, reinforcements had to be brought from the right, and that there was a moment between five and six o'clock when the centre was in the greatest danger. After an heroic defence La Haye Sainte had been abandoned for want of ammunition. The French held therefore a position close to the English ridge, and the infantry of Donzelot's

division were gradually making their way to the line which the cavalry charge had shattered. But to complete the lodgment effected in the line on the ridge more infantry were absolutely necessary, and these were not forthcoming. When Ney sent to demand them of the Emperor, his messenger was met with the reply, "Does he want me to make them?" In fact, since about half-past four o'clock the advance of the Prussians had made itself clearly felt. The Comte de Lobau had been sent to check them, and with him some battalions of the Imperial Guard. But the numbers of the Prussians constantly increased; it was in vain that they were more than once driven out of Planchenois by the Guard, at six o'clock they had established themselves there, threatening even the rear of the French and the Charleroi road, their line of retreat; and by seven o'clock Ziethen's corps, which had pushed directly westward, had joined the left of the English army, so that the French troops in Papelotte occupied an advanced angle, surrounded both in front and flank by the enemy. It was thus that reinforcements could not be sent to Ney, and the second great effort of the French was rendered useless. But Napoleon did not yet give up all for lost. He knew that the English must be much exhausted, and determined to try one great effort more with that portion of the Imperial Guard which had still been kept in reserve. It was a general assault along the whole line, but the most important part of it was the advance of the Guard upon the English centre. To oppose them the English brigade of Guards under Maitland had been brought forward. As the French columns topped the ridge the Guards sprang to their feet, and at a distance of fifty paces poured in a fire which shook the advancing masses, and charged them with the bayonet. The columns of the Guard rolled backward to the valley. At the same time a second column had met with the same fate; the 52nd regiment under Colborne had advanced so as to form an angle with the main line; as the French column passed them they poured in a destructive fire, and charged directly upon their flank. The course of that charge was unchecked, the 52nd regiment continued to follow the flying French right across the valley. Almost at the same time, the French in the angle at Papelotte had also been driven back by the Prussians; and the English light cavalry under Vandellour and Vivian had likewise charged, overthrowing the troops opposed to them; thus in three parts of the field the French were in flight. A general order to advance was given, and after a short but broken resistance, the whole mass of the French army fled in complete rout. About nine o'clock Wellington and Blücher met at the farmhouse of La Belle Alliance, lately the

French headquarters. The pursuit was intrusted to the Prussians, less exhausted than their English allies, and was followed up by Gneisenau along the Charleroi road as far as Frasnée. The loss in this great battle was very heavy on all sides; that of England is put at 13,000, that of Prussia at 7000, and of France between 23,000 and 30,000. It was however decisive.

The advance of the allies into France was unchecked, and on the 7th of July Paris was again occupied. The entrance of the allies upon the country of France at once exhibited the different feelings by which they were actuated; while Blücher and the Prussians thought of nothing but vengeance, Wellington, true to the constant policy of England, insisted upon regarding France as a friendly country to which he was restoring its legitimate sovereign. He succeeded in restraining his violent colleague, who wished to put Napoleon to death, to lay a large contribution on Paris, and to blow up the bridge of Jena over the Seine, the name of which he considered an insult to Prussia. Wellington had no instructions how to act with regard to Napoleon, he therefore allowed him to follow his own course. The Emperor, embarking in an English frigate, the *Bellerophon*, attempted in his usual theatrical manner to claim the hospitality of the Prince Regent, but the dread of his name and ambition, and the proved danger of allowing him to remain in Europe, prevented the English Government from entertaining any such ideas, and Napoleon was sent to end his days as a prisoner in St. Helena.

The influence of England, naturally increased by the great part it had played in the war in Belgium, was sufficient to give the direction to the negotiations which followed the second restoration of the Bourbons. The Government succeeded in procuring that the Treaty of Vienna completed on June 9th and the first Treaty of Paris (May 1814) should be upon the whole maintained, but it could not refuse to allow some punishment to fall on France for the events of "the hundred days." The country was rigorously confined to its limits in 1790, losing all the additions which the first Treaty of Paris had given it; it was compelled to bear much of the expenses of the war; while its immediate good conduct was secured by an army of occupation, which was for five years to hold the northern fortresses under the command of the Duke of Wellington. The war contribution was to consist of 700,000,000 francs, a sum which was to be paid in five years, during which time the northern fortresses were held as guarantee. This treaty was signed on the 20th of November.

The allies
in Paris.

Napoleon
banished to
St. Helena.

Second Treaty
of Paris.
Nov. 20, 1815.

England had one more piece of work to do before laying down her arms. The attention of the Congress of Vienna had been called to the condition of the Mediterranean, where commerce was interrupted, and the liberty of Christians imperilled by the piratical fleets of the slave-holding states of the Barbary coasts. A general co-operation against the pirates had been proposed, but no definite resolution was arrived at. To England, unquestioned mistress of the sea, and herself, by her new position in the Ionian Isles, a Mediterranean power, fell the duty of suppressing the evil. Early in 1816, therefore, Lord Exmouth, in command of the Mediterranean squadron, was instructed to visit the Mahomedan states; he was to insist upon the release of Ionian slaves, and to negotiate a peace with the Mahomedans in the interests of Sardinia and Naples. From Algiers alone could opposition be expected. But the Government there made no objections to the admiral's demands; the Ionian slaves were released freely, those of Naples and Sardinia upon the payment of a ransom. At Tunis, the next port visited, an accident changed the aspect of affairs. Lord Exmouth, took advantage of a mistake of his interpreter to declare that it was not the wish only but the fixed determination of the Prince Regent that slavery should cease altogether. Tripoli and Tunis submitted, and set free their slaves; but Algiers, a stronger power, demanded time to refer the matter to Constantinople, promising to deal directly with the English Government. Meanwhile in Parliament the principle of ransoming the slaves had been strongly censured, and a general feeling that force should be used had arisen. A barbarous attack by Algerine soldiers upon the crews of some coral-ships at Bona allowed the Government to take advantage of this feeling, by despatching Lord Exmouth to complete his work. On the 27th of August, having been joined at Gibraltar by a small Dutch squadron, Lord Exmouth approached Algiers. After waiting two hours for a reply to his terms he placed his ships alongside the batteries in positions carefully marked out beforehand. The work of destruction was complete, the forts were reduced to ruins, the fleet that lay within the mole was burnt. For nine hours the battle raged, then when the ammunition was nearly expended the ships withdrew from their somewhat dangerous position. Their work had been effective: on the following morning the English terms were accepted, and on the 31st, 1200 slaves were embarked in the fleet, making in all more than 3000 whom Lord Exmouth had delivered.

Battle of Algiers.
Aug. 27, 1816.

The completion of the settlement of Europe had been carried out during the recess of Parliament. From July 1815 to February 1, 1816, the Government had been able to act entirely unchecked. On that day Parliament reopened, and Castlereagh resumed his seat in all the triumph of his completed negotiations. But with the conclusion of the war came the hour of trial for the Tory ministry. The mediocrity of their talent, the reactionary character of their political views, had been forgotten, or even regarded as favourable points in their administration, while they stood forth firmly and energetically to express and give effect to the great wish of the nation, the destruction of the Napoleonic rule. With the return of peace the great questions of home politics were again becoming of importance, and the tendencies of the party fostered by their successful warfare were to call into existence an opposition not only in Parliament but among the nation at large. Already voices were raised against the late negotiations; though, no doubt, the real magnanimity shown towards France, the advantages gained for England on the sea, and the security for some years of peace which the elaborate system of balance was thought to give, were fully in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the nation. There were men who, undazzled by the glories of the late war, saw that the policy of England had in fact favoured absolutism,—that, for the sake of the balance of power, countries had been handed over quite irrespective of the wishes of the people to sovereigns for whom they felt no natural affection,—that a dynasty disliked by a large section of the people had been forced upon France, and was upheld by English bayonets, and that in spite of the efforts of England the influence of Russia had been increased. It appeared to them that the intercourse with foreign powers had rendered our negotiators absolutists. Their conduct with regard to the Holy Alliance showed that this was not in fact the case. The Holy Alliance, or Convention of September, by which the enthusiastic and sentimental Emperor of Russia joined with his brother sovereigns of Prussia and Austria to declare that henceforward their policy should be ruled on Christian principles alone, had been rejected by the English Government, which saw danger in this brotherly and religious bond between absolute monarchs, and declared through the Duke of Wellington that the English Parliament would require “something more precise.” In fact, though in no way wishing to disturb the English Constitution, the Tory Government had been led into a course of policy which was not in accordance with English

Opposition in
the Parliament.
Feb. 1, 1816.

The Holy
Alliance.
Sept. 1815.

traditions. The conclusion of a war the burden of which had been upon the whole patiently borne, should have brought with it the real blessings of peace; but these were not found in the declaration of the Government that it intended to keep up the war taxes, and to keep on foot an army of 150,000, an intention which, when taken in conjunction with the close alliances entered into with foreign powers, seemed to mean that England was henceforward to attempt to take its place as one of the great military powers of the Continent.

It was upon the two points of taxation and economy that the Government first met with opposition. Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared his intention of continuing half the income and property tax, which ^{Extravagance of the Government.} from the first had been avowedly a war tax. The Opposition to this measure was headed in the Commons by Brougham. By a skilful use of parliamentary tactics, he succeeded in gaining time, which he employed in procuring a flood of petitions exhibiting the feeling of the country so strongly that the Government was beaten. Apparently in dudgeon at his defeat, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that as he had lost the income tax he should also throw over the malt tax, a step which Castlereagh explained by saying that Government was going to contract a loan, and £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 more or less would make no difference. The recklessness of this assertion points to one of the evils which the late war had produced;—an unbounded and lavish supply of money, and the habit of spending almost without question if success could be obtained, had destroyed all idea of economy in the minds of the ministers. The angry feeling excited in the people by this carelessness of the public money was not diminished by the extravagances of the Court, and the constant demands for money to supply the deficiencies of the Civil List. Although £800,000 was the sum granted in exchange for the hereditary revenues, the average of late years had been considerably above a million; in 1815 it had reached nearly a million and a half. On this point the ministers were themselves obliged to take the initiative, and a Bill was passed for the better regulation of the Civil List. But while the demand for economy, for the reduction of the war expenditure, and the return of England to its usual independent position with regard to the Continent, afforded themes for the Opposition in Parliament, an agitation of far more importance had sprung into existence outside its walls.

At the opening of the session the Prince Regent's speech had congratulated the country upon the prosperity of agriculture, and of all

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branches of trade and manufacture. But it was, in fact, a time of unexampled distress. The principle of protection which had found favour with the mercantile world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been extended to agriculture. In 1670, a period of great plenty having reduced the price of corn, it was thought necessary to impose heavy dues on its importation. Up to 53s. 4d. a duty of 16s. a quarter was imposed, between that and 80s., a duty of 8s. a quarter. The price at which importation, free or at a nominal duty, was allowed had been more than once changed. In 1804 it had been set at 66s. During the latter years of the war there had been constantly deficient harvests. In 1812 and 1813 the quarter of wheat had risen to 171s. The average price during six years, from 1808 to 1813, had been 108s. During several of those years the Continental System had virtually excluded foreign competition. The effect of the high prices was most disastrous upon agriculture; while the suffering of the labourer had, as has been explained, been very great, the class of farmer had changed, the careful small cultivator had given place to ostentatious spendthrifts. To secure great returns land wholly unfitted for the purpose had been brought under the plough, crop after crop of corn had been grown to the exhaustion of the soil, and many advantageous and necessary forms of agriculture had been thrown aside for the cultivation of corn. The year 1813 was one of extraordinary plenty, the surplus crop was enough to continue that plenty during the two following years; the effect was a very rapid fall in prices. Such a fall naturally entailed the restoration of a better system of husbandry, and the ruin of many of those who had embarked on the false course. Peace added still further to this distress. Violent efforts were made in Parliament by the landed interest, which was very strong, to bolster up the evil system. It was proposed in 1813 that importation should be subject to a prohibitory duty till the price of wheat reached 105s. the quarter. This demand was reduced to 84s. in 1814. Circumstances prevented its being carried then, but in 1815, when the foreign markets were again opened, the terror of approaching cheapness enabled farmers and landlords to combine and hurry through the House a Corn Law, fixing the price at which corn might be imported at 80s. In spite of this, however, the distress continued. In fact, the false inflation of late years was giving way, and agriculture entering upon a more natural course. The agricultural interests still complained, and still asserted the necessity of relief, but as, in order to win their support, the Government had already

Agricultural
depression.

given up the malt tax, there was really scarcely anything left to give them, and their complaints remained unanswered; and as the distress, although it was caused chiefly by the fault of the agriculturalists, and was but a fair counterpoise to the enormous profits they had lately been making, was a terrible reality, the poorer classes continued to suffer.

The depression was not confined to the agricultural interest. The removal of the restrictions caused by the Continental Commercial System excited lively hopes among the trading community. During the war our exports had chiefly depended upon an organized contraband trade. Even so, in 1811, shipments had been made to the Continent to the value of £11,000,000. It was supposed that, without restrictions, the sum might be doubled. Everybody wished for a share in the golden harvest, and much money was transferred from legitimate and lucrative trade to the purchase of colonial produce for exportation. But what is called effective demand for any commodity depends not on the desire of the purchaser, but upon his power of purchase. The exhausting wars of late years so limited that power of purchase that the exports of England either lay in the ports unsold or were got rid of at less than the cost price. Nor did our restrictive commercial policy allow a ready interchange of commodities, which might have tended to render the disaster less. Peace with America had produced somewhat the same effects. Thus, both in agriculture and in commerce, widespread suffering and distress existed.

The difficulties were increased at the time by a considerable reduction in the circulating medium. The fall in agricultural profits had ruined many banks in agricultural districts, and induced others to restrict their issue of paper money. A severe winter, a deficient harvest, and the rise of the price of wheat before the close of the year (1815) again to 103s., came to complete the general misery. The effect was a widespread series of riots; rick-burning and machine-breaking were constant, especially in the east of England. At Littleport, in the isle of Ely, the town was for two days in the hands of the mob (May 22), and the tumult was only suppressed after the military had been called out. In the coal and iron districts, though the people on the whole behaved well, great meetings of unemployed operatives took place; while in Nottingham and the neighbourhood the Luddite disturbances broke out with fresh vehemence. The discontent and unhappiness of the people before long assumed the shape of a political movement.

Riots and
political
meetings.

The change must be attributed to the writings of Cobbett more than to any other single cause. For some years he had published a Liberal periodical called "The Weekly Political Register," in which, with remarkable clearness of style and simple power of argument, he had constantly attacked the Government. In 1816, he changed the price of his paper from a shilling to twopence, and it at once became the oracle of the working classes. His view was, that all the evils of the time might be cured by reform of Parliament. He indeed went far beyond what the nation was then fit for, demanding universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. But his work was the beginning of the great agitation which continued till the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832.

Against this new sort of opposition without the walls of Parliament the Government set to work with violent measures of repression. The Hampden Clubs, which had sprung up in all directions for purposes of parliamentary reform, no doubt had fallen in many cases into the hands of dangerous demagogues. In London they appear to have become connected with a body of men known as Spencean philanthropists, after Spence, who, at the beginning of the century, had made himself notorious by his socialistic plans. To this society belonged Thistlewood, the two Watsons, and a man of the name of Preston. Castle, a spy of the police, crept in among them, and probably urged them to more reckless action than they would otherwise have taken. According to his account, a great plot was on foot for taking the Tower, seizing the Government, and establishing a Committee of Public Safety. A meeting in Spa Fields in connection with this plot was held upon the 2nd of December. It was to be addressed by Mr. Hunt, a vain and empty demagogue, but before he arrived the Spenceans had begun to act upon their own authority. Young Watson had led a number of men to Snow Hill to ransack a gunsmith's shop, and had there shot a gentleman who had remonstrated with him. The crowd then marched to the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor, who courageously withstanding them, with only seven assistants, easily dispersed them. Preston appears also singlehanded to have climbed the wall of the Tower, and have summoned the guard to surrender. Beyond this nothing formidable was done.

While hunger and misery, the depression of trade, and the influence of a few able demagogues, were driving the poorer classes to acts of violence, and a dangerous union was being established between social and political discontent, the middle classes were

Meeting in
Spa Fields.
Dec. 2, 1816.

gradually arriving at the same conclusion as their inferiors with regard to the necessity of a thorough change in the constitution of Parliament. In December, only a few weeks after the uproar in Spa Fields, the Corporation of London, of late the firm supporters of the policy of Government, addressed a petition to the Prince Regent, which throws a striking light upon the feelings which the conduct of Government since the war had excited. After a rapid summary "of the distress and misery, no longer limited to one portion of the Empire, and under the irresistible pressure of which the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests are equally sinking," the address goes on to say: "Our grievances are the natural effect of rash and ruinous wars, unjustly commenced and pertinaciously persisted in, where no rational object was to be attained; of immense subsidies to foreign powers to defend their own territories or to commit aggressions on those of our neighbours; of a delusive paper currency; of an unconstitutional and unprecedented military force in time of peace; of the unexampled and increasing magnitude of the Civil List; of the enormous sums paid for unmerited pensions and sinecures; and of a long course of the most lavish and improvident expenditure of the public money throughout every branch of the Government, all arising from the corrupt and inadequate state of the representation of the people in Parliament, whereby all constitutional control over the servants of the Crown has been lost, and Parliaments have become subservient to the will of Ministers."

Petition from
the Corporation
of London.

It began to be evident that, as the great common interest of the war disappeared, and the popularity and influence derived from its successful termination wore itself out, the Tory party, with its repressive and reactionary doctrines, would find itself wholly unable to handle with success the domestic questions which inevitably arose. For some years longer it successfully held its position. Circumstances enabled it again to separate the middle and lower classes, and full time was allowed it to exhibit its repressive principles of home government.

Incapacity of
the Tory
party.

The success of the Government was due to the excesses of the mob, and to the exaggerated fear which it was found possible to excite among the propertied classes. The Regent had scarcely opened Parliament, with an assurance that he was well convinced of the loyalty of the great body of his Majesty's subjects, but was determined to omit no precautions for preserving public peace, when, as he was returning from the House,

Attack on the
Regent.
June 28, 1817.

he was ill-received by the people, and a missile thrown from the crowd even broke one of the windows of his carriage. This outrage encouraged the Government to take vigorous measures. It was not difficult to represent the whole project of reform as being indissolubly mixed with the extreme doctrines of Cobbett and the Spenceans. A secret committee of both Houses was appointed to inquire into the public disaffection; that of the Lords reported the existence of a great network of societies and clubs, which, under pretence of parliamentary reform, were attempting to infect the minds of all classes with a spirit of disaffection, and contempt of law, religion, and morality, while no endeavours were omitted to prepare the people to take up arms on the first signal of the accomplishment of their design. The Commons committee declared (Feb. 19) that the Hampden Clubs aimed at nothing short of revolution. Armed with these reports, which were no doubt extraordinarily exaggerated, Government introduced and carried Bills for preventing attempts to seduce soldiers and sailors from their allegiance, to give to the Prince Regent all the safeguards of an actual sovereign, to prevent seditious meetings, and lastly (March 3), for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act till the 1st of the ensuing July.

The effect of these Acts was at once to give a certain reality to the dangers on the false apprehension of which they had been based. Public meetings being impossible, secret meetings, with all the dangers which invariably attend them, sprang into existence. The worse affected and more dangerous leaders of the people began to acquire influence, and desperate designs, fomented and betrayed by spies in the employment of Government, began to be entertained. It is impossible to suspect benevolent gentlemen such as Lord Sidmouth of wilfully entrapping ignorant artisans to their own destruction; but it is certain that use was constantly made of spies who found it to their own advantage to concoct and betray treasonable and atrocious conspiracies. The most notorious of these spies was a man of the name of Oliver, who, giving himself out as a delegate of London reforming societies, succeeded in giving a new impulse to the plots in various parts of the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire. The violent suppression by the military and constables of a peaceable meeting, known as the meeting of blanketeers, at Manchester on the 29th of March, made the people more ready to listen to his suggestions. The meeting was a peaceful one, and acquired its

Repressive
measures of the
Government.
March.

Secret political
meetings.

name from the blankets or coats which many of those assembled had strapped upon their backs. A few of them set out upon a foolish march, intending to petition the Prince Regent in person; but their intentions appear to have been quite peaceful, and though many were apprehended, they were all discharged before trial. It seems probable that what is known as the Derby insurrection was one of the consequences of Oliver's representations. A man of the name of Brandreth, known as "the Captain," went from house to house near Pentridge, spreading such assertions as that England, Ireland, and France were all to rise that night at ten o'clock, and that the "northern clouds," or men from the north, would come down and sweep all before them. A few men collected in arms at his summons. They do not seem ever to have numbered much more than an hundred, and were without difficulty dispersed, and many of them taken prisoners by the military at a short distance from Nottingham. Such disturbances as these were held to justify a second suspension of the Habeas Corpus.

But it was not only against seditious actions that Lord Sidmouth determined to proceed, but against seditious writings also. On the 27th of March he wrote a circular to the Lords Lieutenant of counties, in which he declared that in the opinion of the law officer the justices of the peace might issue a warrant to apprehend any person charged before them on oath with the publication of blasphemous or seditious libels, and compel him to give bail to answer to the charge. Considering the jealousy with which any political interference with the liberty of the press was regarded, and that by Fox's Libel Bill even the judges were held unfit to decide on the character of a libel, which was to be left to the decision of the jury, it is difficult to conceive a more high-handed interference with what was generally regarded as a constitutional privilege. Considerable use was made of the instructions, yet on the whole with so little success that the Government procured but a single conviction. The most important of these trials was that of Mr. Hone, which must have showed the Government, if nothing else could, how odious and useless their attempts to stifle the free expression of opinion was. Hone was a

quiet and inoffensive publisher, a great collector and reader of old books. He had published certain political parodies, of which the subject can be pretty well understood from the titles they bore, "The Sinecurist's Creed," "The Litany, or General Supplication." It was against their alleged blasphemous character that proceedings were

The Derby
insurrection.
June 10.

Suppression
of seditious
writings.

Mr. Hone's
trial.
Dec. 18, 1817.

taken. Each parody was the subject of a separate trial, and the whole proceedings occupied three days. On the first day Mr. Justice Abbott, on the second and third Lord Chief-Justice Ellenborough occupied the bench. Hone defended himself, basing his argument on the essential difference between parodies intended to throw scorn upon the work parodied and those in which well-known writings were travestied for the purpose of ridiculing some other subject, and supporting himself by innumerable instances of political parodies couched in biblical forms coming from the pens of well-known and respected writers. His erudition enabled him to continue for many hours on each day producing instances of this kind. With astonishing firmness he refused to be browbeaten by Lord Ellenborough, and upon the third day even attacked his judge for the partisan spirit in which he had charged the jury the preceding evening. In all three trials, after a brief consideration, the jury acquitted him. The persistency with which the charges against Hone were pressed after his first acquittal entirely discredited the grounds of public morality on which the Government was professedly acting, and had all the appearance of a vindictive desire for revenge on the part of men smarting under deserved political satire.

The system pursued by the Tories, though for the time it was successful in keeping up a general dread of popular violence, and thus temporarily hushed the agitation for reform, was gradually alienating from Government all classes but the one immediately connected with it, and forcing the nation at large to look upon Government itself as its natural enemy, and to fix its hopes more and more upon some constitutional change. Indeed, though its large majority in the House enabled the Government to reject all liberal measures, and to pass those which it itself produced, a powerful Opposition began to show itself within the walls of the House, which the conduct of the Administration did not tend to conciliate. The extension of the

The Alien
Act.
May 5, 1818.

Alien Act, which reserved to the Government the power of removing aliens who were objects of suspicion, and which had already been twice renewed since the peace, for a further period of two years, was regarded as an attack upon the English right of asylum in favour of the Continental despotisms. It was warmly opposed, and a flaw found in it which secured its rejection. By the Act of Union, shareholders in the Bank of Scotland became naturalized subjects. An alien, by taking shares in the Bank, could therefore evade that Act. A clause was introduced to check this means of evading the Act; but as naturalized subjects had certain exemptions

with regard to the payment of duties, the Lower House held that the introduction of the clause was an infringement of their privilege, as being in fact the introduction of a money clause. It had therefore to be dropped and a new Bill introduced. Even an attempt on the part of Government to gain popularity turned to its discredit. A show was made of destroying numerous sinecures; but as this destruction was coupled with a Pension List of an amount almost equal to that of the sinecures destroyed, the trick excited more anger than gratitude among the public. But the great contest of the time was on the subject of the indemnity demanded by the ministry to cover acts done during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. A sealed bag of papers was laid upon the table of the House, which the Government demanded should be referred to a committee of secrecy. The committee was to be appointed by ballot, but lists were circulated among the ministerial majority of the members for whom they should vote; in fact, therefore, the committee was nominated by the Government itself. The report declared that the suspension was necessary, and that the Government had used the powers given them well. But the demand for an indemnity, while the grounds for that indemnity were kept studiously secret and examined only by the Government nominees, for the avowed purpose of keeping from the public the names of the witnesses who had given secret information, increased still further the bad impression which the employment of men like Oliver had already created.

The Indemnity
Bill.
March 13.

Under other circumstances loyalty for the Crown might have served to lessen the growing division between the Government and the people; the state of the royal family, and the character of most of its members, was now such as to weaken all such feeling. For the old King and Queen there was doubtless respect and pitying affection; but it was known that both the afflicted monarch himself and his faithful wife and guardian might at any moment die. As it was, they lived retired from the public view. The Prince Regent, the ostensible sovereign of the country, was understood to be little more than a selfish voluptuary. His reception on the opening of Parliament of 1817 shows how much he had lost the affections of the people. His unhappy domestic relations, shortly to become the ground of a keen party struggle, not only afforded a perpetual subject of scandal, but seemed to forbid the possibility of a direct male heir to the throne. The people's hopes were centred on the Princess Charlotte, the

Condition of
the royal
family.

Regent's only daughter, but lately married to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and the blow was felt to be heavy when she died in 1817, immediately after giving birth to a child which did not live. It seemed for the instant highly probable that the large and strong family of the old King would come to an end in the first generation. Before the close of the following year this probability was lessened. No less than four members of the royal family were then married—Princess Elizabeth, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duke of Kent, who married respectively the Landgrave of Hesse Homburg, the Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, the Princess Augusta of Hesse, and Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg Saalfeld, the widow of the Prince of Leiningen and sister of Prince Leopold. Had the family been at all popular such events, under the circumstances, would certainly have afforded joy to the nation. As it was, they only afforded an opportunity for the expression of a deeply fixed belief in the extravagance and wastefulness of the royal family. Of all the marriages that of the Duke of Kent with a sister of Prince Leopold was alone well received. The demand for an increase of income on behalf of the other princes was strongly resisted in Parliament; the sum proposed for the Duke of Clarence was reduced by nearly half, and a grant of £6000 for the Duke of Cumberland, who had been married three years previously, was absolutely rejected by a majority of six members, a result which was received with loud cheers.

The insecurity felt by Government, in spite of its large majority, in the present Parliament betrayed it into conduct which still further increased its unpopularity. The Parliament was now in its sixth session, and therefore approaching its time of dissolution. But several circumstances might call it again into existence. A clause in the Regency Act provided that Parliament should be summoned on the death of the Queen. The ministry had lately got the clause repealed; but the death either of the King or Regent, if happening before the day appointed for the assembling of the new Parliament, would have caused the reassembling of the old. Both King and Queen might die at any moment; nor was the Regent's health good. The dissolution was therefore hurried on in a manner which caused much anger. On the 10th of June Parliament was prorogued and dissolved at the same time, a form of proceeding unprecedented since the days of Charles II. The temper of the country was not improved by this step, and the elections were attended with the bitterest party strife. In Westminster Sir George

The ministers' insecurity with the present Parliament.

Murray, who stood on the Tory interest to replace if possible Lord Cochrane, who had withdrawn to take command of the navies of Chili, was so ill-used that his life was thought to be in danger. Several Radical candidates offered themselves, among others Hunt the orator; but the more respectable inhabitants contrived to save themselves from the disgrace of such representatives by bringing in Romilly, without any expense of his own, at the head of the poll. The other member was Sir Francis Burdett. In the same way the City of London elected four Liberals, rejecting three old ministerial representatives. This clearly showed the rising temper of the middle classes. But as the representation was then arranged no great change was possible, and the ministers found themselves still in possession of a large majority (July).

Before the assembling of the new Parliament (Jan. 14, 1819) one piece of foreign history deserves notice. A congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle (Oct. 2, 1818), at which the final evacuation of France by the allies, although only three of the five years stipulated were accomplished, was agreed upon. This wise and just act seems to have been chiefly due to the Duke of Wellington, in opposition to some of the extreme Tories of the Cabinet.

Evacuation of France by the allies. Nov. 30, 1818.

In spite of their parliamentary majority, the ministry did not feel very secure upon their seats, and it was perhaps more with a view of re-establishing their credit with the country than from increased wisdom that the Cabinet so far changed its views with regard to the currency question as to accept the truth of the doctrines which Francis Horner had some years (1811) before laid down, and introduced a measure in accordance with the plans of Ricardo, the political economist, for the resumption of cash payments. The Bank had already issued a considerable quantity of gold. Since 1817 as much as £6,000,000 had been put into circulation, but as the paper money still continued, as a matter of course this partial action produced no good effect; the gold had found its way out of the country, chiefly to France. It was now ordered that this voluntary payment in gold should cease. An examination of the affairs of the Bank proved that it was in excellent condition, and a series of resolutions were passed and subsequently embodied in Bills by Mr. Peel. By these, from the 1st of February 1820, the Bank was obliged to exchange its notes for gold ingots, in not less quantity than sixty ounces, at the rate of 81s. the ounce; in October of the same year the rate was to be reduced to 79s. 6d. the

Resumption of cash payments. May 1819.

ounce; on the 1st of May 1822 the rate was reduced to the regular mint price of £3, 17s. 10½d.; and in May 1823 all notes were to be paid on demand in legal coin. As a fact, on the 1st of May 1821 the Bank resumed complete payment in cash.

Several divisions in Parliament clearly showed the growing weakness of Government. The Foreign Enlistment Bill, to prevent English subjects from serving in a foreign service or fitting out ships of war for foreign countries, was carried by a majority of thirteen only, the ground of opposition being that the Bill was in fact directed to the injury of the revolted colonies of Spain in America, in whose ranks many Englishmen were serving. Like the Alien Act of the preceding session, the Bill was considered as a proof of that legitimist and absolute tendency of which the Government was accused. Again, in the great question of Catholic emancipation, which was brought forward by Grattan in the best speech he ever made in the House, the Government were victorious by a majority of two only in a very full House; while it was actually defeated by a majority of five on the question of the reform of Scotch burghs, which it had got rid of in the last session. The system in those burghs had been in existence ever since the fifteenth century, and so acted as to perpetuate the administration in the hands of one party, often of one family only, as the retiring members of the corporation had the right of electing their own successors. For years the burghs had been bent upon ridding themselves of this exclusive government; as in the case of other reforms, their efforts had passed out of sight during the tumult of the French wars, again to be called into existence on the resumption of peace. In 1817 certain irregularities of form in the burgh of Montrose had caused the elections to be set aside by the law courts. The Crown had been compelled to give a new charter, in which a certain popular element was admitted. Other burghs at once began to clamour for similar changes. To their petitions, however, the Government turned a deaf ear. When the elections in Aberdeen were quashed by the law courts, as those at Montrose had been, the old constitution had been re-established, and Lord Archibald Hamilton now took up the cause of the burghs. He demanded a copy of the new warrant, and was defeated by five only. Pressing his success, he demanded that the petitions of the burghs should be referred to a select committee. A large majority of the burghs themselves were loudly calling for reform. The population

Foreign
Enlistment
Bill.

Catholic
emancipation
rejected.
May 3.

Reform of
Scotch
burghs.
May 6.

of those who desired it amounted to 420,000, as opposed to 60,000, the population of those who had not petitioned. The proof of the wish of the people most interested was too strong for the House; in spite of the Government opposition, Lord Archibald's motion was carried in a House of nearly 300 by a majority of five. As the ground of opposition had been avowedly that a change in the burghs was but the beginning of parliamentary reform, this victory shows how the opposition to that measure was gradually breaking down.

In spite of these signs of weakness, the ministers were upon the whole well satisfied with the session. They believed in the success of their repressive measures in the year 1817, and thought that the state of the country was both quieter and more prosperous than it had been. Complaints of the depression of agriculture, and poverty and suffering among the agricultural poor, were indeed chronic; they depended upon causes over which the immediate action of Government had little control. Exaggerated rents were seeking their natural level; over-cultivation, especially of corn, was giving place to more rational agriculture, and the enormous prosperity enjoyed by the agriculturists during the war was shrinking to modest and hard-won profits; the change could not but be attended with some depression and many painful contrasts. At the same time the action of the Poor Law as then administered, the injudicious fostering of the population which had gone on during the war, and the law of settlement which prevented free competition of labour, of necessity caused misery among the labourers. It was when the manufacturing and mercantile interests were also touched, when, under the action of restrictive corn laws, prices rose, while work was not to be had, that the social dangers of the country became from time to time great.

The prosperity of the year 1818 had been rather apparent than real; there had been much over-trading; a more healthy spirit appears to have arisen in the beginning of 1819, but the effects of the preceding folly were now to be felt. In the first half of the year the number of bankruptcies were almost double the average, the price of corn was still as high as 75s., work was scarce, and wages fell, and before the year was over the ministry found upon their hand difficulties even greater than those they had experienced in the gloomy year of 1817. For again the political question was ready to start to life, again leaders of a higher class were ready to take advantage of the sufferings of the people,

Chronic
sufferings of
the poor.

Political
meetings.

and men of more extreme views among themselves were eager to lead them into desperate and revolutionary designs. There had been great meetings near Leeds, Glasgow, and at Ashton-under-Lyne, in June. On the 28th of that month, Sir Charles Wolseley and the Rev. Joseph Harrison had made violent speeches at a great assembly at Stockport, and Sir Charles had been elected the "legislatorial representative" for Birmingham. At the same time the reformers were found to be engaged in drilling. No arms were seen, and it is asserted by one of their leaders that the only object of their drilling was to secure order and regularity and the better appearance at a forthcoming great meeting at Manchester. On the other hand, it was held by those who dreaded popular movements that the drilling had been long and secretly continued, and was a part of a great plan for an exhibition of physical force. The object of the Manchester meeting, which was to be held on the 9th of August, was to choose a representative as Birmingham had already done. The meeting was declared illegal; a requisition was therefore sent to the proper officials, begging them to call it legally. On their refusal, it was determined to hold it, legal or not, on the 16th, in St. Peter's Field. Thither, on the day appointed, large bodies of men, well dressed and without arms, but in something like military array, marched from all the neighbouring towns, and collected round a hustings, from which Hunt was to address them. Their number perhaps amounted to about 80,000, all pressed together in a space of not more than three acres. The magistrates had formed no very definite notion of what to do. They had assembled a considerable military force, of which a troop of Manchester yeomen about forty strong and six troops of the 15th Hussars formed a part. A warrant was out against Hunt, and with extreme imprudence it was determined to execute it while he was on the hustings, as had been done in the case of Harrison on a previous occasion. Just as Hunt was beginning to speak, a strange pressure made itself visible to the crowd. The magistrates had come to a house overlooking the field; they had intrusted their warrant to the chief constable; he had declared he could not execute it without military aid, and the yeomen had pressed into the crowded space. As was natural, they had been separated and brought to a complete standstill. Upon this the magistrates seem to have lost their presence of mind, to have believed that the yeomanry were in danger, and to have ordered the 15th Hussars to extricate them. The consequence was a fearful charge, which swept everything before it, and, as one of the officers says,

The Manchester
Massacre.
Aug. 16, 1819.

"by the time they had reached the other side of the field the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the ground." The effect of the panic on so closely-packed a multitude, among whom the soldiers were using the sword, sometimes the flat and sometimes the edge, was fearful; about thirty wounded persons were carried to the infirmary, and forty more found their own way there in the course of the day. The actual wounds given by the soldiers do not appear to have been very many. Hunt and some of his followers were apprehended; the charge of high treason against them was subsequently dropped, and they were obliged to find bail to stand their trial for misdemeanour.

The Manchester Massacre, as it was called, was the result of accident and the bad management of the magistrates, ^{Culpability of the Government.} but the Government seemed to make the act entirely their own when they lavished approbation on the conduct of the authorities, and when they induced the Prince Regent himself to write an approving letter. As usual in England, the employment of the military except in the very last necessity excited the anger of very many even of the wealthier classes. Among those who had suffered from it its effect was simply to exasperate; for the time the temper of the people seems to have been really dangerous. The point, on the other hand, which struck the ministerialists was the weakness of the existing laws for the suppression of sedition, and in accordance with their view it was thought necessary to hold an autumnal session, which met on the 23rd of November, and which passed by large majorities a series of enactments known as "The Six Acts." ^{The Six Acts.} These were respectively entitled, "An Act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour;" "An Act to prevent the training of persons in the use of arms and the practice of military evolutions;" "An Act for the prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels;" "An Act to authorize justices of the peace, in certain disturbed counties, to seize and detain arms;" "An Act to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers, and to make other regulations for restraining the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels;" and "An Act for preventing the assembling of seditious assemblies." Having passed these repressive measures, the Parliament was again prorogued (Dec. 29) till February 1820. In the interval, on the 29th of January, the old King died, in his eighty-second year.

GEORGE IV.

1820—1830.

Born 1762 = Caroline of Brunswick, 1795.
Charlotte = Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.
Born 1796.
Died 1817.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	Austria.	Spain.	Prussia.
Louis XVIII., 1814. Charles X., 1824.	Francis II., 1792.	Ferdinand VII., 1813.	Frederick William III., 1797.
Russia.	Denmark.	Sweden.	
Alexander I., 1801. Nicholas, 1825.	Frederick VI., 1808.	Charles XIV., 1818.	

POPES.—Pius VII., 1800. Leo XII., 1823. Pius VIII., 1829.

Lord Chancellors.
April 1807. Eldon.
April 1827. Lyndhurst.

Chancellors of the Exchequer.
Jan. 1812. Vansittart.
Jan. 1823. Robinson.
April 1827. Canning.
Aug. 1827. Herries.
Jan. 1828. Goulburn.

First Lords of the Treasury.
Jan. 1812. Liverpool.
April 1827. Canning.
Aug. 1827. Goderich.
Jan. 1828. Wellington.

Secretaries (Foreign and Home).
June 1812. Castlereagh.
 Sidmouth.
Jan. 1822. Castlereagh.
 Peel.
Sept. 1822. Canning.
 Peel.
April 1827. Dudley.
 Sturges-Bourne.
Aug. 1827. Dudley.
 Lansdowne.
Jan. 1828. Dudley.
 Peel.
May 1828. Aberdeen.
 Peel.

IT was no longer as Regent but as King that George, the new monarch, met the Parliament on its reassembling. He had so long acted virtually as sovereign that scarcely any visible effect was produced by the change. Yet during the first days there was considerable probability that the change of reign would be marked by a change of ministry; for

Precarious position of the ministry.

1820]

THE CATO STREET CONSPIRACY

1365

there were two questions on which the ministers felt it their duty to oppose the new King—the one an increase of his private revenue, the other the divorce of his unfortunate wife. On the latter point, unfortunately for themselves, they were induced to make a compromise, believing that they were acting safely. Extremely anxious to avoid a public scandal, they refused at first to move in the matter of the divorce as long as the Queen remained quietly abroad, but promised to gratify the King's wishes should she make her appearance in England. On these terms they remained in office.

But, at the very time that their position as ministers was in danger, their lives were threatened by a conspiracy which in its atrocity and feebleness gives a fair measure of the power and intentions of the worst part of those engaged in the agitations of the day. As in the case of the Derby insurrection, it is impossible to acquit the authorities of the guilt of having employed spies who, though probably without Government authority, did in fact aggravate the crime of the conspirators. Information was given as early as November by a man named Edwards of a plot against the lives of the ministers, and from that time till the day of the explosion of the Cato Street conspiracy he continued to play the double part of conspirator and police agent. The form the plot ultimately assumed was the murder of all the ministers in a body at a Cabinet dinner, which Edwards informed the conspirators was to be held at Lord Harrowby's on the 23rd of February. The assassination was to be followed up by an attempt to fire the barracks, and to rouse the people to an assault upon the Bank and the Tower. As the ministry were well informed of the plot, the dinner was of course postponed. The guests arriving at the house of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was giving a dinner-party that day, and who lived next door to Lord Harrowby, prevented the conspirators from discovering the postponement of the ministerial meeting; and they were arming themselves in a stable in Cato Street, near Edgeware Road, when the police came upon them. The capture was badly managed; the first officer who entered the room was stabbed, and in the confusion Thistlewood (already mentioned as the confederate of the Watsons), who was the soul of the present conspiracy, with fourteen others, contrived to escape; the rest, nine in number, were apprehended when the soldiers, who should have accompanied the police, arrived. Early the next morning, however, Thistlewood was captured. He and four others were executed, and five more transported for life. The terror excited

Cato Street conspiracy.
Feb. 23, 1820.

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throughout England was strangely exaggerated; the design appears to have been confined entirely to a few desperate men, and to have been scouted by all the more earnest Radicals to whom it had been suggested. About the same time the other prisoners, Hunt and his friends from Manchester (April), Wolseley and Harrison from Stockport (July), were tried, and sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. One advantage at least came from the trials; the true character of Hunt was discovered, his friends and companions learnt the worthlessness and egregious vanity of the man, and his influence was entirely destroyed.

The Parliament had assembled, according to law, upon the demise of the King, and after going through the necessary business, was dissolved. In April the new Parliament met. But any interest which might otherwise have attended its labours disappeared before the absorbing interest of the year, the trial of the Queen. Though in itself wholly unconnected with politics, no event produced a stronger influence on the course of political growth. The loyalty of the country, and respect for authority and for the established powers, received a rude shock. It could not be otherwise when the people saw a ministry, many of whose severest and most unpopular measures had been based on the specious ground of the desire to maintain morality, forcing into public notice scandalous details, which the papers spread to every corner of the country for the satisfaction of prurient curiosity; when they saw the sovereign having recourse to all the foul and mean resources of the private inquiry office, which fill right-minded men with disgust even in the cases of private individuals, and the Government lending the whole weight of its authority to the vindictive prosecution of an unfortunate and ill-used woman. The effect was a complete severance between the Government and the more liberal-minded of the middle classes, whom fear of popular extravagances had hitherto united with it, and from the close of this trial may be dated the serious determination of the people at large to insist upon some great measure of reform.

Whatever may have been her folly or her guilt, no one can question the misfortune of the Queen. Giddy by nature and badly educated, she had been forced (1795) against her will upon a man whose immoral and selfish character wholly unfitted him for the difficult position of a husband of a frivolous and unwise wife. His distaste had been exhibited at their very first meeting, and he could only force himself to assume a gracious demeanour by having recourse to wine or spirits. From the very first he seems to

Importance
of the Queen's
trial.

Position of
the Queen.

have designed to part from her; she was early sent into a sort of banishment at Blackheath, a watch was set upon her conduct, an investigation before the Lords was set on foot, and though declared innocent of any grave offence, disgusted at such treatment, she unwisely withdrew abroad in 1814. She was followed in her retirement, by the advice of Sir John Leach, by emissaries to collect evidence against her, unknown to herself. It would have been wise had she remained abroad, but the treatment she had received rendered her desperate; she had been excluded from foreign courts, and when her husband came to the throne her name was omitted from the Liturgy. It seems to have been this last insult which roused her to action. In June she came to England, and was received with enthusiasm by the people, who regarded her as a persecuted woman. She thus placed the ministers in the awkward position of being obliged to fulfil the compromise under which they had retained office and to proceed to extremities against her. On the 6th of June the King sent a message to the Lords, ordering them to institute an inquiry into the Queen's conduct, and proofs were laid on the table. On the following day, Mr. Brougham, who undertook the management of her case as her Attorney-General, read a letter to the Commons demanding a public inquiry. Some efforts were made to effect a compromise, but as the King refused to demand her reception abroad or to insert her name in the Liturgy, all negotiations failed. The secret committee of the Lords therefore proceeded to make its report, declaring that a solemn inquiry was necessary; and Lord Liverpool shocked public feeling by introducing, for the purpose of producing such an inquiry, a Bill of pains and penalties to deprive her Majesty of her position as Queen, and to dissolve the King's marriage. The trial in fact came on with the second reading of the Bill, when the charges against the Queen were stated before the Lords; and for nearly a month the House was occupied in hearing witness. By this time the feeling in England was strongly excited. The ministers were insulted whenever they appeared abroad, and every opportunity was taken by the crowd of showing their sympathy with the Queen. The question had become in fact a political one, and the Queen lent herself only too readily to a somewhat ostentatious display of her sufferings. In October the defence commenced, and at length, on the 6th of November, the second reading of the Bill was passed by a majority of twenty-eight. Two days afterwards, on the third reading, there was a majority of only nine. As this was in the House of Lords, where the ministers

Trial of the
Queen.
Aug. 17.

were strongest, they saw it was useless to persevere, and Lord Liverpool declared that the Bill was abandoned. A burst of joy was heard throughout the country, for three nights London was illuminated, even Prince Leopold joining in the rejoicings. Declining all offers from the Government, the Queen placed her cause in the hands of the Commons. An annuity of £50,000 was given her the following session. But she was determined upon some more public announcement of her innocence; she still tried, though in vain, to secure the introduction of her name in the Liturgy, and was foolish enough on the occasion of the coronation in July of the following year to attempt to force her way into the Abbey. She had already begun to lose the sympathy of the people when, in August, she died.

However right it may have been to raise the question of the Queen's guilt, there was a general feeling that the ministers had at all events mismanaged the question, and after exciting strongly the temper of the people, had dropped their Bill without excuse or apology. Advantage was taken of the popular anger, excited by what was thought an act of oppression, to give currency to all sorts of charges against the ministry, and to impute to them unconstitutional principles, and connivance or even approbation of scandalous conspiracies against the Queen's character, of which they were certainly guiltless. But, before all, the late events had given a popular rallying-point for all sections of the Opposition, and had demonstrated how deep was the alienation between the ministry and the body of the people. It is from this time that we find serious and sometimes successful efforts made to begin the work of reform, which it was believed would render such an alienation impossible. Although, as was to be expected in a House elected under the old system, any wide measure, such as that produced by Lambton (subsequently Lord Durham, April 1821), recommending equal electoral districts, was sure to be defeated by a large majority, Lord John Russell succeeded in procuring the disfranchisement of Grampound, a notoriously corrupt borough in Cornwall (May 30). He and his friends were wise enough to accept this small beginning, even though his Bill was changed in the Upper House, where the vacant seat was transferred, not to one of the great unrepresented cities, as would have been just, but to the county of York. In the same way the great question of Catholic disabilities was brought forward with renewed strength. Those who were in favour of their removal were successful in the Lower House, and the Bill was only lost after passing through most of its stages in the Lords.

Consequent
alienation
between the
ministry and
people.

So shaken indeed was the predominance of the extreme Tory party, that in the year 1821 they found it necessary to strengthen themselves by a coalition with the Conservative section of the Opposition, hoping by this means to give a more broad and liberal appearance to the administration. Lord Grenville ^{Peel joins the ministry.} himself declined office, but several of his followers were admitted to the ministry, while a still further improvement was made by the retirement of Lord Sidmouth, who had played so prominent a part in all the late repressive measures, and the substitution in his place of Mr. Peel, as yet Tory in his views, but capable, as was subsequently proved, of constant advance, and of an intellect so clear and sensible as to be able to learn, as his predecessor never could, the growing requirements of the time. At the same time Lord Wellesley was sent as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, with Mr. Plunkett as his Attorney-General, both of them supporters of the Catholic claims; and although Wellesley's statesmanlike character and moderation excited the anger of extreme men on both sides, the mere fact of such a man being placed at the head of the Irish Government was a clear mark of the relaxation of the principles of the Tory system. These new appointments were but the beginning, to be followed in a few months by other changes far more important, which were to effect an entire alteration in the position which England occupied in Europe, and in the principles which governed her financial policy. These changes were the admission, in 1822 and 1823, of Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson to the ministry. Throughout the trial of Queen Caroline, Canning had held himself studiously aloof. He had been early one of the Queen's advisers, had declared from the first his intention to avoid any participation in her trial, and had in fact remained abroad during its continuance. On his return in December, thinking it impossible for a minister to be entirely absent from his duties, but determined to take no part in the discussions on the trial which were inevitable, he insisted on resigning his place at the Board of Trade. He was therefore at first excluded from the new ministerial arrangements. The India Company indeed had decided upon sending him as Governor-General to India. His preparations for taking the post were being made, and he was at Liverpool on a farewell visit to his constituents, when a piece of news was heard which caused a profound movement both at home and abroad.—Lord Castlereagh, now become Lord Londonderry, had committed suicide. The man who was regarded as the real soul of the Tory party, as

Death of
Castlereagh.
Canning
Secretary
of State.
Sept. 11, 1822.

the type of the arbitrary and absolutist temper which distinguished it, had passed away. Honourable and amiable in his private life, he had contrived to render himself so unpopular that the news of his death was received with unseemly rejoicings, and his coffin was followed to the Abbey with shouts of gladness from his enemies. Europe was in a critical condition. Lord Londonderry had been in the act of going to an European Congress held at Verona. Canning appeared to be the only man fitted to supply his place. When asked to join the ministry as Secretary of State for foreign affairs, after some consideration, he threw up the great post for which he was at the moment destined, and accepted the office.

To understand the importance of this change it is necessary to say a few words on what had passed in Europe since the Peace. The hopes of the liberal party in Europe had received a heavy blow at the Congress of Vienna. England had so constantly put herself forward as the champion of freedom, and her influence had been so preponderating in the late events of the war, that she was expected to have taken up strong ground in the settlement of Europe, and to have demanded and secured some sort of popular rights in the countries to which her assistance had been given. The nation had shown itself so full of resources, and had been so exceptional in the success of its opposition to Napoleon, that a general belief had arisen that there was something peculiarly excellent in the character of its constitution. So strong was this feeling, that many of the sovereigns of Europe promised constitutions to their people. It was forgotten that the freedom for which England had been fighting meant deliverance from external conquest, and had no connection with the internal freedom of national constitutions, that, on the contrary, the war against France had been originally undertaken, if not ostensibly yet really, to oppose the revolutionary temper of France. It was a severe disappointment when the English minister was seen joining with Talleyrand in upholding legitimacy, and for the sake of that principle, and to preserve in its old lines the balance of European power, himself demanding the destruction of the liberty of Belgium and of Genoa, and calmly acquiescing in the absorption of much of Saxony, the final division of Poland, and the destruction of Norway. Even the one constitutional effort which was made, the establishment of a limited monarchy in France, was rendered nugatory by the fact, that the privileges were given as a grant and charter from the crown, and the

Retrospect of
the affairs
of Europe.

Position of
England abroad.

first principle of the English Constitution—that power is from the people—ignored.

But though in the general triumph of the moment his foreign policy was accepted and even approved, it will be remembered that even Castlereagh felt himself compelled to respect public opinion at home and to hold aloof from the Holy Alliance, which seemed to assert the unity of interests of the crowned heads and their sole right, as of divine origin, to be the governors of the world. It was the extension of the principles of the Holy Alliance which had produced the present critical state of Europe, with which his moderate abilities, his natural tendency towards repressive government, aggravated by domestic affairs, and the entanglements in which his policy at the Vienna Treaty had involved him, rendered Castlereagh unable to cope. It was no use to ignore the fact that the French Revolution had given a great impulse to the ideas of constitutional freedom. Even the conquests of Napoleon, followed as they always were by democratic changes, had fostered these ideas in the very countries which had suffered most from them; and when it appeared that all hopes and promises of freedom were entirely illusory, insurrections of the deceived people burst out in several parts of Europe, and where the strength of the government rendered such outbreaks impossible, secret societies, more dangerous and extravagant because they were secret, sprang everywhere into existence.

Effect of
Castlereagh's
policy.

The first outbreak was in Spain, where Ferdinand had entirely refused the constitution to which he was pledged, and had shown his character by directing his vengeance chiefly against those very men who had been most prominent in saving his kingdom from the French. During the occupation of Spain by the French, when the central authority of the mother country was virtually destroyed, the South American colonies had, one after the other, thrown off their allegiance, and were still engaged in making good their independence. It was an army collected at Cadiz for the purpose of reducing the victorious colonies which set the example of insurrection. It mutinied in the beginning of the year 1820, and was so successful that the King was compelled, on the 7th of March, to accept the constitution of 1812, which had been drawn up under the influence of Napoleonic and American ideas. In August the constitutional spirit passed to Portugal. Since the departure of the royal family from Lisbon in 1808, the King had not returned to his European dominions.

Insurrection
in Spain.
1820.

Brazil became the seat of government, the restrictions formerly put upon its trade were removed, it was elevated nominally to the rank of a kingdom, and Portugal seemed to occupy the position of a colony of its former dependency. The discontent which had thus been fostered displayed itself in August, when national Juntas were established both in Oporto and Lisbon; subsequently, on the 1st of October, the provincial assembly coalesced with that of the capital, and the regency was compelled to resign its functions. When at length in the following spring the King set out for his continental dominions, it was a question whether he would arrive in time to save them. Almost at the same time similar events took place in Naples. Ferdinand IV. could not entirely disregard popular wishes and rule despotically, as his nephew in Spain had done, for the longer and more complete hold which Murat, Napoleon's nominee, had obtained upon the throne had given time for ideas of constitutional government to become prevalent, and the army was full of Napoleonic soldiers. But in spite of the comparative liberality of his government, Ferdinand's army was full of discontented soldiers, and the secret and revolutionary societies of the Carbonari undermined society. At the same time, in the island of Sicily a constitution had been established under the influence of Lord William Bentinck, and had been swept away on the restoration. In July the garrison at Nola mutinied, and before a week was over the King was obliged to accept the Spanish constitution, which had become the formula of the Liberal party, although there was actually no copy of that document existing, and its contents seemed to be hardly known. Sicily soon followed Naples; but recollections of its old independence prevented it at first from joining the revolutionary government of the mainland, and its complete acquiescence in the movement had to be secured by force of arms.

It was in presence of these disturbances that the true principles of the Holy Alliance began to show themselves. The three Eastern powers seemed to consider themselves authorized to introduce into Europe a new form of international law. Regarding themselves as the only legitimate and divinely appointed powers, and holding themselves pledged to mutual support against their enemies, and having declared their intention to act as a brotherhood in international questions, they appear to have believed that the enemies against whom their mutual assistance was required were all those who resisted established authority, and that any disturbances thus arising ought to be regulated by European

Insurrection
in Portugal.

Insurrection
in Naples.

Arbitrary
action of the
Holy Alliance.

congresses. In other words, they arrogated to themselves, for the sake of suppressing what they considered revolutionary movements, the right of federative action in the cause of legitimacy and absolutism. Already, at Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, they had acted more or less on this principle, and now they summoned a similar Congress at Troppau (1820). It was impossible for an English minister to accede to this new doctrine, however much

England refuses
to join.

he may have had at heart the cause which the allied sovereigns were supporting, and Lord Castlereagh, as early as April, declared that the alliance to which England was a party existed for particular cases only, and was not to be generalized as the Eastern sovereigns appeared to wish to generalize it. It shows how the position of England had sunk under Castlereagh's management, that the monarchs determined to act without England, and it shows the weakness of Castlereagh's mode of action that he allowed, under these circumstances, an English minister to be present at the meeting, not to take part in the discussions, but merely to report their progress to his Government. The Holy Alliance proceeded to act upon its own principles. In November the English minister learnt that the three powers intended to join and to act in common for the restoration of Ferdinand of Naples, whom they had invited to meet them at Laibach, whither the Congress was adjourned. Early in December 1820 a circular to that effect was issued in the name of the three sovereigns, which, in spite of what Castlereagh had said, proceeded to declare that, as what they were now doing was in accordance with the late treaties, they felt no doubt of the adhesion of France and England. On the 19th of that month, without knowledge of this circular, Castlereagh wrote an explicit declaration that England would not join in any united action. Had he openly declared this intention and withdrawn the English ambassador he would not have acted otherwise than as became an English minister. But on the 19th of January 1821 a letter of Castlereagh's, purporting to be an answer to the circular of December 8th, which had been published by some indiscretion in the public prints, while reasserting the position he had taken up in his previous declaration, went on to confess that the Government had looked with the strongest disapproval on the insurrection in Naples. This weak document, coming as it did just before the meeting of Parliament, after the popular temper had been roused by the knowledge of the arrogant circular of December, and taken in connection with the facts that diplomatic relations

Popular anger
at Castlereagh's
weak policy.
1821.

had not been renewed with the constitutional Government of Naples, and that an English fleet was cruising off the coast, seemed to show that the minister's heart was really with the sovereigns, and that his letter was only written to suit party purposes in England. At the opening of Parliament (Jan. 23, 1821) the Government had to withstand the most bitter assaults from the Opposition, headed by Lords Grey and Holland in the Lords, by Mackintosh, Brougham, and Tierney in the Lower House, and although a public vote of censure, considering the constitution of the House, was out of the question, it was plain that the feeling of all parties was strong against the action of the Holy Alliance. The attacks on the minister were still continuing when the uselessness of English interference was demonstrated by the entrance of an Austrian army into Italy, by which the revolution was summarily suppressed.

It was not only in the West of Europe that difficulties arose. The Christian populations under the power of the Ottoman Porte rose in insurrection. They naturally looked, as they have always looked, to the Czar for protection. Their method of proceeding was closely analogous to that of the revolutionists in the rest of Europe; and in Greece, as in Italy, secret societies were organized against the existing powers. It has always been a part of Russian policy to secure as much influence in Turkey as possible. On the other hand, it was impossible for the English, at that time in constant diplomatic rivalry with Russia, to wish to see that power in possession of Constantinople or the Black Sea. In the affairs of Greece therefore a complete inversion of the principles which had been predominant at the Congress of Troppau was visible. The interests of Russia demanded that she should assist a revolutionary movement backed up by secret societies and directed against a legitimate sovereign, while England felt itself compelled to allege the doctrines of legitimacy and to call to its aid old alliances in order to shelter Turkey. The difficulty was so great that it was determined that this question also should be referred to a Congress, which was held first at Vienna, and subsequently moved to Verona.

But meanwhile fresh complications had arisen in the West. A terrible visitation of the yellow fever had come upon Spain. Under pretext of excluding the infection from their own country, the French had massed troops along the borders; but it soon became evident that something beyond sanitary precautions had inspired this movement. When the illness disappeared there was still an army of 100,000 men lying within

Insurrection
in Greece.
March 1821.

Complications
between France
and Spain.
1821.

reach of the Pyrenees. In fact, the Legitimists of France had seen with extreme dislike the revolution in Spain; it was political infection they were chiefly anxious to avoid, and the more advanced members of that party, which had a large majority in the French Houses, were thinking of the invasion of Spain, and the re-establishment by force of arms of the absolutist rule of Ferdinand. Lord Londonderry was preparing to attend the Congress at Verona when his health and reason gave way and he committed suicide. In his place the Duke of Wellington attended the Congress, and was somewhat surprised to find that, instead of the Greek question, the real point at issue was the demand of France for a joint action on the part of the Legitimist Courts of Europe to suppress the revolution in Spain.

It was to the management of this difficult affair that Canning was called. It cannot be said that he introduced a new system into our diplomacy. He had been a party to some of the declarations of his predecessor, and had accepted the responsibility of them. In fact, as has been seen in his public despatches, Castlereagh had already declared the impossibility of English co-operation in any general scheme of repressive action on the Continent, and his dislike to the government of Europe by congresses. It is the way in which Canning acted up to and rendered practical those declarations which makes it possible to say that his accession to office was an era in English politics. His instructions to Wellington were clear and precise. If a declaration of any such determination—that is, of joint action—should be made at Verona, come what might the Duke was to refuse the King's consent to become a party to it, even though the dissolution of the alliance should be the consequence of his refusal. Canning's object was to secure European peace and to allow nations freedom of choice as to their own government—to re-establish, in fact, in England and throughout Europe a policy based upon national grounds, as distinguished from that system of united and general policy by means of European congresses under which Europe since the peace had been labouring.

In the first of his objects Canning was partially successful. The distinct refusal of Wellington to join in united action, and his subsequent withdrawal from the Congress, prevented a general European attack upon Spain. He could not entirely prevent the war, but he succeeded in reducing it to the dimensions of a national war. He used his best endeavours to

Congress at
Verona.
Sept. 1822.

Object of
Canning's
policy.

Partial success
of Canning's
diplomacy
in Spain.

persuade France not to attack Spain. He declared that the free institutions of the Spanish people could not, as the French King had asserted, be only held legitimately from the spontaneous gift of the sovereign; the Spanish nation could not be expected to subscribe to that principle, nor could any British statesman uphold or defend it; it was in fact a principle that struck at the root of the British Constitution. In his eagerness to avert hostilities he even entreated the Spaniards to make changes in their constitution. His efforts on both sides were vain. The French invaded Spain; on the 2nd of May 1823 they entered Madrid; on the 1st of October Cadiz was surrendered, and Ferdinand and his absolute government were re-established. But in the matter of English interests Canning declared himself plainly. Portugal might be involved, and an effort might be made by Spain, with the assistance of France, to reconquer her colonies. Should Portugal join with Spain voluntarily, England would take no notice; but if that country were invaded, England would of necessity come to the assistance of her old ally. With regard to the colonies he took a similar ground. They were virtually independent; during the contest, true to his principle of neutrality, he had abetted Government in preventing Englishmen from joining the insurgents; but the trade with the colonies being now open, the interests of England were so involved with their independence that he would not allow any foreign nation to join in reconquering them; if Spain was itself unable to subdue them, no foreign country, he declared, should subdue them for her. He followed up this policy by declaring that he would send English consuls to protect British trade, and their appointment was in fact the recognition of the independence of the colonies.

The new minister's conduct at the negotiations at Verona was subjected to warm discussion at the beginning of the year 1823. The firm attitude of neutrality which he had taken up did not satisfy the aspirations of those who looked upon his accession to office as the triumph of the Whig party. But his vindication was so complete that, upon the division, the opinion of the House appeared to be quite unanimous. The Opposition was only twenty in a House of 372, and of those twenty some were professed ministerialists, who had been shut out from voting by the crowd of their own adherents.

But it was not only in our foreign policy that a change of spirit now became obvious. In the winter of 1823, a few months after the accession of Canning to office, further changes took place in the ministry. Mr. Vansittart

Change in
commercial
policy effected
by Huskisson.

resigned the place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, for which he was very unfit, and went into the Upper House as Lord Bexley. Mr. Robinson (afterwards Lord Goderich) succeeded him, and, much more important, Mr. Huskisson was in January made President of the Board of Trade, and with him a complete alteration came over our commercial policy, and the reign of restriction began to give way and yield place to free trade. The questions at issue had not yet become party tests, as they subsequently were, and Huskisson, as member of a Tory ministry, was able by his comprehension of the true principles of trade to set on foot a new system without separating from his colleagues.

The expenses of the war had been enormous, perhaps inevitably so, and the taxes were proportionately heavy. During the last year of the war in taxes and loans upwards of £170,000,000 had been raised. The National Debt amounted to nearly £800,000,000, and to meet the necessities of the moment this had been raised by very expensive methods, so that the nominal sum on which interest was paid was considerably higher than the actual money which had passed into Government hands. Mr. Vansittart, who had had the management of the finances, had no real knowledge of financial principles, and had acted on the simple plan of increasing taxes when more money was necessary, and supplying the deficit by loans contracted in an extravagant fashion, or taken from the sinking fund. He did not see that doubling a tax by no means doubled the returns from it, as it inevitably compelled some people, and those the most numerous and poorest, to surrender the taxed article; and in common with many people at the time, he believed in the magical effect of the sinking fund, although the sum yearly paid to it was derived from loans contracted at considerably higher interest than the fund itself bore. The sinking fund indeed had, in the hands of the present Government, almost lost its original object, and was openly declared both by Vansittart and Castlereagh to be chiefly useful for supplying the ministry with an easy means of getting money to meet emergencies, instead of a sacred deposit to be used only for the extinction of debt. The ease with which all money demands of Government were granted during the war had also engendered a spirit of extravagance, and economy had been one of the earliest cries of the Opposition on the resumption of peace. At first the support of the large standing army which still remained on foot, and other expenses which were regarded as necessary, had apparently prevented any

Financial
condition of
England.

relaxation of taxes, but by degrees the universal discontent excited by their pressure had compelled Government to grant some relief, and a certain number of taxes had been taken off or reduced.

But all this time the real resources of England, the development of which would have largely increased the revenue, and at the same time have admitted of large decrease of taxation, had been restricted by unwise commercial legislation, having its origin in distant times and in a different state of society. The interests of the landowners and agriculturists were so closely connected with the predominance of the Tory party, and they had played so large a part in the conduct of England of late years, that the agriculturists had succeeded in making good the advantages of their class to the detriment of all others. They claimed nothing less than the exclusive right of supplying the whole nation with food, and by their clamour and influence in the House of Commons had succeeded in procuring corn laws which went far to secure them that monopoly. But meanwhile, within the last fifty years, the manufacturing interest, principally through the introduction of machinery, had relatively enormously increased. In the twenty years between 1811 and 1831, while the agricultural population increased but $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the manufacturing population had increased $31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The time was rapidly approaching when the growing and increasing manufacturing and commercial element would of necessity claim its due position in opposition to the landed aristocracy. But at present the manufacturers themselves, ignorant of the true principles of political economy, were constantly seeking the benefit of their own class as distinguished from that of the general public, and restrictive, or, as they were called, protective, laws were extended over nearly every branch of industry.

Robinson, an exceedingly well-meaning man, had succeeded Vansittart as Chancellor of the Exchequer. But his plans and resources extended but little beyond those of his predecessor. He accepted and kept in operation some of his most unwise financial measures, and, without any change of general view, continued, what was no doubt a good thing in its way, to remit occasionally various small taxes. But he had beside him Huskisson as President of the Board of Trade, who acted in a very different spirit. Like his friend Canning, who gave him his full support, he was a self-made man, and belonging to none of the prominent ruling classes, was able to look at matters in a broader and more national light. And though, like his friend, he was constantly

The resources of the country restricted by protective laws.

Changes effected by Robinson and Huskisson.

spoken of as an adventurer, and in consequence had to undergo much opposition, he was able by the reasonableness of his views, and by the success which attended their execution, to launch England upon a new course of commercial policy, as Canning had been able to do with regard to foreign affairs. As yet free trade as a whole was not to be thought of, but Huskisson took every advantage of the demands of various classes of industrialists to introduce small reforms. In his first year of office, though he indicated the tendency of his policy, he was not able to affect much except with regard to the navigation laws. The three great industries of England were wool, silk, and cotton. Of these cotton alone had been left unrestricted, and there alone had a very remarkable increase been seen. In the wool trade considerable depression having been felt, numerous petitions from manufacturers were presented begging for the free importation of foreign wool, but at the same time asking that the export of British wool should be forbidden; in other words, claiming to buy the raw material of their manufacture at a price artificially lowered. Government replied that the import tax was a valuable source of revenue, but that it should be willingly foregone if free export was allowed also. As the manufacturers declined this, the movement for the present dropped. In the same way an attempt was made to free the Spitalfields silk manufacture from restrictions, such as the settlement of their wages by the magistrates. It was plain that as long as wages were not allowed to change with the varying requirements of the trade, the manufacturers were under disadvantages as compared with their rivals elsewhere. But 11,000 of the journeymen petitioned against this change, and although the Bill passed the Lower House by small majorities, it was so altered by amendments in the Upper House that Huskisson thought fit to drop it.

In dealing with the Navigation Act he was more successful. This law, passed in Cromwell's time, and completed in the 12th of Charles II., allowed the produce of Asia, Africa, and America to be brought to England in English ships only, and European goods only in English ships or in ships of the country producing the goods. The close of the American War had given the first blow to this system. American shipping, now become the shipping of a foreign country, was subject to the restrictions of the Act. The Americans retaliated, and the ships of both countries had to perform one half of the voyage empty; the consumers therefore paid double freight. This absurdity continued till the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, when the Governments agreed to drop their restric-

Change of the Navigation Act. June 1823.

tions. The course which had been successful with America was subsequently adopted by the mercantile states of Europe. Portugal, the Netherlands, and Prussia, all raised the dues on British vessels, and Huskisson, on the 6th of June 1823, took the opportunity of introducing the Bill known by the name of the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, by which the ships of British and foreign powers were put upon an equal footing, the right being retained to keep up restrictive duties upon the ships of nations who rejected the reciprocal equality of trade thus offered. The outcry against this change was very great, especially among the shipowners, whose business was trammelled by the heavy duty on Baltic timber. Huskisson expressed a hope that this duty might shortly be remitted, and meanwhile offered to return to shipbuilders all the duties paid on their materials. The offer was declined, and the grumbling continued, nevertheless the increase of British ships was enormous; in the last nineteen years of the restrictive duties the tonnage had increased ten per cent.; in twenty-one years after their abolition it increased forty-five per cent.

The first failure of his plans did not dishearten Huskisson, and the prosperity of the year 1824 enabled him to carry Bills for the relief both of the wool and silk trades. The silk trade had been principally established in England by the persecuted Protestants in 1685, and to support it laws had been passed excluding from England foreign silks, which had previously been admitted free. Early in the eighteenth century the spinning of silk in the Italian method had been introduced by two brothers of the name of Lombe; to protect them heavy duties were laid upon foreign-spun silk. The material for the manufacture of silk goods was thus raised in price, and the manufacture had languished for many years, especially after the introduction of cotton. The production of spun silk in India, whence it was very plentifully supplied, had lately improved this state of things; it was believed that at this time 400,000 people were employed in the manufacture of silk goods. But there was a distinct preference for silks of French manufacture, and the smuggling of such goods into England was a serious damage both to the trade and to the revenue. The silk manufacturers, especially those about London, had immediately, upon Huskisson's accession to office, petitioned for the removal of duties on spun silk, but at the same time, with true class feeling, were eager to exclude foreign manufactured silks. In the same way the silk spinners were eager for the removal of duties upon raw silk, but bitterly opposed to the introduction of spun silk, while the journev-

Improvement
in the silk
trade.
March 1824.

men believed that ruin stared them in the face if foreign manufactured silks were introduced. Between these varying interests Huskisson had to steer his course. The duty on raw silk was immediately reduced to threepence from five and sevenpence halfpenny the pound. The clamour was too great to allow of a similar reduction in the duties on spun silk, which were lowered about half, from fourteen and eightpence to seven and sixpence; and similarly, though Mr. Huskisson wished for an immediate change, the admission of foreign manufactured silks was postponed for two years, when they were to be admitted at an *ad valorem* duty of thirty per cent. The outcry against the change was great; the workmen thanked the House for the temporary postponement of the day of their destruction; the manufacturers expressed a hope that they should get out of the trade before the fatal day arrived. But the event thoroughly proved the wisdom of Huskisson's plans, and the truth of his prophecy that competition only was wanted to enable English manufacturers to rival the French; ten years after the passing of the Bill England exported to France £60,000 worth of manufactured silk.

The duties on wool, which came next into consideration, were of newer creation. In 1803 it had been subjected to a tax of a halfpenny a pound, raised by Mr. Vansittart in 1819 to sixpence. The same variety of interests was here at work as in the silk trade. The agriculturists and wool-growers wished for the retention of duties to secure a monopoly of the supply of wool, the manufacturers, to whom foreign wool for certain purposes is an absolute necessity, wished for free importation, but for the retention of an export duty to keep the price of English wool low. With perfect justice Mr. Huskisson determined to relieve both classes. Foreign wool was admitted, according to its excellence, at a penny or a halfpenny a pound; English wool might be exported at a similar rate. Again the effect justified his view. The fear of a large exportation of English wool proved so completely groundless that by 1826 only 100,000 pounds weight had been exported, while 40,000,000 pounds of foreign wool had been introduced. The low price of wool of which the growers had complained had been caused by the increase of the article in England and the general slackness of the trade; the large introduction of foreign wool had enabled the British producers to sell all their stock at remunerative prices to be worked up with it.

As befitted the dawning liberality of the English legislation, the question of the slave trade now again came prominently forward. It

CON. MON.

Improvement
in the wool
trade.

was indeed the late changes in commercial legislation which again brought it into notice. Since the opening of the Indian trade in April 1814 a complete alteration had taken place in the character of our commerce with that country. Originally restricted to Indian produce paid for in bullion, it had lately become much extended; India received from England woollen goods to the value of a million and a half, and strangely enough even cotton goods, originally an Indian production, to the value of upwards of a million. But as the duties on East India sugar were higher than those charged on West India sugar, India was practically unable to pay for the goods thus imported with its sugar. It was urged in Parliament, that as the power of India to receive English goods was limited only by what it could give in exchange, one great source of purchasing power was thus denied it, and that an equality of duties should be established. Of course the West India interests were violent in opposition, but while objecting to the change at present, Huskisson allowed that the production of slave labour was more costly than that of free labour, and that slavery was not only a crime but a commercial mistake. This confession called the abolitionists again into activity. They had already succeeded in getting the trade condemned by most civilized nations, and the slave who touched English ground was free; but the institution continued in all its severity in our own colonies. Sir Fowell Buxton, who now became the prominent supporter of abolition, brought in a resolution (May 15, 1823) declaring that slavery should be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies. Gradual abolition presents great difficulties. It is not logical, as slavery is either right or wrong; it is difficult to carry out, because slaves still left unenfranchized, while others are freed, are naturally discontented. Canning therefore distinctly objected to the motion; he declared that no half measures were possible, and that as for immediate abolition the Constitution of England was against it. At the same time he proposed resolutions declaring the expediency of improving the condition of the slaves preparatory to freedom. This was followed up in a circular issued on the 24th of May 1823, ordering the cessation of the use of the whip in the field and of the flogging of women. The circular excited great anger among the planters, the House of Assembly in Jamaica began to talk of independence and of addressing the King to remove Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary. In Barbadoes the mean whites, that is, those who possessed no slaves and who were the outcasts of society,

Reintroduction
of the question
of slavery.

Effect of
Canning's
circular
in Jamaica.

rose in riot, and razed to the ground the chapel of a missionary who had spoken of them as an ignorant and depraved class. In Demerara the purport of the circular and the way in which it was spoken of by the planters came to the ears of the negroes, and caused a rising (Aug. 18), which was only kept from becoming a dangerous insurrection by the influence of an Independent missionary of the name of Smith. In two days the riot was quelled, with considerable bloodshed and nearly fifty executions of negroes. But the importance of the affair lies chiefly in the conduct of the whites and the Government of the island towards Mr. Smith. There had already been some efforts made to injure the influence of the dissenting missionaries, who had been most active in instructing the negroes, and although a clergyman of the Episcopalian Church who was in Demerara gave full testimony of Mr. Smith's excellence, he was apprehended, kept in a disgraceful prison for two months, and then died of his hardships (Feb. 6, 1824). Before he died he had been sentenced to death, as having been aware of the intended rising. The sentence of the court-martial was quashed in England, but before the news arrived he was dead. The treatment of Smith in his imprisonment, and of his widow, who was not even allowed to be present at his funeral, was marked by great cruelty, and his death was followed by a meeting of slave-owners, who petitioned that all missionaries should be expelled from the colony, and prohibited from coming there for the future. In fact, they declared that any attempt to improve the moral or intellectual condition of the slaves was undesirable and a crime against the planters. The shock given by this violent action to the public feeling in England virtually secured the predominance of abolitionist views.

The years 1823 and 1824 were thus marked by a distinct advance in liberality on the part of the English Government. But the beneficent action of Huskisson's legislation was postponed during the following year by a period of unexampled distress. During the past year there had been much hope of increased prosperity. The opening of new markets in South America had excited the hope of speedy profits, and introduced a spirit of rash speculation which has more than once disastrously affected British commerce. The consequence was the very rapid formation of a vast number of joint-stock companies, with their attendant symptoms of unprincipled stockjobbing and dishonesty on the part of financial agents and promoters of companies. It is impossible not to be reminded of the similar excitement in the time of the South Sea

Persecution of
Mr. Smith.

Misery caused
by wild
speculation.
1825.

Bubble,—again acts of fabulous folly were performed; it is said that in their eagerness to get a sale for British goods both warming-pans and skates were exported in considerable numbers to the Tropics; while a company of Scotch milk-maids was formed and transferred to Buenos Ayres, where, after conquering the preliminary difficulty of milking wild cattle, it was found that the inhabitants would not eat butter, and preferred the oil of their own country. Though many schemes to be carried on in foreign parts did not even take the trouble to secure charters, 286 private Bills were passed in the session of 1825. The speculation was assisted by a great apparent profusion of money, and by the careless action of both the Bank of England and the private provincial banks. In spite of signs that gold and silver were leaving the country, the Bank of England continued to increase its issue of notes, and the provincial banks followed its example; there was far too much paper money in the country; between June 1824 and October 1825 ten millions of coin and bullion were exported. At the same time the Bank of England lowered its rate of interest. Money was thus exceedingly easily obtained, and prices rose suddenly and very rapidly. The readiness of all the banks to discount bills even at long dates enabled speculators to buy up and hold back goods, thus still further raising the prices. There was naturally soon an end of this fictitious state of things. As the goods which had been bought up were brought into the market their prices necessarily fell; foreign speculations could not produce very rapid returns; the insecure bills, or those which had been discounted at very long dates, could not be realized, consequently the banks found it difficult to meet the demands upon them; the Bank of England then took alarm, raised the rate at which it discounted bills, and contracted the issue of bank notes. In all ways therefore money began to get exceedingly scarce; firms and companies began to break, credit was shaken, a run on the banks was the consequence. At length even the London houses were affected, and on the 5th of December the great banking-house of Pole & Company, on which as many as forty-four country banks depended, broke. In six weeks between sixty to seventy banks had stopped payment, of which six or seven were London houses.

The misery attendant on these disasters was so great that the Government thought it necessary to interfere. The bank and the mint set hard to work to supply notes and coin; 150,000 sovereigns a day were turned out, but even thus, the story is told that the credit of the Bank was only

Success of
the healing
measures of the
Government.

saved by the accidental discovery of a forgotten chest with 700,000 one-pound notes. By the end of the year the worst of the panic was over, but during 1826 bankruptcies continued with fearful rapidity. In the opinion of the Government some part of the late misfortune was to be attributed to bad legislation, and might be altered, but the greater part arose from a spirit of over-speculation, over which no legislative enactments could have any power. The healing measures proposed were the prohibition of the issue of one and two pound notes; for it began to be generally acknowledged that unrestricted paper currency could not exist with coin, that in times of prosperity the paper would be preferred, gold and silver would seek other markets, and in times of necessity would be unprocurable. Many of the banks had paid for the privilege of issuing notes, but the Government risked the infringement on their rights, acknowledging it, and confessing that an Act of indemnity would be necessary. Secondly, they induced the Bank directors to give up one of their privileges, by which private banking-houses were restricted to six partners. Beyond a radius of sixty-five miles from London, the number of partners was henceforward unlimited, and much greater security was thus obtained. At the same time, for the instant relief of commerce, the ministers, unwilling to issue Exchequer bills, because they thought that commerce had better on the whole be left to right itself, succeeded in persuading the Bank to advance £3,000,000 to merchants upon the security of their goods. The effect of these measures was a restoration of credit and the gradual subsidence of the alarm.

But the misfortunes of the preceding years had of necessity been attended by extreme suffering among the poorer classes, and although they had on the whole borne their privations remarkably well, it was impossible, considering the excited temper of the times, to avoid riots. These were as usual directed principally against machinery, which was still ignorantly regarded by the artisans as the chief cause of their misery. The riots were very widely spread, every power-loom in Blackburn was smashed, the operatives in Manchester held stormy meetings, and in Carlisle, Staffordshire, and Norfolk uproars took place. To the miseries caused by depression of trade were added those of an unfavourable season; the summer of 1826 was marked by a very severe drought. On all grounds, therefore, the ministers thought it their duty to introduce some measures which should tend to the lowering of the price of corn; it was ordered that corn in bond in the warehouses, wait-

Riots and
machine
breaking.
April 1826.

Temporary
change in the
corn laws.
May 26, 1826.

ing till prices should rise to the level which allowed importation, should be released at once and sent into the market, and that Government should be authorized to import, within a space of two months, 500,000 quarters more. Bills to this effect were passed through the House, having been earnestly pressed forward because the Parliament was on the point of dissolution, and had the ministers been obliged to open the ports without leave, their conduct would have been unconstitutional and would have required an Act of indemnity. But, after all, their efforts were unavailing; prices rose, so that on the 1st of September the legal price was reached; but as it was only when the average price was above a certain point that corn was admitted, and a month must elapse before that average could be taken, it was thought desirable to forestall the time and open them at once. The new Parliament assembled in November, and remained a short time in session for the purpose of giving the required indemnity.

The attention of Parliament was called to one other important topic, which may be regarded as the finishing stroke to Canning's foreign policy. It will be remembered that he had always declared that any attack on Portugal would be regarded as a sufficient cause for the entrance of England into the war. The French troops still occupied Spain, and in the civil war which was continued in that country the royalists had been joined by several regiments of the Portuguese army. In spite of urgent demands and repeated promises that these deserting troops should be disbanded, they were allowed, if not encouraged, by the Spanish royalists to make inroads into constitutional Portugal. The Princess Regent applied to England for assistance; Canning at once acted vigorously according to his principles. At first the information given was not accurate, but on Friday the 8th of December precise information arrived, and Canning could triumphantly assert in the House—"On Saturday his Majesty's confidential servants came to a decision, on Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty, on Monday it was submitted to both Houses of Parliament, and this day (Tuesday) on which I have the honour of addressing you the troops are on their march for embarkation." It was plain to all men that the honour of England was safe in such hands, and proof was afforded to all Europe that England had distinctly broken from her old connections, and that her sympathies were on the side of political freedom and national independence.

It is not to be supposed that the changes worked by Canning and

Canning's
vigorous policy
in Portugal.
Dec. 1826.

by Huskisson, and the decided preponderance of the more liberal-minded members of the Cabinet, were regarded with favour by all their colleagues. Personally distasteful to many of them because of their want of aristocratic connection, the innovating character of their policy, and their views, which were closely assimilated on most points to those of the Whigs, separated them entirely from the representatives of the old Tory party. They seem to have had but one point in common—their opposition to parliamentary reform. Lord Liverpool's Government had from the first been one of compromise. One of the greatest questions of the day, which had already caused the fall of more than one ministry, had been allowed to fall from the list of Cabinet questions, and it had been agreed that Catholic emancipation should stand entirely upon its own merits. But this was a point on which men felt very keenly, and there had thus arisen a complete division in the ministry; on the one side were ranked the followers of Canning, including such men as Huskisson, Wellesley, Robinson, Sturges-Bourne, and Lord Palmerston; and on the other the high Tory or Protestant party, at the head of which was Liverpool himself, Lord Eldon, and the Duke of Wellington, and, although he was regarded as less bigoted, Peel. How great the split between the parties was is made plain not only by the strong if decorous language to be found in Lord Eldon's correspondence, but by the more outspoken expressions of Palmerston in his private letters. In the election of 1826, though himself a member of the ministry, Palmerston had been opposed at Cambridge by Goulbourn (also one of the administration), and all the influence of the Tory section had been used against him. In a letter describing the effects of that election, he says, "As to the commonplace balance between Opposition and Government, the election will have little effect upon it. The Government are as strong as any government can wish to be, as far as regards those who sit facing them; but in truth the real Opposition of the present day sit behind the Treasury bench. It is by the stupid old Tory party, who bawl out the memory and praises of Pitt, while they are opposing all the measures and principles which he held most important, it is by these that the progress of the Government in every improvement which they are attempting is thwarted and opposed. On the Catholic question, on the principles of commerce, on the corn laws, on the settlement of the currency, on the laws regulating the trade in money, on colonial slavery, on the game laws, which are intimately connected with the moral habits of the people; on all these

Division in
the ministry.

questions, and everything like them, the Government find support from the Whigs and resistance from their self-denominated friends." While again, speaking of the foolish obstruction to the Catholic claims, he writes of his colleagues in most unmeasured terms: "I can forgive old women like the Chancellor, spoonies like Liverpool, ignoramuses like Westmoreland, old stumped-up Tories like Bathurst, but how such a man as Peel, liberal, enlightened, and fresh-minded, should find himself running in such a pack is hardly intelligible." It is plain that a Government thinking so differently on the most important topics of the day must have been near its dissolution. It was held together in fact only by the tact and personal influence of Lord Liverpool; and when, on the 17th February, the Premier was found struck with an apoplectic fit it was certain that a ministerial crisis must arise.

*Illness of
Lord Liverpool.
Feb. 1827.*

The difficulty in the formation of a new permanent Government was likely to be increased by the two great questions which were expected to occupy the session. One of these was a change in the corn laws, and an attempt to bring them more into harmony with the new commercial views of Huskisson and his friends; the other the Catholic emancipation, on which already the existing Cabinet was so much divided. The constant repetition of temporary measures required by the existing state of the law, the fluctuation of prices, and the consequent suffering of the poor, proved to those who were not pledged to the interests of the landowning and agricultural party that some alteration in the arrangements with regard to corn was necessary. With much care Canning and Huskisson, although both were too ill to allow of personal communication, had arranged a joint measure, by which foreign corn might be imported free of duty, to be warehoused and admitted to the market for home consumption, regardless of the price of corn, on the payment of duties varying in accordance with a certain scale; when wheat was at seventy shillings the duty was to be one shilling, and to increase two shillings with every decrease of one shilling in price. The Bill was passed on the 12th of April, during the interval it was thought decent to allow for the possible restoration of Lord Liverpool's health. It did not come on in the Upper House till after the new Government was formed, but it was there thrown out in favour of an amendment produced by the Duke of Wellington, declaring that foreign corn should not be taken out of bond till corn had

*Difficulties
attending the
formation of a
new ministry.*

*Necessity of a
change in the
corn laws.*

reached sixty-six shillings. The object of the Bill, which was to supply foreign corn whenever the sale of it was remunerative, was thus entirely frustrated and the Bill abandoned.

It was during the same period, while the Government was in abeyance, that the Roman Catholic question was brought on. The settlement of this question in one way or other had become almost a necessity. It has been seen how Pitt was compelled, by fear of the old King's health, to give up a cause which he undoubtedly regarded as just, and how the obstinacy of George III. upon the same point had ruined Lord Grenville's ministry. During Mr. Perceval's ministry, which was formed on the avowed principle of withstanding the claims of the Catholics, the dangers attendant upon the war afforded sufficient excuse for alleging that the time was inconvenient to move so critical a question; but during the whole of that period they had, by means of an organization and the establishment of a central Catholic committee, kept their claims before the world, waiting till a favourable time should come. Lord Liverpool had found it impossible, as already stated, to form a ministry unanimous on the point, and year after year, as Bills in favour of the Catholics were introduced in the House, Castlereagh and Canning had been seen supporting them in opposition to most of their colleagues.

In Ireland, meanwhile, the question had naturally become the watchword of parties, and, like every other political question in that country, had assumed a national form and was leading to a division of races. Both the Protestant Orange Lodges and the Catholic Associations of White Boys had again sprung into existence, and so great was the disorder that in 1822 the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended. At the same time, in agreement with the uncertain and half-hearted policy of Lord Liverpool's Government, Lord Wellesley, a favourer of the Catholic claims, was made Lord-Lieutenant, and Plunkett (in whose hands the chief management of Catholic parliamentary affairs was) Attorney-General, but yoked to Mr. Goulbourn, who was a strong anti-Catholic, as Chief Secretary. The hopes of the Irish, not unreasonably raised by these appointments, were disappointed. Received upon his arrival with every sign of admiration and attachment, before long Wellesley was publicly assaulted and pelted in the theatres. He had attempted, in the midst of the wild excitement of the passionate Irishmen of both parties, to follow a cool and impartial policy. His chief object was to suppress secret

*Increasing
importance of
the Catholic
question.*

*Disturbances
in Ireland.*

*Failure of
Wellesley's
administration.
1822.*

societies and to compel all parties to submit quietly to the law. By the use of very stringent measures, by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and by the Insurrection Act, which allowed him to establish where necessary something nearly equivalent to martial law, he had succeeded in weakening the secret societies and in lessening the amount of crime; he thus earned for himself the hearty dislike of the extreme Catholics. At the same time the restraint which he put upon the Orange societies and Protestant demonstrations roused the extreme Protestants to fury, so that riots took place in Dublin which could only be checked by the military. He thus laid himself open to the charges brought against him by the ultra-Protestants of England, who urged, with a show of truth, that he had proved himself inefficient, and that it was plain that lenity and conciliatory measures would not produce the expected effect. And now, seeing that their hopes in their Lord-Lieutenant were not realized, and wishing to gain favour with classes to whom secret societies were abhorrent, the Catholic party of Ireland, under the leadership of O'Connell, set on foot the great organization known as the Catholic Association, which, while it held aloof from secret societies, and kept itself as far as possible within the limits of the law, was inspired as completely with fanaticism as any of its predecessors had been. Its avowed object was the preparation of petitions to Parliament; but it held regular sessions, had its committee of grievances, ordered a census of the population, and exacted a tax known as the Catholic rent. The effect of this Association was for a time to alienate the Catholics of England, and to make the question a more distinctly national one, and by 1825 the Association had become so formidable that, by a large majority, a Bill was passed rendering it illegal and attempting to dissolve it. The Bill declared that political associations were incapable of adjournment for more than fourteen days, incapable of having corresponding societies, of levying contributions, or of requiring oaths. The dissolution of the Association was only nominal, a new Association was immediately formed, and the Catholic body were advised to proceed by all political and legal means.

The Catholics had in fact gained a very important step in compelling Parliament to recognize the existence of the Association. It was no longer possible to postpone the consideration of their claims, and in March 1825, Sir Francis Burdett brought in what was called a Relief Bill, of which O'Connell, entirely falsely, claimed to be the chief author. Besides

Formation of
the Catholic
Association.
1823.

Rejection of
the Catholic
Relief Bill.
1825.

the Bill for the relief of disabilities there were two subsidiary Bills, the one raising the Catholic franchise to £10 instead of £2, which was thought to be a sop to the Protestants, the other to supply a State provision for the Catholic clergy, by which it was thought the other party might be pleased. Freed from the dread of the Association, the English partisans of the Catholic claims used all their influence and eloquence in favour of the Bill, and it passed the Commons by a considerable majority. Its fate in the House of Lords was different. It there encountered an opposition verging upon the unconstitutional; the Duke of York, the heir to the crown, adopting all his father's old scruples, declared, in distinct allusion to his probable succession to the throne, that under no circumstances and in no position would he assent to such a Bill. He succeeded in obtaining its rejection by a majority of forty-eight. The Duke's action was highly popular; it seems pretty certain that the feeling of the majority of Englishmen was against the Catholics. The plea that the Coronation Oath stood in the way of the royal assent to such a Bill no longer found defenders except with the extremest Tories, but the feeling of race which had been excited, the fear, not wholly ungrounded, that a measure so anxiously desired by the priests must hide some considerable advantage to the Roman Church, and the occasional rash declaration of some furious partisan that obedience to the Papal See was superior to any earthly obedience, made the majority of those who were not guided by reason and principle desire to retain the disabilities which still existed.

The effect of their defeat in the House of Lords was not to dishearten the Catholics, on the contrary, they took courage at their success in the Commons, and were only eager if possible to complete their triumph before the accession of the bigoted Duke of York should throw a fresh obstacle in their way. A Catholic petition was therefore prepared, which Sir Francis Burdett presented during the illness of Lord Liverpool, proposing at the same time a resolution that the affairs of Ireland required immediate and earnest attention. But an election had taken place since the last Bill had been introduced, and the anti-Catholic feeling had apparently gained ground in the new Parliament; in spite of all the support which Canning could give it, the resolution was rejected. It was the last defeat the champions of emancipation were destined to meet.

While Canning was thus defeated on the two questions he had most at heart,—the improvement of the corn laws and the Catholic emancipation,—he found himself called upon to undertake the duties of Prime Minister.

Rejection of
Burdett's
resolution.
March 5, 1827.

Canning Prime
Minister.
April 10, 1827.

There was indeed no one in the existing ministry who could well compete with him, and the popular voice at once nominated him as Lord Liverpool's successor. Yet from the first it was clear that his appointment implied a complete change of ministry. It was not to be expected that his opponents in the Cabinet, whether on aristocratic and personal or on political grounds, would consent to serve under him. The King, who had lately been drawing more towards the anti-Catholic party, himself hesitated, but when a cabal of Tory Lords threatened him with the loss of their support should he appoint Canning, his mind was at once made up to resent the affront, and Canning was sent for. His appointment was followed by the resignation of all the most important members of the ministry; Wellington, R. Melville, Eldon, Bathurst, Westmoreland, Bexley, and Peel, chiefly on account of the obligations under which he felt as member for the Protestant University of Oxford, with several less important ministers, withdrew. As Canning was willing to consent that the Catholic question should still remain open, this great defection seems to show how clearly defined his general liberal tendencies had become. From among his own friends,

Canning's new
ministry.
1827.

and such of the Tories as would still serve with him, by the 27th of April a new Government was formed. The Duke of Clarence, since the death of the Duke of York (Jan. 5, 1827) heir-presumptive, was made Lord High Admiral, Copley, made Lord Lyndhurst, became Chancellor, Lord Dudley, a very able though eccentric man, went to the Foreign Office, Mr. Robinson became Lord Goderich, and led the party in the Upper House as Secretary for the Colonies, Sturges-Bourne went to the Home Office, Mr. Huskisson remaining at the Board of Trade. These first appointments were however provisional; so also was Canning's own acceptance of the place of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new Prime Minister, after the secession of his colleagues, was received with such marked approbation by the Whigs, that it was not difficult to see that his coalition with them would be only a matter of time; and as they would require their fair share in the administration, it was necessary to keep some of the high places in hand, or only provisionally filled. As far as the support of parties in the House went, the union between the Canningites and the Whigs was accomplished; Brougham, Burdett, and Tierney sat on the Government side of the house; but, although Lord Lansdowne had already a seat in the Cabinet, Canning did not live long enough to complete the fusion of parties in the ministry. After the Easter holidays,

during which the ministry were got together, little business of public importance was transacted, and the session was spent in a series of vehement attacks and personalities directed against Canning by his old friends. The only fact of importance was the failure of the Corn Bill in the Upper House, which has been already mentioned. In July, to the relief of all parties—for the bitter feelings lately excited had rendered the session an unusually disagreeable one—Parliament was prorogued. On the 8th of the next month Canning died of an illness caught at the funeral of the Duke of York, and rendered worse by the effects of the constant attacks to which he had been subjected acting upon his sensitive nature. Thus was prematurely terminated a change in the position of parties which, by uniting the moderate Tories and the Whigs, and placing the united forces under the command of so able a leader as Canning, seemed full of promise for the constitutional advance of England.

Death of
Canning.
Aug. 8, 1827.

The death of Canning was felt to be a national loss. In spite of every effort to render his funeral private, vast crowds attended, and Whigs and Tories joined in doing him honour. It was only the exclusive clique which, like Chatham, he had broken through which retained its enmity and regarded him to the end as a renegade adventurer. His title to greatness can scarcely be questioned. Adorned with the richest gifts of body and mind, a noble and attractive presence, overflowing wit, and a majestic eloquence, he showed himself an essentially practical statesman. On most subjects his views were large and liberal; by his assistance his friend Huskisson was enabled to launch England upon a fresh course of commercial prosperity, and by so doing to alleviate the miseries under which the people were groaning. As a foreign minister he enabled the country to assume a great place among nations. Two principles formed the bases of his policy—peace, and the greatness of his native country, which he regarded as indissolubly connected with its national individuality. He thus broke from the trammels of the Holy Alliance, and set on foot the policy of non-intervention, which, though its misuse has much destroyed its credit, is, when the dignity of the country is properly supported, the true policy to be pursued by a people at once desirous to secure peace and to allow to other nations the opportunity of working out their own development, and of securing that national freedom of action which it claims for itself. There were undoubtedly inconsistencies in his political views. Like his successor, Peel, he belonged to a transition

Character and
policy of
Canning.

time, and had a mind capable of growth. Several remnants of his early political creed hung about him to the last. He was always a firm opponent to parliamentary reform; while supporting continually the claims of the Catholics, he would listen to no arguments in favour of the relaxation of the Test and Corporation Acts; and he always upheld the repressive measures of Lord Sidmouth. It is to be remembered that his youth had been passed in the midst of the French Revolution, against which all the weapons of his wit had been directed, and that he was the favourite disciple of Pitt at the time when that minister's energies were chiefly directed to the suppression of revolutionary and Jacobinical tendencies; while, in his prime, temperate reform had become so connected with the exaggerated views of the radical reformers, that it is not to be wondered at that a statesman trained as Canning had been should object to measures which might open a door to the admission of so violent a flood of change.

Though its chief was gone, it was determined to continue the ministry which Canning had formed on the same principle of compromise on the subject of Catholic reform. The King could not make up his mind to take any decided step one way or the other, and fixed upon Lord Goderich, a colourless man, as best fitted to carry on the system. The changes necessary were few, but some of them important for the future. Lord Goderich's own place was taken by Huskisson; Lord Lansdowne accepted, at the King's personal request, the Home Office; the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which Canning had held, was, with some want of wisdom, considering the connection of the Canningites and Whigs, given to Mr. Herries, a Tory, an appointment which at once shook the administration. Another important nomination was that of the Duke of Wellington, who, immediately upon Canning's death, was without difficulty persuaded to resume the command of the army, showing how far personal enmity had been the cause of his previous resignation. The accession of these two Tories was at the time regarded as a sure augury for the early break up of the Cabinet. "Before six months are over," said Lord Anglesey, who had been the agent in securing Wellington's adhesion, "he will trip up all your heels." These forebodings were speedily fulfilled. A quarrel broke out about the appointment of a chairman to a Finance Committee which was to be formed at the opening of the session. The position naturally belonged to Mr. Herries, but Tierney and Huskisson appear to have secured the appointment of Lord Althorp without Mr. Herries' knowledge (Nov. 29). Both Huskisson and Herries

Goderich's
ministry.

sent in their resignation; it seemed impossible to keep them both, and Lord Goderich, unable to take a firm course in the matter, sent in his own resignation, which, after he had once weakly withdrawn it, was finally accepted (Jan. 8, 1828). After seven months of useless life the abortive ministry expired.

There was great difficulty in finding a successor for Goderich. Lord Harrowby declined the position. Huskisson, who was thought of, was supposed unable to lead the Commons, and the King, weary of compromise, determined to have recourse to the Tories, and, at the advice of Lord Lyndhurst, applied to the Duke of Wellington, whose supposed firmness of character inspired him with confidence. But even yet George III. attempted to postpone the final settlement of the Catholic question; the conditions he laid on Wellington were only to avoid a union with Lord Grey and to establish a lasting Government. The Duke therefore, in spite of his late conduct, asked and received the adhesion of Dudley, Palmerston, Huskisson, and some others. The Whigs of the late Government naturally retired, and in their place the Tories of Lord Liverpool's Government resumed office. In fact the attempt was made to reconstitute the Liverpool Cabinet. Mr. Huskisson declared to his constituents at Liverpool that the presence of so many Canningites was a guarantee that that minister's policy would be continued, but it was generally understood that the accession of Wellington to the premiership was in fact a Tory triumph, and such it speedily proved. In a very few months an opportunity, arising from a slight difference of opinion, enabled the Duke to insist upon the resignation of Mr. Huskisson; with him the rest of Canning's party left the ministry, and the Government was constituted entirely on a Tory basis (May).

The continuation of Canning's policy in some way or other was indeed almost a necessity, but the way in which his plans were completed by Wellington would hardly have satisfied Canning. He had died, leaving unfinished in the hands of his successors one of the most difficult diplomatic questions which he had undertaken. For six years a war, marked by extreme barbarity, had been carried on between the Turks and their Greek subjects. It will be remembered that on this point the Czar, who regarded himself as the natural protector of the Greeks, and who nourished the traditional desire of conquest on the side of Turkey, had found himself at variance with his own principles. His mind was divided between a wish to seize the opportunity offered of ex-

Difficulty of
the Turkish
question.

Wellington
made Prime
Minister.
Jan. 1828.

tending his influence over Turkey, and his love of legitimacy, which, as chief of the Holy Alliance, he constantly upheld, and which seemed to forbid him to take the part of insurgents against their legitimate sovereign. Lengthened conferences between the representatives of the sovereigns of Europe had been held at St. Petersburg, where France and Austria, bitterly opposed to the English policy, both with regard to the constitutionalists of Spain, and the acknowledgment of the independence of the South American colonies, had shown themselves eager upon the side of legitimacy, and where Austria especially had expressed a constant wish that the Greeks should be treated merely as insurgents. Supported therefore by the advice of Austria, and trusting to the well-known feeling in favour of the Mahomedan rule in Turkey which existed among the Tories in England, the Porte had refused to listen to any offers of mediation. Nor did it seem possible that the English ministry, anxious at once to prevent Russia from attacking Turkey and yet to save the

Canning's
diplomacy
on the subject.

Greeks, could intervene with any hope of honourable success. At last, in 1824, an opening occurred, and the hope was raised in Canning's mind that these two apparently contrary objects might be obtained. The provisional government in Greece in its despair made a formal appeal to the English, and showed itself quite as fearful of the warlike views of Russia as Turkey itself, in the belief that the outbreak of a war with Turkey would ensure its own immediate destruction. The English minister now thought it possible to bring the conferences, from which he had hitherto held quite aloof, under his own hand in London. The course of events tended to assist his plan. In 1825 the conferences at St. Petersburg broke up without action, the other powers having refused to join Russia in mediation. It was the conduct of Metternich, who dreaded before all things any tampering with the principles of legitimate sovereignty, and constantly abetted the obstinacy of the Porte, which had rendered the mediation futile. Thus thwarted in his plans, and feeling that his failure was due to Metternich, the Czar found a point of union with Canning in their dislike to the Austrian minister. England was represented at Constantinople by Sir Stratford Canning, and by his skilful management the ambassadors of the two courts there began to draw together; and at last, in November 1825, Canning had a triumphant proof of the success of his policy and of the importance of England, when all the ministers of the great powers in London confessed that they saw no way out of their difficulty but by English intervention. This favourable

state of things was for the moment crossed by the death of Alexander (Dec. 1, 1825). The view which his successor Nicholas would take became in the last degree important; Canning, with great wisdom, chose Wellington—opposed indeed to his policy, but personally acceptable to the Russian Czar—as his special ambassador to take the royal congratulations upon the new Emperor's accession, and to continue the negotiations if possible. The appointment met with universal approbation; even Metternich believed that in the hands of Wellington the question must be settled in accordance with his views. It was with much surprise and anger that the Turks and Austrians heard that, on the 4th of April, an arrangement had been arrived at between the Courts of England and Russia. Taking advantage of the very moderate claims of the Greeks, who demanded no more than to be placed on the same footing as the Danubian Principalities, remaining as self-governing but dependent vassals of the Turkish Government, the English minister had succeeded in procuring the signature of a protocol embodying a plan for peaceful intervention.

Protocol
between
England and
Russia.
April 1826.

The cause of Greek independence had already excited enthusiasm in England, many volunteers had joined the armies, and money had been subscribed for them. In this enthusiasm Canning in his heart fully joined; from early youth one of his favourite dreams had been the independence of that race to which as an ardent lover of the classics he felt he owed so much. But, true to his principles, and determined to maintain the strict neutrality of England, he had done his best to check any active assistance to the insurgents. According to his view it was necessary that England should intervene with clean hands, and as the friend of both parties. He was also in constant dread of the watchfulness of his Tory enemies, fearing lest any sign of too great favour to Russia should enable them entirely to thwart his plans. Nevertheless the knowledge of the approaching intervention gave a great impetus to the feeling in favour of Greece in England, and men and money were poured in considerable quantities into the peninsula. Lord Cochrane, the most dashing and adventurous of English sailors, had joined the insurgents with an American frigate, General Churchill took command of their armies, yet their destruction seemed imminent. The Egyptians, under Ibrahim Pasha, had come to the assistance of their enemies; their fleet, which was little better than a body of pirates, was swept from the sea; Missolonghi was for the third time

Enthusiasm
for Greek
Independence
in England.

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taken, and in spite of General Churchill's efforts, Athens and the Acropolis had fallen. If the protocol was to be of any use the time for acting upon it had arrived. The allies received a great accession of strength when, after a visit of Canning to Paris in the spring of 1826, the French Government and the King himself entered heartily into their plans. It was plain that for the second time Canning had struck a severe blow at the principles of the Holy Alliance. In April 1827 the three powers proceeded to act with renewed strength. They demanded an immediate armistice, pointed out that the war did not seem to be approaching its conclusion, that it caused interference with the traffic of the world, and that in the interests of Europe it must cease. Almost of course the Turks, still trusting to Austria, and still unable to believe in the changed posture of England, rejected this demand. Therefore, in accordance with the expressed wish of the French, which no doubt agreed with Canning's own wishes, the protocol was changed into a treaty known as the Treaty of London, signed on the 6th of July by Lord Dudley, Count Lieven, and the Prince of Polignac. In strict accordance with the terms of the protocol, it set forth the necessity of European action, it stated the terms which must be given to Greece, and which went no further than establishing its self-government under Turkish supremacy and saddled with a tribute to the Porte, and declared that none of the parties to the treaty sought territorial increase or commercial advantages. Fear of Russian aggrandizement was thus withdrawn, the intervention was at first to be purely friendly; but secret articles went on to say that, if the intervention were rejected, more stringent means must be used to oblige its acceptance both by one party and by the other, and that it would be necessary to show countenance to Greece, by acknowledging her as a belligerent power, and establishing consuls at her ports. It was not expressly stated what the further means of coercion were to be. A month was given to the Porte for consideration of the terms offered. If no answer, or an unfavourable answer came, the secret articles were to be put into execution. If the armistice was refused by the Turks, the allied squadrons then in the Mediterranean were to unite, to enter into friendly relations with the Greeks, and to intercept all ships freighted with men and arms destined to act against the Greeks, whether from Turkey or from Egypt. At the same time they were carefully to avoid hostilities. It is doubtful whether Canning could have succeeded in carrying out this his last measure of peace policy

Turkey refuses the armistice demanded by the allies. April 1827.

The Treaty of London consequently signed.

and non-intervention without having recourse to war. When the affair had reached this point he died, and the completion of his work fell into weaker and less competent hands.

In August, a joint note having been again sent, and all satisfactory answer having been entirely refused by Reis Effendi, the Turkish minister, consuls were appointed according to the treaty, and the fleets ordered to compel the armistice. The execution of this delicate duty was intrusted to Admiral Codrington on the part of the English, to the French Admiral de Rigny, and to Count Heyden, who commanded the Russian fleet. Twenty-eight Turkish and Egyptian ships of war lay in Navarino Bay awaiting fresh reinforcements from Egypt. Had the union taken place, the combined fleets of Turkey and Egypt would have entirely destroyed the Greek Government then in the Ionian Islands, and have swept away what remained of the Greek fleet. The allies appeared before Navarino, explained to Ibrahim Pasha, who was in command, the negotiations which were proceeding, and declared that the Turkish fleet should not sail. Ibrahim, nothing daunted, while asserting that he would take orders from his own sovereign only, pledged himself, on the 25th of September, that the fleet should remain quiet for twenty days to enable him to receive an answer from Constantinople. In spite of this promise, Codrington, who had withdrawn, heard on the 1st of October that the fleet had left harbour. He at once went to meet it, and turned back the first squadron he encountered. On the 13th the combined fleets were in front of Navarino. Then Ibrahim in anger let loose his troops on the wretched people, and before the eyes of the allies terrible scenes of barbarity were enacted. Codrington, though with difficulty, kept himself in restraint, but on the 20th his fleet sailed into the harbour, to say that they would convoy the Turkish ships to Turkey, the Egyptian ships to Egypt. They found the Turks and Egyptians drawn up in the form of a horseshoe and ready for battle. Strict orders were given not to fire unless the enemy proceeded to hostilities, and Codrington, bringing his ship close to that of the Turkish admiral, opened communications with him. Meanwhile, a boat from the Dartmouth was fired upon, and a cannon shot was fired against the French flag-ship. In spite of this Codrington went on parleying till his pilot was shot by his side and a broadside fired upon his ship. The battle then began in earnest, and in four hours the hostile fleet was entirely destroyed.

Attempt of the allies to compel the armistice.

Battle of Navarino. Oct. 20, 1827.

The news of the victory was received with delight in France and

Russia, and at first with triumph in England, where at the instant Sir Edward Codrington met with the full approval of the Government. None the less did it present to the weak and tottering Cabinet of Lord Goderich difficulties of the gravest kind. The peaceful policy of their late chief had ended in a fierce and destructive battle; they hardly knew whether to accept the whole responsibility of it or not. At all events they did not follow up the blow or act with any vigour under the circumstances. The effect of this delay was to strengthen in Constantinople the belief that the union between the three powers was not hearty, and to encourage the Turks in their obstinacy. The foreign merchants in Constantinople were apprehended, the Porte determined on war, demanding that the allies should refrain entirely from interfering on the Greek question, pay the fleet, and indemnify the Sultan for his losses. In spite of the efforts of the ambassadors, before they had left Constantinople, which they did upon the 8th of December, nothing could be gained beyond an offer of a general amnesty to the Greeks. Had the allied fleets proceeded at once to Constantinople, which was the wish both of Sir Stratford Canning and of Codrington, it is probable that they might have put an end to the war with Greece, and have succeeded in carrying out at least one part of the London Treaty, by saving Turkey from the invasion of Russia, which now became inevitable. As it was, England had in fact only handed the country up, weakened by the loss of its fleet, to the hands of that power. The weakness of the Goderich Government prevented such efficient action, and the accession of Wellington to office rendered it still more impossible. True to his Tory traditions, while pretending to continue the policy of Canning, he fell back upon the words of the London Treaty, which were no doubt intended to be pacific. The speech at the opening of Parliament, on the 29th of January 1828, mentioned the battle of Navarino in somewhat disparaging terms as "the untoward event," which it was hoped would not be followed by further hostilities, and the Duke himself declared that the preservation of the Ottoman Porte as an independent and powerful state was necessary to the wellbeing of this country. In fact, he suffered the matter again to fall back into negotiations. England kept out of war, and Russia was allowed to overrun Turkey, to take Adrianople (Aug. 20, 1828), and from thence to dictate terms which left the Porte for ten years at least defenceless in their hands. Among the terms demanded by Russia was

Goderich's
inaction renders
the victory
negatory.

Wellington
retains his
alliance with
Turkey.
1828.

necessarily the independence of Greece. The limits were arranged by the three powers in London. Neither Turkey nor Greece were allowed a voice in the matter; the frontiers were fixed, and a monarchical form of government established; the crown for a while went begging; it was declined by the Saxon Prince John, and by Prince Leopold (May 1830), subsequently King of the Belgians, nor was it till the year 1832 that Otho of Bavaria, a lad of eighteen, was found to undertake a post which offered almost insuperable difficulties and but very little honour.

The Duke of Wellington had been no doubt first called to the Premiership for the purpose of continuing as far as possible the system of the Tories. His conduct as head of the Government was so peculiar that it would scarcely have been tolerated in a less influential man. He regarded his office as he would have regarded a military command,—a trust not lightly to be laid down. He fought till his opponents became irresistible and then suddenly retreated, without thinking it necessary to resign office on account of his defeat. This view of his duty had the same practical results as the most determined place-hunting, and reduced his Government to that most dangerous form of weakness which consists in driving opposition to irresistible extremes, and then suddenly yielding to pressure. This peculiar tendency to give up his opinion and yet retain office was visible at the very outset. He had taken the Premiership, although a few months before he had declared himself wholly unfit for it; he had formed a mixed Government, though his views and those of the King were in favour of a united one. His next concession was upon the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. In the first session of 1828, Lord John Russell moved for a Committee upon those Acts. Canning had always withstood their repeal; the Duke and Mr. Peel were known to share the late minister's opinion. But when a majority of forty-four in a full House decided in favour of Lord John Russell's Committee, the leaders of the Government accepted their decision, and declared themselves satisfied with the substitution of a declaration that the incoming office-holder would do nothing to injure the Church, instead of the old sacramental test. After a lengthened and bitter opposition, led by Lord Eldon in the Upper House, the Bill was carried. The old Chancellor's view of the conduct of Government was very unfavourable. "They began in the Commons," he said, "by opposition, and then ran away like a parcel of cowards."

Character of
Wellington's
Government.

Repeal of the
Test and
Corporation
Acts.
May 1828.

The second important Bill of the session was the Corn Bill, to be substituted for that which Wellington had himself succeeded in throwing out in the preceding session. Here again he yielded to circumstances. Entirely leaving his previous standing-ground, the Premier now supported the Bill on exactly the same principle of duties on a graduated scale as that he had previously thwarted. The fixed point in the scale was a few shillings higher, but in principle the Bill was identical.

The resignation of Huskisson and his friends. May 1828.

No doubt the necessity for such concessions was very irksome to the Duke, and, as before mentioned, an opportunity soon occurred for ridding himself of the more liberal members of his Cabinet, whose pressure he had been unable to resist. On a trivial question as to the disposition of the seats of two disfranchised boroughs Huskisson had thought it his duty to vote against his colleagues. It had been before settled that the question should not be a Cabinet one; but Huskisson, while still under excitement, thought it right to send the Duke a letter offering to retire should the Premier wish it. The Duke seized his opportunity, treated the letter as an absolute resignation, would listen to no explanation, and obliged Huskisson to resign. With him went Palmerston, Dudley, Lamb, and Grant; their places were filled with Tories, and the Government seemed at length thoroughly homogeneous.

The Catholic Emancipation question.

Yet the establishment of this Tory Cabinet was followed almost immediately by a far greater concession than any of the preceding ones, in the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. The Government had been constituted as far as possible on a Protestant basis. It was known that the King was strong in his anti-Catholic propensities. Although a small majority in the Commons had, on the 8th of May, declared in favour of bringing the question to a settlement, and although both the Chancellor and the Prime Minister had confessed, while opposing the motion successfully in the Lords, that they saw no way at present out of the great difficulty, thereby apparently implying a wish for a settlement, the declarations both of Wellington and of Peel gave little hope of any relaxation of the disabilities. But meanwhile events were occurring which rendered some settlement obviously necessary. There was indeed a general and growing feeling that a question which in the last thirty-five years had ruined more than one Cabinet, which was in fact uppermost in all men's minds at the time of every new ministerial arrangement, and which had

kept Ireland permanently uneasy, could no longer be left uncertain. Events were now occurring in Ireland which would have rendered the further postponement of the settlement little short of madness.

The agitation in that country, which had almost subsided during the administration of Canning, a well-known supporter of the Catholic claims, and which had only slightly revived during Goderich's administration, broke out

Renewed agitation in Ireland.

again in full force when the hostile ministry of Wellington came into office. The law for the suppression of the Association would expire in the coming July, and meanwhile, keeping within the limits of the law, for all practical purposes the organization remained alive. The last general election had opened the eyes of the leaders of the Association to a new and irresistible source of power; it had proved that the power of the priests was in some cases stronger than that of the landlords. In their eagerness to secure their parliamentary influence, the landlords had followed the disastrous plan of breaking up their estates into small forty shilling freeholds, taking advantage of the low franchise which existed in Ireland. Several instances had occurred in which the tenantry had broken loose from their landlords, and at Waterford, among other places, they had proved themselves too strong even for the great Beresford interest. What had then been done in a few instances it was the intention of the Association to carry out in a large scale, and great efforts were made to secure the votes of those who were known as the Irish "forties" in the coming general election. The anger of the proprietors thus assailed in their strongholds was very great, and class animosity reached a terrible pitch. The power of the Association was soon brought to the test. With the rest of the Canningites, Grant, President of the Board of Trade, had resigned; his place had been given to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, member for Clare, whose re-election thus became necessary. Aware that, even if they succeeded in excluding the Government candidate, the election of a Protestant representative would be of no great value to them, the Association determined to strike a great blow, and to bring forward O'Connell himself to dispute Mr. Fitzgerald's seat. His triumph was complete; after a few days' polling Mr. Fitzgerald withdrew. But more wonderful and more terrible than his mere success was the admirable discipline and order with which it was obtained. Lord Palmerston thus narrates the event:—"The event was dramatic and somewhat sublime. The Prime Minister of England tells the Catholics in his speech in the House of Lords that if they will only be perfectly

Election of O'Connell for Clare. June 1828.

quiet for a few years, cease to urge their claims, and let people forget the question entirely, then after a few years perhaps something may be done for them. They reply to this advice, within a few weeks after it is given, by raising the population of a whole province like one man, keeping them within the strictest obedience to the law, and by strictly legal and constitutional means hurling from his seat in the representation one of the Cabinet ministers of the King. There were 30,000 Irish peasants in and about Ennis in sultry July, and not a drunken man among them, or only one, and he an Englishman and a Protestant, O'Connell's own coachman, whom O'Connell had committed upon his own deposition for a breach of the peace. No Irishman ever stirs a mile from his house without a stick, but not a stick was to be seen at the election. One hundred and forty priests were brought from other places to harangue the people from morning to night, and to go round to the several parishes to exhort and bring up voters. . . . All passed off quietly. The population of the adjoining counties was on the move, and large bodies had actually advanced in echelon, as it were, closing in upon Ennis, the people of one village going on to the next, and those of that next advancing to a nearer station, and so on." The sheriff and his assessor declared that the election was legal, the only obstacle to O'Connell's appearance in the House being the oaths he would have to take on his admittance. It was determined to follow up the success. O'Connell declared that Catholic representatives must be elected for all the counties of Ireland. The funds of the Association, which assumed its old form in July on the expiration of the suppression law, were partially devoted to the support of those on whom the vengeance of the landlords fell; and not content with declaring the necessity of the election of Catholic members, the Association drew up certain pledges to be required of all future Catholic candidates. These consisted in a promise to be the determined opponents of the ministry of Wellington and Peel till it granted Catholic emancipation, to support religious and civil liberty, to procure a repeal of the Subletting Act (which was an attempt to restrain the minute subdivision of property), and to support a reform of Parliament.

The power the Association had already exhibited, and its determination to have those representatives whom it should elect thus closely bound to pursue the line of conduct it dictated, much increased the dread with which it was regarded. Symptoms were already visible of the influence it might exert; only ten

*Influence of the
Association.*

days after the establishment of the pledges (Aug. 2), Mr. Dawson, Peel's brother-in-law, and himself in the Administration, after a lively picture of the enormous power of the Association, concluded with the unexpected assertion, that as this power could not be crushed it ought to be conciliated. Coming from such a source the assertion was received as a certain proof that the cause of the Catholics was winning its way. Consequently the efforts of the Association were pressed forward with redoubled zeal. Parochial clubs were established, and great aggregate meetings held in various parts of Ireland. Mr. Shiel, one of its most ardent supporters, thus describes the condition of Ireland under its influence:—"Does not a tremendous organization extend over the whole island? Have not all the natural bonds by which men are tied together been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society which exist elsewhere gone? Has not property lost its influence? Has not rank been stripped of the respect which should belong to it? Has not an internal government grown up, which, gradually superseding the legitimate authorities, has armed itself with a complete domination? Is it nothing that the whole body of the clergy are alienated from the State, and that the Catholic gentry and peasantry and priesthood are all combined in one vast confederacy?" His description was true; the Association was omnipotent, and in nothing did it show its power so much as in the complete restraint it held over the excitable people. Faction and faction fights disappeared; crime of a graver sort almost vanished; and though the people were drilled and brought into something resembling military organization, although they were eager to know against whom they were to fight, the influence of the Association restrained them from all demonstrations likely to provoke hostilities, and on one occasion a few words from O'Connell at once broke up and dispersed a body of 50,000 men. This was the more admirable as the temper of the Protestants had naturally been roused, and Brunswick clubs had sprung up, to take the place of the Orange organization, which do not seem to have been as self-restrained as the Catholics. During the whole of this time the Duke was painfully making up his mind to his retreat. The peculiarity of his action was that he became absolutely silent; so complete was his silence, that Mr. Shiel thus describes the situation:—"The minister folds his arms as if he were a mere indifferent observer, and the terrific contest between Protestant and Catholic only afforded him a spectacle for the amusement of his official leisure; he sits as if two gladiators were crossing their swords for

his gratification: the Cabinet seems to be little better than a box in a theatre from which his Majesty's ministers may survey the business of blood." Indeed, so strangely reticent was the Duke, that he ceased to correspond at all with his Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Anglesey. Uninstructed from home, Lord Anglesey, who was a Liberal, and inclined to the emancipation, naturally followed the dictates of his own opinions, and rendered the conduct of the Government almost treacherous from the indirect support he gave to the Liberals, while his chief in London was supporting the opposite party. The inevitable consequence was that he shortly committed an indiscretion which necessitated his recall. His place was taken by the Duke of Northumberland, a strong Tory.

Peel, the most influential member of the ministry next to the Premier, had already, since the Clare election, arrived at the conclusion that the solution of the question could no longer be postponed, and that only one form of solution was possible. The election of Catholics, while still unable to sit in Parliament, would deprive Ireland of its representation. So important an event as O'Connell's election could not possibly pass unnoticed and the question be left unmoved. With the present House a high-handed repression of the Association was impossible; were it attempted by a new House a civil war was inevitable; there remained but a third course—to give way. Early in August 1828, Peel had stated this opinion forcibly to the Duke, and told him that he considered that an attempt to settle the Catholic question was a lesser evil than to continue to leave it open; at the same time he wished himself to resign, and to leave the bringing in of the measure to other hands. Although aware of the penalty he should be called upon to pay for this change of opinion, the attacks to which he should be subject, and the loss of friends, he was at length persuaded by Wellington, who felt it impossible to carry on the Government without him, to retain his place. Peel's representations had had their effect upon the Duke's mind, and he was by degrees becoming convinced that further obstruction was impossible. During the autumn he learned to see that his choice lay between the reconquest of Ireland, the repeal of the Union, or the emancipation of the Catholics. He could not hesitate which of the three to choose. But though his own mind and that of his colleague were made up, great difficulties lay in the way of the execution of their plans, the chief of which was the temper of the King, who had now begun to

Resignation of
Lord Anglesey.
Jan. 1829.

Peel and
Wellington see
the urgency of
the Catholic
question.

declare that he, like his father, was troubled with conscientious scruples. At length, in January, the King consented that the question should be brought before the Cabinet. The two ministers found little or no opposition, and it was determined to take in hand the final settlement of the question. Accordingly, in the royal speech at the opening of Parliament (Feb. 5), it was stated that measures must first of all be taken to establish authority by the destruction of the Association, and that then the whole condition of Ireland should be taken into consideration, with a view to altering the laws so as to remove civil disabilities from his Majesty's Catholic subjects. The speech came as an unexpected blow to the high Tories, but immediate discussion was postponed at the request of the ministry till the actual Bill could be introduced in its completed form. Meanwhile the preliminary measure for the destruction of the Association was brought in. Its necessity was however forestalled by the clever tactics of the Irish, who dissolved their Association before the Bill obtained the force of law. Having declared his change of opinion, Peel, who throughout acted as honourably as circumstances would allow, thought it incumbent on him to resign his seat for Oxford, which he no doubt owed chiefly to his supposed anti-Catholic views. The events of the election proved that he was right, the seat was contested by Sir Robert Inglis, who was elected by a considerable majority. Peel found a seat at Westbury.

The coast seemed now clear for the great measure, but the King made a final stand. The very day before the Bill was to be introduced (March 4), he sent unexpectedly for Wellington, Lyndhurst, and Peel, declared he had been misunderstood, withdrew his sanction, and asked what they now intended to do about Ireland. In fact he had been incessantly worked on by the Tory Lords who had access to him; and, weak and miserable, apparently thought that the fear of offending him might even yet postpone the measure. Peel at once declared that nothing remained for him but to resign. The Duke and the Chancellor expressed the same intention, and they left the presence of the King, who bade them a most friendly farewell, in the belief that the ministry was at an end. Late at night Wellington received a letter, in which the King said that he was convinced of the impossibility of forming another ministry, and begged them to remain. Knowing his weak character, it was only on receiving express leave to declare that the measure was brought in with his consent that they agreed to remain, and it was with the assertion that he was acting in full accordance

Opposition of
the King.

with the King's wishes that Peel began his speech. The proposed Bill was of a sweeping but simple character. It substituted a new form of oath for the old oaths of supremacy, allegiance, and abjuration; thus, if a Catholic bound himself to support the State and not injure the Church, he could sit in either House of Parliament, had a perfect equality with his Protestant neighbours, and was eligible for all offices, civil, military, or municipal, with the exception of the office of Regent, of Lord Chancellor, of Viceroy of Ireland, or royal commissioner of the General Assembly of Scotland. From offices connected with the Church, or participation in Church patronage, he was naturally excluded. The second point of the Bill was the position to be occupied by the Roman Church. It was to be left as a dissenting community, unendowed and unrestricted, but the use of episcopal titles, the increase of monks, and the introduction of more Jesuits, were forbidden. This Bill for the remission of all restrictions was to be coupled with another for the establishment of certain securities, the chief of which consisted in the raising of the franchise to £10. In a long and careful speech Peel explained his views, and vindicated his change of policy. The same course was pursued by Wellington in the Upper House, where he alleged that the chief grounds for his present conduct was his horror of civil war, which he regarded as inevitable. "I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war, and I must say this, that if I could avoid by any sacrifice whatever even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. There is nothing which disturbs property and wellbeing so much, which so deteriorates character as civil war, and that, my Lords, would have been the event to which we must have looked, that the means to which we must have had recourse." As was natural, there was a strong opposition, but in both Houses Canningites, Whigs, and Ministerialists combined to swell the majority; on the first reading it numbered 188, on the second 180. Not one amendment was carried in Committee, and the Bill finally passed by a majority of 178 in a House of 452. In the House of Lords it was as favourably received, and on the 10th of April it was passed on the third reading by 213 to 209. There was yet one more struggle, in which the King played a pitiful part. Lord Eldon relates two interviews he had with him, in which George seemed inclined to deny that he had ever

Introduction of
the Bill.
March 6, 1829.

The Bill passed.
April 1829.

authorized his ministers to bring in the Bill, and to represent himself as forced to consent by repeated threats of resignation. Lord Eldon was honest enough to say, after he had seen written evidence of the fact, that the King's consent had been given, and that it could not now be withdrawn, and the interview closed in the midst of petulant and childish exclamations of anger on the part of the King. Lord Eldon probably hoped that in spite of what he had said there might be still some delay, but the royal assent was at once given, and the Bill became law on the 14th of April.

The Bill for the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders passed at the same time as the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and received the royal assent with it. The conduct of O'Connell, who quietly allowed the passing of this Bill, caused much surprise. "The forties" had been his best supporters, he had pledged himself in the strongest language to support their claims, but he quietly allowed them to be disfranchised. It was strange how little commotion so sweeping a measure produced. A few of the more advanced reformers of England regarded it as an enormous price paid for a still greater advantage. But in fact the quarrel had been rapidly assuming the form of a division of races, and the English Catholics, without whom the measure could not have been carried, were far more anxious for the equality of their Church than for the enlargement of Irish liberty. To O'Connell the question assumed a different shape. Although he repeatedly declared that the passing of the Bill would quiet Ireland, he by no means intended that such should be the case. With him the question was far more Irish than Catholic, as was soon made evident by his conduct. He presented himself to take his seat in Parliament (May 15), and offered to take the new oath, but as he had been elected while the old law was in force, it was held that he was still under its requirements. With excellent temper and ability he argued his case, which was however given against him, and a new writ for Clare was issued. His return was unopposed (July 30), yet he allowed himself the utmost freedom of language, abused with all the powers of his invective the English Government, and gave it clearly to be understood that he meant to continue the struggle till it should end in the repeal of the Union. These preliminary operations took so much time that it was not till the next session that he could take his seat. From this time onwards it is impossible to regard him as the champion of a good cause; he sank into the position of a demagogue, exciting the people for an impracticable object, which he must have

O'Connell
agitates for
the repeal of
the Union.

known no English statesman or English Parliament could possibly grant.

The interest of this Catholic Bill had been so absorbing that little else had been thought of, but when that obstacle was once cleared away, there was room to consider what was equally important, the foreign policy of the Government, in which there was much to excite the anger of the Liberal party, and to raise a belief that where Wellington could act without pressure his sympathies were in accordance with the system of Castlereagh rather than with that of Canning. While holding strictly to the principle of non-intervention, he appeared to use it so as to throw its advantages almost entirely upon the side of arbitrary power. It was the affairs of Portugal, of Greece, and of France which chiefly required his attention.

John VI. had at length come back from South America to attempt to establish his power in Portugal in 1821. During his absence Brazil declared itself independent, and put Don Pedro, John's son, upon the throne with the title of Emperor. On the death of John in 1826, Don Pedro was called to the throne of Portugal also. He had to choose between his South American and his European dominions. He preferred to remain in Brazil. He therefore gave a constitution to his Portuguese subjects, and then abdicated in favour of his young daughter Maria. For a while his sister acted as Regent, but in February 1828 Don Pedro thought it better to quiet his ambitious brother Miguel by appointing him Regent, and guardian of his niece, to whom he was to be ultimately married. Miguel always declared his intention, as was of course his duty, to uphold the constitution, which had been supported by English troops sent, it will be remembered, by orders of Canning, but had been opposed by a strong party of absolutists, and had not produced any marked improvement in the condition of the country. The priests, the nobility, and the soldiery were deeply infected with dislike to the constitution. In January 1828, just after Wellington had assumed the reins of power, Miguel had visited England for the purpose, it was understood, of studying the working of the constitution, and had voluntarily declared that if he violated the constitution in his own country he should be a perjured usurper. After some delay he accepted the constitutional oath, but with circumstances which made it doubtful even then whether he intended to keep it. So obvious were the signs of his intention to usurp the throne, that when Wellington determined to recall the English troops

Wellington's
foreign policy.

Affairs of
Portugal.

as though their duty was now completed, the English ambassador on his own authority retained them. Their retention was but temporary. On the 2nd of April they were recalled, although the Chamber of Deputies had been suddenly dissolved in the middle of March; for Wellington, clinging to the narrowest interpretation of the principle of non-intervention, held that the troops were sent to guard Portugal against foreign invasion, and not to be used in party quarrels. Their departure was almost immediately followed by open riots in favour of the absolutists. Restrained for a short time by the threat that all the ambassadors would leave his Court, on the 3rd of May Miguel began to throw away disguise. He summoned the three ancient estates of the realm instead of the new constitutional Parliament, and signed the decree as King Miguel I. This act of usurpation was followed by the withdrawal of all the ministers except those of Spain and Rome. A violent reaction set in, the uneducated masses, the aristocracy, and the clergy had it all their own way, and raised a general cry against the Freemasons, as they were pleased to call the Liberal party. While Miguel was planning his usurpation of the throne the act of abdication on the part of Don Pedro was finally completed, and the young Queen set sail for Europe. She was at first intended to visit her uncle the Emperor of Austria; but the news of what had happened in Portugal induced her guardians to bring her to England, where she was received with all the honour due to a queen both by the ministers Wellington and Aberdeen, and by King George himself. Meanwhile the government of the reactionists in Portugal had been marked by much violence and contempt of law. In the beginning of October, in the prisons of Lisbon alone, there were 2400 prisoners, of whom 1600 were confined for political crimes. The total number of prisoners throughout the kingdom amounted to upwards of 15,000, among whom were forty-two members of the Chamber of Peers and seven members of the Chamber of Deputies; and so unrestrained was the wickedness of Miguel that he even attempted the life of his sister, the late Regent, because she refused to give up to him some of her jewels.

The withdrawal of the troops from Lisbon on the one hand, and the recall of the English minister and the acknowledgment of the young Queen on the other, appeared to be in accordance with the strictest rules of neutrality. At the same time it was obvious that that neutrality as yet had been

Miguel usurps
the throne.
May 1828.

Queen Maria
acknowledged
in England.
Sept. 1828.

Wellington's
adherence to
the principle of
neutrality.

entirely in favour of Don Miguel. The principle had yet to be put to harder trials; a number of Portuguese refugees of the constitutional party were assembled in England, headed by the Marquis Palmella, the Portuguese ambassador, and General Saldanha, late constitutional War Minister. Besides their continental dominions, the Portuguese possessed the islands of the Azores; and although the islands had declared for Donna Maria, and therefore might be supposed to be under the protection of the English, Miguel had been allowed to capture Madeira, and had attempted, though unsuccessfully, a similar attack upon Terceira. In expectation of a repetition of this effort, application was made to the Portuguese in England for assistance. A body of between 3000 and 4000 men, the relics of an insurgent army which had attempted in vain to prevent Miguel's usurpation, had been kept together at Plymouth, but the representations of the usurper had been listened to, and the Duke had ordered that they should be distributed throughout England. Rather than submit to this, Palmella proposed to send them to Brazil; but Wellington, mistrusting their intentions when once they had left England, declared his intention of placing them under the escort of the English fleet. On receiving the application from Terceira, Palmella, seeing an opportunity for employing his countrymen usefully, determined to send them thither, but unarmed, to avoid any breach of the neutrality of England; and, in spite of the avowed intention of Wellington to prevent this step by force, in the beginning of January 1829 the expedition actually sailed under Saldanha. Some English frigates were sent to prevent a landing, and fired upon the leading vessel. Saldanha then retired to Brest. Thus in the eyes of the Liberals not only had the Duke been impartial, but he had fired upon an expedition fitted out in favour of a sovereign acknowledged by and at peace with England, and who intended to make good her possession of an island of which she was at the moment actually Queen. Such an interpretation of the duties of neutrality, especially considering the bitter tyranny under which Portugal was groaning, afforded good grounds for the anger of the English Liberal party.

In the affairs of Greece the same determination under no circumstances to draw the sword was obvious. While the French sent an army to the Morea and rescued the peninsula from the Turks, and while Russia pursued her victorious course towards Constantinople, the English clung tenaciously to the peaceful side of the Treaty of London. Their negotiations were so far successful that Russia consented not to act as a belligerent

Non-intervention in the affairs of Greece.

in the Mediterranean, but the power of Turkey was none the less annihilated from the north. Meanwhile Wellington seemed chiefly bent in restraining the French from advancing beyond the Morea, and in curtailing as far as possible the limits which the powers intended ultimately to fix for the new kingdom of Greece.

In respect to France the effect of the sympathies of the English Government were perhaps rather fancied than real. The reactionary tendencies of Charles X.'s minister, M. de Villèle, and the contest in which he had engaged with the press had excited so much discontent, that the ministry had been compelled to resign in January 1827. There were in France three parties, the moderate royalists, of which Villèle was nominally representative, the ultra-royalists, and the liberals. On Villèle's retirement a colourless and inefficient ministry was called to office, and found itself opposed by a coalition between the liberals and the ultras. At the beginning of 1829 the most important and able of the ministers, De Peyronnet, retired. It was supposed that his resignation would break up the ministry, unless it was much strengthened by the admission of some new element; the arrival from London of Prince Polignac, a friend of Wellington and a strong royalist, was thought to mean that the English minister was using his influence to insist that the required strength should be derived from the introduction of a strong royalist element, and that an attempt should be made to rule France upon more strictly monarchical principles. The ministry however for the moment continued unchanged, but found itself in a complete minority in the Chamber of Deputies, and was defeated in an attempt to reform the departmental and municipal governments. Its plan ostensibly aimed at reducing the power of the prefects, who were government nominees, by the establishment of municipal councils, but in fact it secured the ascendancy of the more aristocratic part of the nation in the local government by rendering a high qualification necessary for the electors to these councils. So obviously inefficient had the ministry proved itself to carry on the business of the state, that immediately on the close of the session it was dismissed. But the King had no idea of replacing it by a more liberal Cabinet; his thoughts turned rather towards repression, and he summoned the ultra-royalists to his ministry. While the new appointments were received with absolute distrust and dislike in France, they met with nothing but praise from the London journals; so clear did the connection between the Cabinets of the two countries appear, that

The Revolution in France.

Supposed influence of Wellington in Polignac's appointment.

the nickname of the Wellington Ministry was given to Polignac's administration.

It was a time of much depression both in trade and agriculture, and general discontent became prevalent. The mistrust with which the ministry was regarded was strengthened by the repeated and not always successful press prosecutions which were undertaken. It was even feared that, as the Chamber of Deputies was certainly hostile to the ministry, some attempt would be made to set aside the charter and to obtain a more favourable Chamber by unconstitutional means. But things had not yet reached that pass. The old Chamber was quietly opened on the 2nd of March with a speech in which the King, in the usual language of a constitutional ruler intending to have recourse to unconstitutional means of repression, after expatiating on the excellent condition of the country, went on to assert that if obstacles to the Government should arise, which he as yet did not foresee, he should find strength to overcome them in the loyalty of his people. The covert threat was not lost upon his audience; the address moved in the Lower House expressed the prevailing mistrust. Concurrence between the sovereign and the interests of his people was, it declared, the necessary condition for the good working of the charter; that sympathy was now broken, the administration had acted, and was continuing to act, as though the people were disaffected. The King was intreated to choose between his faithful Parliament and these evil counsellors. Charles did not refuse to receive the address, but stated in reply to it, that though grieved to hear that sympathy between himself and his people no longer existed, he had no intention of receding from his former view. The next day the Chamber was summarily prorogued, the first instance since the restoration of so strong a measure, and in May dissolved, a new Parliament being summoned for August. The elections went constantly against the Government, in spite of an attempt to rouse the love of glory in the people by an expedition to Algiers, and of a personal address by the King, who begged the electors to rally round him for the support of the royal prerogative. "It is your King who requires this of you, it is as a father he summons you, do your duty and I will do mine," were his closing words.

Their ill success in the elections reduced the ministers to a dilemma. They must either resign or again meet a hostile Parliament, or (a third alternative) proceed in some unconstitutional way. To all outward appearance they intended to pursue the second course, and the deputies actually set

Increasing
opposition to
the French
ministry.

Unconstitu-
tional conduct
of the French
ministry.

out on their journey towards Paris. Polignac and his friends had hoped to purchase leave to carry on the Government in their own way by introducing a popular budget, while the eyes of the people were dazzled by the military successes in Algiers. Finding this out of the question, at the last hour they determined upon an unconstitutional act. On the 21st of July, three ordinances were introduced to the Council, with an explanatory memorial. This memorial declared that the charter contained no promise of protection to the periodical press, and that the periodical press had been injurious, especially to the military affairs in Algiers, and that it must therefore be suppressed; while the highest duty of Government (its own preservation) authorized the setting aside of the charter, when all efforts to secure a favourable house had been exhausted in vain. The three ordinances suspended the liberty of the periodical press, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and altered, to suit the views of the Court, the structure of the chamber hereafter to be chosen.

The ordinances were kept a profound secret, and were given to the *Moniteur* to publish at midnight on the 25th of July. Their effect was an immediate outbreak, headed by the opposition newspaper editors. A protest, signed by forty-four of them, was issued on the 26th, declaring that the Government had forfeited its right to obedience. There was a panic on the Exchange, and all things promised a revolution, the success of which could scarcely be doubtful, as the army was deeply infected with disaffection, and there were not more than 6000 trustworthy troops, under the command of Marmont, himself inclined to constitutional views. However, the ministry seem to have persuaded themselves that the effervescence was temporary, and on the 27th an attempt was made to suppress the protest of the press; the printing offices were closed, and while the police hammered at the doors unaided by the lookers-on, the papers were distributed by thousands from the upper windows. The case even came before one of the courts of law, as one of the printers was sued for breach of contract for refusing to print; the Tribunal of Commerce declared that the ordinance, being against the charter, could not be binding. So highly-strung a state of public feeling could not last long. Some deputies had assembled to discuss how they should act; the electors of Paris sent to them, and begged them to assume the command of the movement, asserting that the insurrection was already begun, the armourers' shops had been cleared, and that other signs of immediate revolution were visible. The deputies postponed their reply till the following

Outbreak of
the Revolution.

morning; by that time the people had taken the law into their own hands. On all sides barricades were being rapidly thrown up; the Hôtel de Ville was seized, the tricolour flag hoisted, and the tocsin rang, while the troops were distributed in various parts of the town. Marmont, who knew the temper of the army, despatched a messenger to the King at St. Cloud to urge upon him the necessity of concession. The ministry was in permanent session in the Tuileries, and a state of siege having been declared, Marmont became head of the Government. With him the populace tried to treat. Himself inclined to peace, he could only answer that his orders were to use force. He however offered to send another messenger to St. Cloud; the reply brought was to concentrate his forces, and to act with masses. The answer, which implied the suppression of the revolt at all hazards, was quite useless—the soldiers had rapidly deserted; those who kept to their allegiance had not been supplied with food, and weary and dispirited, were gradually withdrawn. The uproar continued all night, and fresh barricades were hourly springing up. On the 29th the same scenes continued, the troops constantly fraternizing more and more with the mob, and in the afternoon Marmont found himself obliged to march with all the troops he could collect to St. Cloud to secure the safety of the King. It seems that up to that evening Charles

Abdication of
Charles X.

and his courtiers still believed that they had only an émeute to encounter, but the next day, as no good news arrived, the King found himself gradually deserted, and at three in the morning of the last day of July himself drove off. When he heard that Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, had accepted the post of Lieutenant of the kingdom, he made a final effort to save his dynasty by abdicating in favour of his grandson, the Duke of Berri. The step was entirely fruitless; he was recommended to withdraw quietly. He took the advice, repaired to Cherbourg, and arrived at Spithead on the 17th of August. After some residence at Lulworth, Charles accepted the hospitality of the English King, who had offered him the use of Holyrood House.

In the midst of this revolution, George IV., who had for some years been seriously ill, and who since the trial of his wife had withdrawn himself much from public observation, died. His danger had been hidden from the people, probably at his own request. But on the 26th of June he died, a victim to a complication of diseases which had rendered his later years miserable.

Death of
George IV.

Throughout the last session of the reign Wellington had occupied a position which could not long be maintained. There was no doubt that an earnest effort might immediately have driven his administration from office. He had broken with the old high Tories by the Catholic Emancipation and by his financial policy. He had quarrelled with the Canningites by insisting upon the resignation of Huskisson. He had indeed made some approaches towards the Whigs, and admitted both Scarlet and Lord Roslin to office, but his views rendered it impossible that any real union with them should be thought of. He thus stood absolutely alone, allowed to remain in office chiefly because men thought him the only minister fit to deal with the vacillating and unprincipled King, and because a speedy change on George's death was expected. Consequently the session was passed in somewhat meaningless discussions, and in attacks to which the arbitrary and self-confident character of Wellington laid him open. Though the settlement of Greece was finally completed, his foreign policy, as we have seen, which seemed to aim at little else than at keeping things exactly as they were, met with little approbation. Attacks against the press in which he engaged seemed at once somewhat to lower his dignity, and to give openings for the assaults of the Liberals. His financial measures, although he effected a saving of upwards of a million in the payment of the Civil Service, diminished but little the weight of taxation, while continued disturbances in Ireland, and widespread discontent and misery among the working-classes, especially in the silk trade, threw gloom over all the country.

Review of
Wellington's
administration.

His isolated
position.

WILLIAM IV.

1830-1837.

Born 1765 = Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, 1818.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	Austria.	Spain.	Portugal.
Charles X., 1824.	Francis II., 1792.	Ferdinand VII., 1813.	Miguel, 1828.
Louis Philippe, 1830.	Ferdinand, 1835.	Isabella II., 1833.	Maria, 1834.
Prussia.	Russia.	Denmark.	Sweden.
Frederick-William III., 1797-1840.	Nicholas, 1825.	Frederick VI., 1803-1839.	Charles XIV., 1818-1844.

POPES.—Pius VIII., 1829. Gregory XVI., 1831.

Lord Chancellors.

April 1827. Lyndhurst.
Nov. 1830. Brougham.
Nov. 1834. Lyndhurst.
April 1835. In Commission.
Feb. 1836. Cottenham.

Chancellors of the Exchequer

Jan. 1828. Goulburn.
Nov. 1830. Althorp.
Nov. 1834. Wellington.
Dec. 1834. Peel.
April 1835. Spring Rice.

First Lords of the Treasury.

Jan. 1828. Wellington.
Nov. 1830. Grey.
July 1834. Melbourne.
Nov. 1835. Wellington.
Dec. 1834. Peel.
April 1835. Melbourne.

Secretaries (Foreign and Home).

Nov. 1830 { Palmerston.
 { Melbourne.
July 1834 { Palmerston.
 { Duncannon.
Nov. 1834 { Wellington.
 { Wellington.
Dec. 1834 { Wellington.
 { Goulburn.
April 1835 { Palmerston.
 { Russell.

IT was perhaps fortunate that George IV. was succeeded by a man of very different character, whose simplicity and geniality speedily made him as popular as his brother had been the reverse. The little care with which he preserved the outward forms of dignity shocked the older Tories; the freedom with which he admitted men of both parties to his table and his Court seemed to promise a reign conducted on constitutional principles and without party bias on the part of the Crown. The popularity

of the King was at the time of great importance, because the excitement of the days of July in France spread rapidly over Europe, especially in Belgium and Poland, and met with great sympathy in England. Had an unpopular monarch been upon the throne the Crown might easily have been involved in the quarrel with the people.

In Belgium the revolutionary spirit assumed the form of a national desire on the part of the French-speaking Belgians to sever themselves from the Dutch kingdom to which they had been attached by the Treaties of Vienna. There was good ground for their discontent. The King of the Netherlands, a clever but injudicious man, had failed to fulfil his engagements, and had ruled entirely in the interests of the Dutch part of his kingdom. The liberty of the press granted by the constitution had been superseded by a royal ordinance, intended to be temporary, but still remaining in force; a judicial system by which the judges were the nominees of the Crown had superseded the enactments of the constitution, by which the judges were elective and irremovable; the King had twisted the clause recommending to his care the interests of education to mean that education should be entirely in the power of the Crown; the French language had been proscribed in all public acts, and business had to be carried on in Dutch; an undue proportion of the taxes was laid upon Belgium, and Protestants were chiefly employed both in public and educational offices, though absolute equality of religions had been guaranteed. There is no need to explain the grievances of the Poles. Destroyed as a nation, divided recklessly among their powerful neighbours, it was only too natural that they should at once accept any hope of freedom.

In England the Revolution in France met with universal sympathy and admiration. Among those classes which of late years had been in a constant state of discontent, it was accepted as an example to be at once followed. But the orderly and self-restrained manner in which the change in France had been effected had a far different and more important effect than this. It seemed to show the possibility of great and thorough changes being carried out without the excesses which had hitherto accompanied revolutions, and had frightened the well-to-do middle classes from any co-operation with the more eager and innovating working-men. It seemed possible that the great question, which had been almost crushed by the French wars and by the lengthened tenure of office

Effect of the
July Revolution
in Belgium
and Poland.

Effect of the
July Revolution
in England.

Character of
William IV.

by the Tories, might be revived and brought to a successful conclusion without opening the flood-gates of social anarchy. Parliamentary reform was at once taken up by the Whigs and by the great middle class of England, who determined to try whether they could not win it in some less objectionable form than it had assumed in the hands of radical demagogues.

In the midst of this renewed excitement both on the Continent and in England, the ministry of Wellington, cut off from its old friends and disowned by those whose policy it had been enforced to adopt, stood as representative of the bygone system. The minister, though he had already so frequently yielded to the pressure of circumstances, was regarded as the friend of Polignac, the fallen French minister. His foreign policy read by this light seemed to be directed entirely to uphold the principles which had actuated the Tory Government at the time of the Vienna Treaty. He was known to be at heart an enemy of all change, and his conduct was therefore watched at this crisis with extreme anxiety. It was felt at the time, and has since been confessed, that his ministry during the last session had existed only by the toleration of its enemies. With the death of the King the chief necessity for retaining the Duke in his position had disappeared, and the time seemed to have arrived for sweeping away the Government, which was merely obstructive and bent at the best in keeping things exactly as they were. The dissolution which necessarily followed the accession of the new King afforded the Duke's enemies the opportunity they required. In the midst of much excitement, for the reformers had already begun to cover the land with associations, the elections took place, with a result disastrous to Government. There was a loss of at least fifty Government seats. While the Liberals made extreme and successful efforts in places where the elections were open, the Tory proprietors of boroughs, in their hatred to Wellington, whom they regarded as their betrayer, brought in anti-ministerial nominees. The temper of the people was shown by the election of Brougham, voluntarily and without expense, to the representation of Yorkshire, by the loss of their seats by two brothers and a brother-in-law of Peel, undoubtedly the most important member of the Government after the Premier, and by the fact that of the eighty-two representatives of English counties not more than twenty were ministerial. Such a change no doubt offered much hope for the peaceful and parliamentary character of the constitutional advance which it seemed now impossible to avoid.

Position of
Wellington's
ministry.

But there were still great dangers threatening the country. In Ireland O'Connell was spending all his energies in preaching the necessity of repeal, and heaping fierce and unmeaning words of hatred upon the ministry. He had re-established the Association under the name of "The Friends of Ireland," and when the Irish Government declared this illegal, it assumed a new form as the Society of Irish Volunteers. The lower classes were in a state of wild excitement, and their belief in their leader was not checked by the inconsistency with which he now extolled the Revolution in Belgium and in France, though hitherto, in his love of Catholicism, the Catholic and Jesuit-loving Bourbons had been the main subjects of his praise; nor did even the want of courage with which he refused to give satisfaction for the insults he had heaped on Lord Hardinge injure him with his followers. In October it was found necessary in Tipperary to take means for suppressing an outbreak by the use of the soldiery. In England events bearing a strong resemblance to the opening of a revolution began to be visible. The breaking of machines both in manufacturing and agricultural districts, and worse than that, in the South of England rick-burning, became constant. No efforts and no rewards could arrive at a true knowledge of the perpetrators of this crime. The farmers were kept in a constant state of nervous anxiety. A certain number of people were apprehended and hanged on the charge, but any man was still liable to find his ricks, in spite of all his care, suddenly and mysteriously bursting into flames. In London, too, the old demagogues began to make their appearance. Hunt and Cobbett were again haranguing crowds and filling their minds with hopes of social equality. Meanwhile the ministry took no step to declare its intention, and made no advances towards strengthening itself by union with any other party. It seemed indeed possible for a moment that the Duke would again yield, readmit the Canningites to his party, and produce some very moderate reform. If such a plan existed, it disappeared after the death of Huskisson. On the 15th of September a number of guests, among whom were the Minister, were asked to attend the opening of the first great railway in England, running between Manchester and Liverpool. The train, in which the guests were, stopped for water at Parkside. Several gentlemen left their seats, and a mutual friend brought Huskisson to the carriage where Wellington sat to attempt a reconciliation. The door was open as the old friends greeted each other warmly. Suddenly a

Danger from
O'Connell's
agitation for
repeal,

and from rick-
burning.

Death of
Huskisson.

train came up upon the other line, there was a cry of "Get to your seats;" flurried and unable, apparently, to pass the open door, Huskisson fell across the line, and was so severely injured that he died the same evening. The rest of Canning's followers, although their great leader had been an enemy to reform, at once made it plain that they had joined the Opposition.

It was thus, with unusual anxiety as to the conduct to be expected from the ministry, that the opening of Parliament on the 2nd of November was awaited. The worst enemies of the Duke could scarcely have hoped for a more ill-judged production than the King's speech. There was no sign that the very critical state of the country was even acknowledged. The change of dynasty in France was mentioned and accepted, the unpopular policy of the Government with regard to Miguel praised, the civil war in Belgium spoken of in terms of severe reprobation, and a determination expressed to uphold the present political system; the disturbed temper of the people in England and Ireland was mentioned with indignation, and the firm purpose of Government declared to repress it by every means in their power. Of recognition of the necessity of listening to what had now become the expressed wish of the nation there was not a word. If anything could be wanted to strengthen the impression caused by the speech, and to make it clear that the ministry was more conservative than ever, it was afforded by Wellington's words in the debate on the address in answer to Lord Grey's recommendation that some plan of reform should be undertaken. He declared his belief in the perfection of the legislative system. It possessed the full and entire confidence of the country; he was not therefore prepared to bring forward any measure of reform, and might declare at once that "as long as he held any station in the government of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." It was a challenge to the reformers which was speedily answered. On the same night Brougham announced his intention of bringing forward a motion for reform on the 16th, and on that night the fate of the ministry must have been decided. In the interval before the critical day the excitement of the people was so great that the King's visit to the

Parliament.
Nov. 2, 1830.

City had to be postponed, because Wellington was afraid to accompany him unless under a strong armed escort. But before that day arrived the ministry found an opportunity for resigning. Among the topics of the speech was the reform of the Civil List. On the 15th Sir Henry Parnell brought in a motion for

a Select Committee; the ministry opposed it on the ground that no further economy was possible, and being beaten by a majority of twenty-nine, after taking one day to consider, announced on the 16th that their resignation had been accepted, and thus saved themselves from defeat on the more momentous question of reform. During the formation of the new ministry Brougham's motion was postponed, and it was almost immediately known that he had passed into the Upper House as Lord Chancellor, and that the first business of the new Government would be the production of a Reform Bill.

At such a crisis it was impossible that any statesman except Lord Grey should be intrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. Now nearly seventy years of age, he had been the prominent leader in every attempt at parliamentary reform for the last forty years. He found no difficulty in selecting his ministers. As far as talents and debating power went the Liberal party was very strong; it was not yet discovered that the long absence of the party from office, and its consequent ignorance of the routine and traditions of official work had rendered most of its members rather weak administrators. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was given to Lord Althorp, a most amiable and excellent man, a steady partisan of reform and retrenchment, but of an easy and not very vigorous character. Lord Lansdowne was President of the Council; Lambton, now become Lord Durham, Grey's son-in-law, was Lord Privy Seal; the Secretaryships were supplied from the ranks of the Canningites; Palmerston, Melbourne, and Goderich were respectively Foreign, Home, and Colonial Secretaries. Charles Grant was President of the Board of Control. Holland, Auckland, and Graham were also in the Cabinet. In office, but not of the Cabinet, were Lord John Russell as Paymaster-General, and Mr. Stanley, subsequently Lord Derby, as Secretary for Ireland.

Formation of
Lord Grey's
ministry.

The duty which this ministry undertook was by no means a light one; for though it was plain that reform in some shape or other could no longer be delayed, its introduction was beset with difficulties, of which the greatest was by no means the opposition to be apprehended from the open opponents of the measure. Any advance towards a fair representation was certain to meet with the strongest opposition from men who regarded any change as revolutionary, and saw a diminution of their own interests in the slightest attacks upon the system of nominee boroughs. But such bigoted and selfish opposition might certainly sooner or later be overcome. A far greater danger was to be found

Difficulties
attending
reform.

in the exaggerated hopes which had been fostered for many years among the suffering artisans, who had been taught by their leaders and demagogues to ascribe all their miseries to the want of fair representation. No measure which a ministry, aristocratic in its character as the present ministry was, could introduce, no measure which could satisfy the intelligent middle classes, to whom social change was almost as abhorrent as to the Tories, could fail to cause disappointment to the hopes of the lower classes; and when they found how little practical relief they would gain by the measure, there was only too much danger lest the revolution of which the opponents of the measure were so fond of talking might really come into existence. Signs of popular discontent were, as has been already mentioned, clearly to be seen. Rick-burning still continued its course in the South, and trades unions in their most aggravated form, and accompanied by murder, had made their appearance in the manufacturing districts. Extreme measures, such as the issuing of a special commission in the disturbed districts, were urged upon the Government; but Lord Grey replied that he considered the regular powers of the Government, if properly used, were sufficient for all purposes. In fact, the ministry understood that the contest was not an ordinary parliamentary one; it was scarcely to be expected that of its own free will the House of Commons should accept a Bill which must exclude many of its members from their seats; it was as the spokesmen of a great national wish that the ministers regarded themselves, and they intended to rely upon the nation for their support. Not only did they therefore refrain from any exceptional measures for the suppression of disturbance, they also allowed to pass unquestioned the legality of the numerous political unions which, following the example of the Union of Birmingham, of which Mr. Attwood was the president, had sprung into existence all over England, and which aimed at bringing into some sort of harmony the demands of the wealthy and poorer classes. The ministry had in fact determined to use all expressions of the national temper, even when verging upon breaches of the Constitution, to forward what they conceived to be the great healing measure which the evils of the times demanded. The struggle thus assumed a far more dignified form than that of an ordinary political question. In its first stage it was the people, as usual with aristocratic leaders, who demanded and insisted upon their will being heard by the Lower House. When that House had been reconstituted, and become favourable to the popular claims, it was the people speaking by the voice of their constitutionally chosen

representatives, supported by an irresistible and probably unconstitutional action from without, which engaged in a life and death struggle with the aristocracy, clinging tenaciously to their ancient privileges.

On the 3rd of February, when the Parliament reassembled, the intention of the ministry to produce a measure of parliamentary reform in both Houses was made known. The day for its introduction was fixed for the 1st of March. The interval was passed in Parliament in the ordinary business of the session, and in the introduction of a budget which, betraying as it clearly did a tendency towards the policy of Huskisson in favour of the manufacturing industries, was received with an opposition which showed the temper of the House, and which would probably under ordinary circumstances have caused the fall of the ministry. But it was understood that it was upon reform and upon no other question that the fate of the Government depended. Without the walls of Parliament agitation was vigorously at work. Petition after petition for and against the approaching measure was prepared, and the whole country was upon the tiptoe of expectation when on the appointed day Lord John Russell made his statement as to the character of the Bill. Although it has since been found necessary more than once to enlarge it, at the time the completeness of the Bill surprised even the friends of Government, while it seemed to its opponents little better than an ill-timed jest. As in all Bills for reform of the representation, there were two points to be regarded: in the first place, to secure that the representatives of the people should be really representatives and not nominees; in the second place, to secure by the arrangement of the franchise that they should as far as practicable represent all classes of the nation. On the first of these points the Bill was complete, with very few exceptions rotten boroughs were entirely swept away; it is on the second point that subsequent legislation has been found necessary. The Bill as originally presented destroyed at once sixty rotten boroughs, but with regard to the franchise and the distribution of seats, as will be seen subsequently, it showed considerable favour to the counties, that is to the landed interest and to the middle classes, excluding entirely the artisan class, which, when its members are prosperous and possess property, is one of the most valuable elements in the constitution of the nation. As Lord John Russell read the list of disfranchised boroughs, he was greeted with shouts of laughter and ironical cries of "Hear" from the members who represented them. The debate on the first reading continued for seven nights; the chief objection raised was that the

Reception of
the Reform Bill
March 1, 1831.

balance of the Constitution would be changed and the power of the House of Lords diminished. It was, however, passed without division, the struggle being deferred to the second reading. Although its deficiencies were obvious enough to the advanced reformers, the importance of securing the one great step in advance which it promised in the annihilation of rotten boroughs caused its general acceptance, and "The Bill and nothing but the Bill" became the watchword of the Liberal party in England. There was considerable disturbance, as was to be expected, throughout the country, and in anticipation of a strong opposition many of the political unions came to the formal determination that, if necessary, they would refrain from paying taxes, and would even march to London; they issued lists showing the numbers on which they could count, and it began to be plain that, if constitutional means failed, the Bill would be carried by unconstitutional pressure.

The second reading at length came on, and in the fullest House ever known, 608 members being present, the ministry secured a majority of one. Precedent would have demanded their resignation, but regarding themselves as charged with a great national duty they kept their places, and all England illuminated at the news. The next process was to pass the Bill through Committee, and there the weakness of the Government at once disclosed itself. They were defeated by a majority of eight on a clause for reducing the whole number of members, and three days afterwards the House refused to go into a question of supply. The ministry, determined to bring matters to a crisis, regarded this, not without some exaggeration, as a refusal of supplies, and declared that they could do nothing but resign; but the King, as yet true to them, refused their resignation, at the same time expressing a very strong wish not to dissolve the House. As the Parliament was now in its first session, this wish of the King was by no means unnatural, yet only by a dissolution could the ministers and the Reform Bill be saved. They themselves subsequently declared their belief that this was the real crisis of the question. The Opposition also felt the importance of the moment, and through their leader, Lord Wharnccliffe, moved an address to the King, remonstrating against the intended dissolution. What the arguments of the ministry had been unable to effect was done at once by this ill-judged piece of violence, which the King considered an attack upon his prerogative. He immediately declared his determination to dissolve the House. The

The second reading of the Reform Bill. March 21.

Dissolution of the Parliament. April 22.

scene of excitement in the Lords has rarely been equalled when he suddenly made his appearance and demanded the presence of the Commons. An equally tumultuous scene had been going forward in the Lower House, the Speaker had himself been unable to obtain a hearing. At the summons of the Usher of the Black Rod, the Commons appeared at the bar of the Upper House, and were at once told by the King, in an unusually cheerful and firm tone, that he had come there for the purpose of proroguing them, with a view to immediate dissolution, in order to ascertain the sense of his people on the question of representation.

The dissolution thus taking place in the midst of the violent and strongly-organized agitation of the nation, virtually secured the passing of the Bill, although a long and dangerous period of contest had yet to be passed. That the mob should break out here and there in riots was inevitable; but it was the firm and determined attitude, not of the rioters, but of the great body of intelligent non-electors, which really influenced the elections. In all directions reformers were successful. Six county members only were opposed to the Bill, and when in July the second reading came on, the ministers found themselves in a majority of 136. Manifestly outnumbered, the opponents to the measure had recourse to an irritating form of warfare. Every single detail was fought over in Committee. There was a hope that, as the summer went on, the patience of members would be tired out, that the session must either be terminated or an accidental victory be snatched from the Government. So weary was the nation of the lengthened delay, that the political unions held a meeting to settle how much longer they would wait, but the question was too important to allow of any laxity on the part of its supporters, and on the 7th of September the report of the Committee was brought up. On the 21st, after another debate of three nights, the Bill passed the Commons by a majority of 109. Its fate now rested with the Peers, and they were not long in showing how they meant to deal with it. On the first reading it was thrown out by a majority of forty-one. The opponents of the measure fondly hoped that its fate and that of the administration were now sealed, but the Lords had not yet secured a victory. Indignant at the rejection of their Bill, the Commons at once passed a vote of confidence in the ministry, and all fear of their resignation was thus removed.

The Bill passes in the Commons. Sept. 23.

The Bill rejected in the Lords. Oct. 8.

But the indignation of the Commons was nothing to that of the people at large, who saw the measure from which they hoped so much snatched from them by the votes of a few wealthy and important men, who in no sense represented them, and whose opposition bore in the popular eye all the appearance of a selfish struggle for an exclusive and injurious privilege. Again the disorderly mobs of London and other large towns broke out into riots, but the number of rioters was usually few, and many of them were known as belonging to the regular criminal and ruffianly class. Of these riots the most important was that which occurred in Bristol on the 29th of October. The occasion was the public entry of Sir Charles Wetherell, a bitter opponent of reform, into the city, of which he was recorder. It afforded another instance of the mismanagement of the local magistracy. A mob, which seems never to have reached a thousand in number, took possession of the town for two days, broke into the mansion-house, and got drunk in the cellars, and then, undisturbed, and after giving full notice of their intention, set fire to Queen's Square, and burnt two sides of it to the ground. The military had been in the town all day; at length they proceeded to act, and re-established order with little difficulty, though with some loss of life. Their commander was Colonel Brereton. The mayor and magistrates had weakly given him but a general authority to act on his discretion, willing no doubt to shift the responsibility to his shoulders. A man of kind heart, he had shrunk from acting without more distinct authority; he had tried his best to calm the crowd by friendly means, which only increased their confidence and encouraged them with hopes of impunity. He was tried by court martial, and, unable to face the prospect of a slur on his professional character, committed suicide. But far more important than these

Consequent
riots in the
country.

riots was the constantly increasing vigour shown by the organized action of the political unions. Hitherto left untouched by the Government, they now proceeded to measures which clearly brought them under the action of the law. The London Radicals held a great meeting on the 31st of October in Lincoln's Inn Fields, presided over by Sir Francis Burdett, when a National Union was established, intended to draw together the various unions of the country, and to form a central directory of delegates. Before the meeting separated, it was plain that some of its members were ready to go much further than the unions had yet gone, and the Metropolitan Union summoned a meeting for the 7th of November, and issued a programme demanding the abolition of all hereditary

privileges and distinctions of rank. On this occasion the Government acted quickly and wisely. Lord Melbourne received a deputation of the Union, and persuaded them to postpone their meeting, and shortly afterwards, on the 22nd of November, a proclamation was issued for the suppression of such political clubs.

This proclamation is believed to have been put forward at the instigation of the King, who had been much frightened by the riots at Bristol, and was constantly worked upon by the ladies of the Court, who were strong anti-reformers. His support could be no longer relied on by the ministry, and at this time his help was more especially necessary, as it began to dawn upon men's minds that nothing short of a large creation of Peers could overwhelm the obstinate majority of the Upper House, and secure the passage of the Bill. As the last Bill had been rejected, before the fight in the Upper House could be recommenced the whole work had to be gone through again in the House of Commons. It was not long delayed there. Brought in by Lord John Russell on the 12th of December, it finally passed the Commons by a majority of 116 on the 23rd of March. On the 14th of April the second reading of the Bill in the Lords took place, and it became apparent that a certain number of the Peers had taken fright at the threatened increase to their numbers, and had begun to recognize the danger of their obstructive policy; the ministry succeeded in obtaining a majority of nine.

Opposition of
the King.

The Bill passes
on the second
reading in
the Lords.
April 14, 1832.

The 7th of May, after the Easter holidays, was the day fixed for the Committee on the Bill. The holidays were well used by the reformers outside Parliament. Monster meetings were everywhere held, and the Political Union of Birmingham, which held the first rank among the popular organizations, appointed a great meeting of all the unions of the counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford for the same day as the opening of Parliament. The recess was not less eagerly employed by the anti-reformers; his Tory friends, his courtiers, his wife, and his sisters, worked upon the King's mind; he was persuaded to refuse the creation of Peers, and to try once more what coercion could do in suppressing the national ferment; the Duke of Wellington was applied to, and orders to keep the troops in readiness were sent to various parts of England, especially to Birmingham. Thus, when the day arrived, while 150,000 men assembled at Newhall Hill in Birmingham were swearing with bare heads and raised hands, "With unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote

Preparations
during the
recess.

CON. MON.

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ourselves and our children to our country's cause," Lord Lyndhurst, who had been most active in organizing the present opposition, had contrived to secure a majority of thirty-five in the House of Lords for a motion postponing the disfranchising clauses of the Bill.

The Bill rejected
in the Lords.
May 7.

The antagonistic forces seemed to have come to a final issue, from which there was no escape except by the creation of Peers, a measure as repugnant to the aristocratic feeling of Lord Grey as to the King. The Prime Minister, however, explaining the situation, demanded of the King the one necessary step. He was refused, and resigned. His resignation was accepted, and the Duke of Wellington was sent for to attempt to form a Conservative ministry. At the same time things had gone too far for complete repression, and the Duke was instructed to form a ministry which would introduce some extensive measure of reform. The news of the fall of the ministry was received in fierce anger by the whole people. The papers came out in mourning. The National Union decreed that whoever should advise a dissolution was a public enemy. Petitions praying that no supplies should be granted till the Bill was passed were signed in a few hours by many thousands of people, and sent to London, where they were joyfully received by the House of Commons. The great Birmingham Union made preparations to march to London 200,000 strong, and encamp on Hampstead Heath. Two insurmountable difficulties met the Duke of Wellington, and prevented the inevitable ruin which must have followed his success. It became clear to him that the military could not be trusted, that repression by force was out of the question, and he could find no Conservatives sufficiently courageous

The old ministry
returns to office.
May 15.

to join him in the ministry. The King was obliged again to have recourse to his former ministers. It was plain to the Lords that further opposition was useless, and would lead only to a public proof of the powerlessness of their resistance by the creation of new Peers. They therefore wisely attended to a circular letter from the King himself, begging them to withdraw their opposition. Wellington left the House, and was followed by about a hundred other Peers; the Bishops in a body withdrew their opposition, and the Bill was finally carried by a considerable majority.

The measure as passed was not and could not be final, but it was a wide, comprehensive and judicious beginning. The chief evil of the representation had been the

Description of
the Reform Bill.

existence of nomination and rotten boroughs; of these 56, having less than 2000 inhabitants, were disfranchised, and 111 seats left vacant. Thirty boroughs, with less than 4000 inhabitants, were each deprived of one member; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis lost two. There were thus 143 seats to dispose of. Of these 65 went to the counties, an arrangement which showed the still unbroken power of the landed aristocracy, twenty-two large towns received the right of returning two members, and 21 the right of returning one. The remaining 13 were left for Ireland and Scotland. The second evil was the very irregular and restricted franchise. In some towns the freemen alone elected; in others the suffrage was almost universal; the whole number of electors on the roll was very small. A uniform £10 household franchise was now established in boroughs, but, as a concession to the rights of vested interests, freemen of corporate towns who resided within the borough, and who had been created before 1831, were allowed to retain their votes. In the counties copyholders and leaseholders were added to the constituencies, and by a clause introduced by the Marquis of Chandos, and carried in opposition to the Government, tenants at will paying a rent of £50 were also enfranchised. In this point again the landed interest showed its power, as such tenants were only too liable to be influenced by their landlords. At the same time, to decrease the disorders and expenses of elections, the duration of the poll was shortened. The period of fifteen days during which in county elections votes could be taken was restricted to two in England and to five in Ireland. Along with the English Bill, Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland were also produced and passed. In Scotland the representation had been far more imperfect than in England; it was now wholly remodelled. The county franchise was given to all owners of property, and long leaseholders of the value of £10 a year, and even to tenants for shorter periods paying a rent of £50; in the burghs the same £10 franchise was established as in England. The number of burgh representatives was changed from fifteen to twenty-three. The number of county members remained the same as before, but with some slight difference in distribution. To Ireland four additional boroughs were allowed, the counties there remained the same. But considerable discontent was caused by the adoption of the £10 freehold franchise in the counties, which very much restricted the number of the electors, from whom it will be remembered that till quite lately a 40s. qualification only was required.

Thus was completed, after a delay of nearly an hundred and fifty

years, the second act of the English Revolution. Incomplete and aristocratic in its character, the movement of 1688 yet established the superiority of Parliament as a whole, and its predominance over the royal power. From that time onwards the Government had been in the hands of the aristocracy, from whichever of the political parties the members of the administration had been drawn. The attempt of George III. to re-establish the power of the Crown had been attended with some success as long as it was supported by the good wishes of the people. Events had allied him with a party bent on the repression of all popular movements and of all constitutional growth. Submissive during the war, the people on the return of peace had been aroused to a sense of the injury under which they suffered by their exclusion from all share in the Government. Events in France had brought their discontent to a climax, and they had now at length gained possession of that part of the Legislature which had long pretended falsely to represent them.

But although the change effected by the Reform Bill at first sight appears to have been political, it was in fact social. It was the introduction of a wholly new class of society into the duties of Government. The aristocratic classes, which had hitherto had the monopoly of power, were forced to admit to an equality with themselves the middle class, which the progress of society, and the wonderful advance of material improvement during the last half century, had raised to a position so important that its claims could no longer be withstood. Its victory had been secured by a twofold alliance. On the one hand it had taken advantage of the real wants of the classes below it, and of the social ideas which had been called into existence by the French Revolution; it had not scrupled to employ the modern arts of agitation, or to bring what cannot be regarded in any other light than as an unconstitutional pressure to bear upon Parliament. On the other hand it had worked constitutionally by an alliance with one of the governing classes, namely, the Whigs. Long exclusion from office had as usual made this party alive to the existence of abuses, the defensive and obstructive attitude of the Tories had reawakened its desire for constitutional growth, and the philosophy and writings of the time, especially those of Bentham and of the authors of the *Edinburgh Review*, had taken considerable hold of its leading members. The Whig Government therefore, with complete honesty, and in the midst of considerable danger and difficulty, accepted the alliance which the middle classes offered it, and honourably fulfilled its share

Importance of
the measure.

Introduction of
the middle
classes to
power.

of the compact. Now that the great Bill was passed, it remained to be seen how far the Whigs were willing to forego their old aristocratic prejudices, and how far their strength would allow them to oppose the pressure of the extreme Radicals, whose alliance they had been forced to accept along with that of the middle class.

It was with the utmost anxiety that the character of the first reformed Parliament was watched. There was a general feeling of terror throughout England. Timid investors began to seek securities for their money in America or Denmark. There was a constant apprehension of a coming revolution which might resemble that in France; a feeling which was not appeased by occasional acts of violence throughout the country, and a fierce and dangerous assault by the London mob upon the Duke of Wellington himself. It is possible that in any other country such a revolution might have resulted; but the practical character of the English mind, which prevents it from being carried away by a passionate desire for ideal benefits, the wide diffusion and extremely strong love of property, the firm and dignified attitude of the nobility, the loyalty with which the really active part of the Tory party accepted the change and determined to make the best of it, secured tranquillity for the country during its passage through the dangerous crisis. It may also be reckoned as no small advantage to the cause of order, that the English Radicals found themselves thrown into the company of O'Connell and the Irish agitators; the clamour for repeal, the lawless violence which showed itself in the sister island, and the unscrupulous character of the demagogue who represented it, gave a strength and unity to the moderate Whig party which it would otherwise have wanted. At the same time the twofold connections and interests of the Government could not but, sooner or later, prove a cause of weakness. Their aristocratic tendencies, which remained unabated, prevented them from throwing themselves heartily into the wishes of their more popular supporters, and laid them open to the constant suspicion of an inclination towards Toryism. Their dependence on the popular party compelled them to take in hand many difficult questions for the solution of which the nation was clamouring. They had therefore to be constantly steering a middle course, and assuming an appearance of weakness which rapidly undermined their popularity, while the two tendencies which they represented, affecting the individual members of the Cabinet in different degrees, speedily led to a division among themselves. It is for these reasons that the work of the first reformed Parliament,

Anxiety as to
the effect of
the change.

great as it was, has an appearance of weakness as compared with the burst of popular reform which might have been expected after so great a change.

When Parliament assembled it appeared that the Whigs had on the whole a very large majority; but, besides an active and important body of Tories headed by Sir Robert Peel, there were a considerable number of Radicals, of whom Hume may be regarded as the leader, and the Irish members, for the most part the mere nominees and puppets of O'Connell, from whom opposition might be expected. There were changes both in the appearance and character of the House; the average age of the members was visibly increased, and it was evident that there would be more individual opinion, less distinctly party voting, and a greater necessity for convincing argument to ensure a majority. It was plain, too, that with much less of oratory there would be a far greater quantity of talking; and as the Government, in the King's speech, promised to introduce a number of very important Bills, it was found necessary greatly to lengthen the hours of business. At the same time, as there were no less than three hundred new members in the House, it was thought advisable to reappoint the old Speaker, Mannors-Sutton, although he was a Tory in politics, a step which at once excited the displeasure of the more advanced Liberals.

The questions most generally occupying men's minds, and which it might be supposed would at once become prominent, were the disturbed and wretched condition of the poor, as evidenced by the late riots and constant rick-burning; the position of the Church; slavery; and the national relations to foreign countries, especially Belgium and the Peninsula; but, before all, the condition of Ireland, and the maintenance of the Protestant Church in that country.

It was the Irish question which became at once the most important, and which ultimately caused the fall of the ministry. It was understood that some measures of coercion would be necessary to restore tranquillity in that country, but that they should go hand in hand with measures of reform and relief. As though to render the coming Coercion Bill more palatable, Lord Althorp, on the 12th of February, introduced a Bill for the regulation of the Irish Church. Since the Catholic Emancipation Act the state of Ireland had been becoming constantly worse. Instead of accepting the Act in a conciliatory spirit, O'Connell had used it as a stepping-stone for further demands, and had continued his course of

Character of
the reformed
Parliament.
Jan. 29, 1833.

Critical questions
to be settled.

Condition of
Ireland.

agitation. He had been prosecuted in 1831, had pleaded guilty to holding illegal assemblies, but by the carelessness of the Whig Government he had escaped without punishment. His present demand was repeal, but the outrages which filled Ireland were either agrarian or connected with the tithes; and O'Connell skilfully managed, while by his agitation he continually kept up the discontent, to keep clear himself of any participation in the violence of his countrymen. Of course the repeal of the Union could not be for a moment thought of, but the Government could not deny that the position of the Irish Church and the collection of tithes for its support were real grievances.

In a country of which the population was somewhat over seven millions, there was established a dominant Protestant Church, the members of which numbered 853,000 only. It had a staff of no less than four archbishops and eighteen bishops, many of them with very large incomes, and a body of clergy supported principally by tithes, exacted not only from its own members, but from the six million and a half Catholics. To make matters worse, the tithe was paid by the tenants, and, as the land was infinitely subdivided, in minute sums which rendered its forcible exaction most irksome and ridiculous. In many instances a man's tithe was a farthing, and in some cases not more than seven parts of a farthing. So vexatious and unjust a tax was certain to cause exasperation. In 1831 the collection of tithes became almost impossible; the collectors were murdered, the police who came to the rescue fired upon, cattle driven off that the tithe might not be paid, and the clergy were consequently reduced to such a miserable plight that some of them were actually brought to the verge of starvation. But in spite of the glaring anomaly of the existence of the Church at all, and of the ill-feeling and violence excited by the exaction of the tithes, neither Lord Grey nor Mr. Stanley, his Secretary for Ireland, could bring themselves to think of any wide measure of reform, so great was their dread of touching property or vested interests, or of in any way injuring the Church. In February 1832 committees were appointed to inquire into the system. They reported that the complete extinction of tithes by a commutation or charge upon the land was absolutely necessary. The Irish took this as an authorization of their proceedings; the outrages increased, and a system of terrorism was established, which precluded the possibility of bringing the assassins and rioters to justice. In June the Government had adopted a plan which in fact made matters worse. They

Position of the
Irish Church.

authorized the advance of £60,000 to the Irish clergy, who were unable to collect their tithes, and took upon themselves the duty of collecting former arrears, at the same time promising that the tithe commutation should be undertaken. A Bill to this effect was passed, rendering commutation necessary for a term of twenty-one years. Other Bills providing for the redemption of the tithe were unfortunately allowed to stand over to the next session. But Government had now made itself a tithe collector, and was so inefficient in that capacity that it had subsequently to allow that of £104,000 due £12,000 only had been levied, and that with some loss of life.

In the year 1833 a new arrangement was consequently attempted.

*Irish Tithe
Composition
Bill passed.
Aug. 28, 1833.*

The whole amount of arrears for the last three years amounted to about a million. This sum the Government proposed should be advanced by an issue of Exchequer bills, to be repaid gradually by a general land tax. As there seemed only too much probability that the land tax would be refused with as great determination as the tithes, most people regarded this sum as a mere gift to the Irish clergy. The Government was, however, able to pass the Bill. The final settlement of the tithe question was postponed for several years; meanwhile the violence which attended the attempts at collecting the tithes were the chief cause of the necessity of the Coercion Bill.

But the tithes, though the immediate cause of the disturbances, were only a part of the whole Church system; it was the Church itself which was the primary cause of the evil, and in the measure for the relief which was to accompany the Bill for the repression of disturbance, the ministers addressed themselves to lessen the more glaring defects of that institution; but at the same time they were as little disposed to injure the Church as the Tories themselves, and one of the chief objects of the proposed legislation was the improvement of the position of the clergy. It was thought that while the lessening of the hierarchy and the removal of some of the anomalies exhibited by the Church would be pleasing to the Irish, the Church would itself gain strength by the proposed changes. Besides the payment of tithes, a church cess, for the support of the buildings and expenses of the services, was paid indiscriminately by members of all religions, but managed by Protestant vestries. The annates, or firstfruits of livings, had been originally employed for these purposes, but in process of time had almost disappeared; such benefices as were still subject to them were to be now freed, a graduated tax was to be laid upon all livings,

*Althorp's Irish
Church Bill.
Feb. 1833.*

and with the produce the Church cess was to be extinguished. This was a direct boon to the Catholics. Another common complaint was the disproportion between the number of bishoprics and the Protestant population; it was now proposed to destroy ten of these bishoprics, or rather, as the ministry was careful to explain, not to destroy but to consolidate them with those which remained. The incomes of some of the larger bishoprics were also curtailed; the surplus money thus arising was to be paid into the hands of ecclesiastical commissioners. Thus far there was not much objectionable in the Bill, though the Tories and High Churchmen of England disliked the destruction of so many sees. But there was a further measure, which opened the door to grave opposition. It was proposed to change the terms on which church lands were let so as to improve the position of the tenant without injuring the clergy. The tenant would be willing to pay for this advantage, and the sum thus gained was calculated at between two and three millions. This money would, as the mover of the Bill expressed it, be available for the purposes of the State. This had all the appearance of an act of confiscation, the property of the Church was to be taken and applied to purposes not ecclesiastical. But the Irish Secretary had as strong a view as the Tories of the sanctity of Church property, and the danger of tampering in ever so small a way with the rights of property. It was therefore found necessary by the supporters of the Bill to invent a theory to secure unanimity in the Cabinet; it was argued that the sum derived from the change of tenure did not exist before, but would be created by the present act of the Legislature, that it was therefore not Church property at all, and might be applied to the purposes of the State. The Bill in this shape was introduced by Lord Althorp on the 12th of February. It at once appeared open to objections on two sides. While O'Connell and the Irish scoffed at the relief, which consisted only in removing the church cess, and the English Radicals declared that instead of twelve bishops one was amply sufficient for the needs of the Irish Protestants, the Tories, refusing to recognize the delicate line between Church property and money gained by the Legislature from Church property, raised the cry that it was but a first step in confiscation, and threatened not the security of Church property only, but that of all other property. It appeared necessary to choose between the views of one or the other of these sets of critics, and in spite of his own views, Lord Althorp consented to be governed by the Conservative element in the Cabinet and to withdraw what was called the

appropriation clause. The removal of this clause, which contained the only important principle in the Bill, the right, namely, of Parliament to apply Church property to the wants of the State, rendered it so like a Tory measure, that with the assistance of that party it passed without difficulty in both Houses (July 30).

But three days after the introduction of the Irish Church Bill in the House of Commons, Lord Grey introduced into the House of

The Coercion Bill introduced Feb. 15, 1833, carried March 29.

Lords its complement, the Coercion Bill. Here again the absence of broad liberality in the ministry was apparent. It was conceived in the spirit of the most absolute government, and implied a distinct determination to make no attempt at pacification by liberal concessions. It was the work of Mr. Stanley, the Irish Secretary, a man of great ability and vigour, but without much sympathy for the Irish character, and, as his subsequent career proved, at heart a Tory. There was no difficulty in making out a case for the Bill. A narration of a few of the crimes which had of late filled Ireland with horror made it evident that something must be done. In the province of Leinster alone, in the three months July, August, and September, there had been 1279 crimes, in the following three months the number had risen to 1646. During the year the catalogue of Irish crimes contained 172 homicides, 465 robberies, 568 burglaries, 454 acts of houghing cattle, 2095 illegal notices, 425 illegal meetings, 796 malicious injuries to property, 753 attacks on houses, 280 arsons, and 3156 serious assaults: in all upwards of 9000 crimes connected with the disturbed state of the country. Well might Mr. Macaulay say that he "solemnly declared he would rather live in the midst of many civil wars he had read of than in some parts of Ireland at this moment." It was not the number of crimes alone which rendered them terrible; they were carried on upon a system by which such terror had been excited that it was impossible to get juries to convict even after the clearest proof, or witnesses to give evidence as to what they knew. At the same time, the leaders of the people were teaching them, in public meetings and in assemblies of the so-called Association of Volunteers, to regard themselves as the victims of every form of oppression. To meet such a state of things it was proposed to place in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, in accordance with the Proclamation Act of the 8th of George IV., 1828, power to suppress every meeting or association which he regarded as dangerous to the preservation of peace, under whatever name it might call itself, and further to declare any district to be in a disturbed state, which was then to be regarded as a proclaimed district; its inhabitants were

to be confined to their houses from an hour after sunset till sunrise, the right of meeting and petitioning was withdrawn from them without leave of the Lord Lieutenant, and they were placed under martial law. The Bill further gave power to enter houses in search of arms, forbade the distribution of seditious papers, and suspended the Habeas Corpus in the proclaimed districts. The Bill passed without difficulty in the House of Lords, where it was in harmony with the general feeling. In the Lower House it was introduced on the 27th of February by Lord Althorp, who, while corroborating the accounts of the outrages in Ireland, could not help showing his dissatisfaction at the extreme severity of the Bill. Not so Mr. Stanley, who, with the fiery vehemence which characterized him, turned upon O'Connell, and overwhelmed him with a flood of bitter invective, carrying the House completely with him, and securing the passage of the Bill, which was also most ably supported by Sir Robert Peel and his friends. Its effect was immediate and most satisfactory. Within a week of its passage the Marquis of Anglesey, who had returned to his office on Grey's accession to the ministry, had suppressed the Association of Irish Volunteers, the town and county of Kilkenny were then proclaimed, but so effective was the mere dread of the measure, that it was never found necessary to hold a single court-martial in the district, and within two months there was a decrease of two-thirds in the general list of crimes. A rapid rise in the funds showed that the moneyed public at least were pleased with the vigorous measure.

Mr. Stanley's share in the Bill, the severity of his views with regard to Ireland, and the personal bitterness between himself and O'Connell, rendered his further tenure of the office of Secretary undesirable. He was moved to the Colonial Office, from which Lord Goderich, now become Earl of Ripon, withdrew to accept the Privy Seal, while Lord Durham, who had hitherto held that office, retired from the ministry (March 12). Mr. Stanley was succeeded by Sir John Cam Hobhouse, who however only held the office for two months, and was in turn succeeded by Mr. Littleton (May). The withdrawal of Lord Durham, although attributed and partly due to ill-health, was probably caused principally by the growing divisions in the Cabinet. The Conservative tendencies of the Prime Minister and the severity of the Irish Act were not in accordance with Lord Durham's advanced liberalism. The shortness of Hobhouse's tenure of office may be traced to somewhat similar causes, or at least to the decrease of the popularity of Government. In company with several others he had at the late elections pledged himself to vote for the repeal of the house and

Changes in the ministry. March 1833.

window tax. In April the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp, brought in his budget. By careful economy, the abolition of sinecures, and the reduction of the public expenses, he was able to show a surplus of about a million and a half after replacing the deficit of the former year. This surplus he intended to employ in reducing some taxes which he regarded as particularly heavy, such as those on soap, on marine insurances, and some of the assessed taxes. But he impartially refused to listen either to the outcry of the towns for the abolition of the house and window tax, or to the clamours of the agriculturists against the malt tax; he regarded them both as necessary sources of revenue. The carelessness of Government subjected it to a temporary defeat on a subsequent motion for the reduction of the malt tax to one half. Though the defeat caused great irritation to the ministers it was speedily retrieved. A motion against the house and window tax was also brought in, and Lord Althorp, in opposing it, argued that the removal of either tax alone would be an unfair advantage to one or other of the rival interests, and that the removal of both was impossible; he introduced an amendment to the effect that the reduction of the malt tax and the repeal of the house tax would necessitate a general property and income tax, and a change in our financial system. As this amendment was carried, both the taxes were retained; but the ministers could not but feel that they owed their success to the support of their enemies, and the popular indignation was great. Hobhouse, unable to vote against Government, and thus to redeem his pledge, felt it incumbent on him to resign both his place and seat. On appealing again to his constituents at Westminster he was rejected for Colonel de Lacy Evans, a more advanced Liberal. The same thing happened in the cases of Dr. Lushington and Mr. William Brown in the Tower Hamlets and Southwark. A great indignation meeting, attended with some violence, was held near Coldbath Fields, and several great towns passed resolutions to the effect, that the ministers, by violating the constitution of Ireland, refusing to inquire into the public distress, continuing the house and window tax, and by forcing the whole malt tax, already once repealed, upon the nation, had betrayed the confidence of the people.

Thus in all directions the power of the Government was decreasing; they were divided among themselves, and gradually losing the popularity of the country. Yet they were still able to carry out successfully some of the duties they had set themselves to perform; before the close of the session they had

Weakness of
the ministry.

renewed the Bank charter, settled the affairs of the East India Company, and completed the emancipation of the slaves.

The last renewal of the Bank charter had been in 1800; since then events of the greatest importance with regard to currency and credit had taken place,—the resumption of cash payments at the close of the war, and the great commercial crisis of 1825 and 1826. It was felt that the system of the Bank required close examination, and in May 1832 a very influential committee had been appointed to examine it preparatory to the renewal of the charter, which came to an end in August 1833. Upon the information gained by this committee the ministerial propositions were based. On the whole it appeared clear that a single bank of issue was better than several competing banks. The Bank was therefore to retain its monopoly. The principle of the Directors, that a third of the value of their obligations should be kept in hand in specie, was considered sound; but that the public might in future have control of the issue of notes, the Bank was required to publish a weekly account of its notes and deposits, and a quarterly average showing its general condition. No other bank of more than six partners, within sixty-five miles of London, was to be allowed to issue paper, while notes of the Bank of England and its branches were made legal tender, except at the bank from which they were issued. It was hoped by this means that country banks, being able to meet their demands with bank notes, would be saved from the necessity of making large and rapid demands upon the Bank of England, and thus dangerously lessening the supply of gold. The whole sum due from the Government to the Bank, and from which that institution derived its great credit, was fourteen millions. This was regarded as too much; it was to be reduced to eleven millions, twenty-five per cent. being at once repaid to the Bank, while to balance its advantages the Bank was to receive £120,000 a year less than hitherto for the management of the National Debt. On these terms the charter was to be renewed for twenty-one years, but with an option allowed to Government for breaking it off on a year's notice after eleven years. The two points which met with the greatest opposition were the terms which the Government had made with the Bank and the compulsory currency given to bank notes. On the first of these points it seemed almost unanimously felt that the Bank had made too good a bargain; on the second it was hastily urged by many that it was a partial resumption of the inconvertible currency. It was shown without much difficulty that this was not the case, as the Bank of

Renewal of the
Bank charter.
June.

England was bound ultimately to meet its liabilities in gold; but even Sir Robert Peel objected to the measure, avowing his fear that it would cause a depreciation of the paper. Experience has proved that this fear was groundless, and although the arrangements with the Bank had subsequently to be somewhat modified, the Bill passed, and was a distinct advantage.

But, if it had been thought well to continue the monopoly of the great banking corporation in England, the whole force of the commercial feeling of the time set directly against the perpetuation of the monopoly of the East India Company. The necessity for corporate trading had disappeared. The restrictions it laid upon free trade had become only so many obstacles in the way of extended commerce. Already, in 1813, this had been so clearly felt that the merchants of the great trading centres, Liverpool, Glasgow, Paisley, and Manchester, had succeeded in procuring the admission of traders to the territories of the Company, and to India generally, but the corporation still retained the trade with China. The accounts of the Company after this renewal of its charter rendered it plain that it could not compete with private merchants. It seemed clear that in China, as in India, the destruction of the monopoly would extend commerce. It was therefore determined to destroy the Company as a commercial body, allowing it to keep its territorial position. After April 1834 its commercial property was to be sold. It was, however, to retain the government of India, and to receive for forty years an annuity from the Indian revenue of £630,000, at the close of which period Parliament might redeem it by the payment of £12,000,000. It was further arranged that all restrictions in the way of the settlement of Europeans in the East should be removed, that natives and Europeans should have equal opportunities of employment and office, and should be under one law. The Bill was vehemently opposed by Lord Ellenborough, but was carried by large majorities, and proved to be the means of opening, in accordance with the principles of free trade, an enormous market for English commerce, so that in ten years the Chinese trade had doubled, and British exports to India and Ceylon had increased from two to six millions.

But the most important measure of the session was the Bill which was passed on the 30th of August for the emancipation of the slaves. The abolitionists had been successful in 1807 in putting an end to the traffic in slaves, but though raised in value and lessened in number, by means of smuggling

Settlement of
the East India
Company.
July.

Emancipation
of the slaves.
Aug.

and of the natural increase of the race the supply of human cattle had been kept up and slavery had continued. The Resolutions of 1823 had aimed at the gradual extinction of slavery, at alleviating its worst horrors, and raising the slaves to a fitting condition to receive freedom; but they had practically been inoperative: not only had they been continually thwarted by the planters, but the discovery that they had rights, and that those rights were acknowledged, caused a very natural uneasiness among the slaves, and had added greatly to the difficulties under which the planters laboured. Their position was constantly becoming worse. Injudicious protection had been afforded to sugar, their chief production. Enormous duties had been laid on it, with a preference always to the West Indian and slave-grown article. During the war the monopoly of production had fallen chiefly into their hands. They had been able to make enormous profits. As a consequence, just as in the case of corn in England, the cultivation of the sugar-cane had been carried on in the most reckless fashion. Plantations were temporarily occupied only to be exhausted or sold at a heavy loss, and fresh land taken in. In the midst of this false prosperity, a wasteful expenditure and a total want of economy, the natural consequences of easily-gotten wealth, had become prevalent; the planters as a body had become deeply involved. The cessation of the war had admitted other competitors to the market. The commercial crisis in England had seriously affected the planters' credit, and just as the greatest efforts would have been necessary to restore them at all to their old state of prosperity, their supply of slaves was diminished, it became more difficult to work their exhausted land, and the Resolutions of 1823, and subsequent orders in Council, made the employment of slave labour, which economists had long known to be really an extravagant form of labour, more and more difficult. These evils were naturally attributed to the abolitionists in England and to the Government which had even partially listened to them. As long as the unreformed Parliament existed, the West Indian interest was very strong in the House, and the planters, who believed that with some help from England, and with the management of the slaves left in their own hands, they might yet retrieve their position, were not without hopes. The accession of the Grey ministry was a heavy blow to them, for a large section of the supporters of the Government were almost as anxious for the abolition of slavery as for the passage of the Reform Bill, and it was impossible that a ministry of

Condition of
trade in the
West India
Islands.

which Lord Brougham was the Chancellor, who had owed his last election chiefly to the abolitionists' votes, should postpone the settlement of the question long.

The conduct of the planters forced on the crisis. A new series of orders in Council was issued in 1831 for the better and more merciful management of the slaves, for the limitation of the hours of labour, and for the establishment of official slave-overseers. All the colonies except the Crown colonies, where but little difficulty was met with, resented highly this interference with what they considered their rights and property. The language of their assemblies became disrespectful and almost rebellious. In Trinidad it was determined to stop the payment of taxes till the order was repealed, while on the other side the slaves in Jamaica burst into open rebellion, producing a loss estimated at £1,000,000. In April 1831, a great meeting in London declared that Government was liable for these losses, and claims were sent in to the Colonial Secretary for damages caused by the measures pursued by his Majesty's ministers. It was a sort of declaration of war, which was brought to a point when, on the 17th of April, Lord Harewood presented a petition from the West India interest begging for a full inquiry into the laws, usages, and condition of the West Indian colonies, and the possible future improvements, with due regard always to the rights of private property. This was in the very heat of the discussions on the Reform Bill. Bent upon his great measure, Lord Grey could not afford to risk anything at the moment. He therefore not only at once granted the committee, but allowed a sum of £100,000, which had been voted for the relief of the colonies, to be raised to £1,000,000 on account of a late destructive hurricane. On the 24th of May Sir Fowell Buxton, the leader of the abolitionists, brought the matter before the Lower House, while the Chancellor presented a gigantic petition, followed by many others, in favour of emancipation; for the great crisis was now over, Wellington's efforts to form a Government had proved futile, and the hope of the abolitionists were consequently high. But, somewhat strangely, Lord Althorp could not be induced in the Lower House to give up Canning's idea of gradual emancipation, and moved and carried amendments upon Buxton's motion in favour of the continuance of the policy of 1823. It must be remembered that the House of Commons was still unreformed, and that the great Bill was not yet carried.

With the change in the character of the House all prudential

Opposition of
the planters
to the orders
in Council.
1831.

reasons for opposition on the part of the ministry disappeared, and the pressure brought to bear upon them had become much stronger. They therefore now undertook the question, and the appointment of Mr. Stanley to the Colonial Office insured the success of the measure. It was not wholly satisfactory to the abolitionists. It still bore traces of the lingering wish for gradual emancipation. All children of slaves born after the passing of the Act, and all children of six years of age and under, were declared free, but the rest of the slaves were to serve a sort of apprenticeship; three-fourths of their time was for a certain number of years to remain at the disposal of the masters, the other fourth was their own, to be paid for at a fixed rate of wages. The complete failure of the Resolutions of 1823 should have taught the Government the impossibility of this scheme. The period of apprenticeship was shortened from twelve to seven years, and subsequently, after a four years' trial, the plan was given up. The second part of the Government scheme was the remuneration of the planters by a loan of £15,000,000; but as Parliament regarded this as much too small a boon, it was subsequently changed for the enormous gift of £20,000,000. The vastness of the sum was held by many as totally disproportionate to the loss of the planters; by others it was thought that, as slavery was in itself contrary to all right, the planters deserved no compensation for the loss of what they should never have possessed. On the whole, however, it was thought better that so great an act of justice should be generously completed, and the great sacrifice was willingly made. Wilberforce, the father of the movement, lived just long enough to bless God that the object of his life had been reached; he heard the success of the second reading of the Bill, and died a few days afterwards, on the 29th of July.

Of the great questions of the day there still remained the all-important one, the condition of the labouring classes, but it was to another Prime Minister and to a modified Cabinet that the honour of the introduction of the new Poor Law was to belong. In spite of their large majorities, no single measure of the Government had been passed without important modifications, no scheme had been introduced that did not bear upon it the marks of compromise, and afford a distinct proof of the inherent weakness of a Cabinet divided against itself. The speech from the throne in the opening of the year 1834 did not give any hope of a firmer and more united Government. The Duke of Wellington was not wrong in complaining that there was no

The Emancipation Bill passed
Aug. 30, 1833.

Weakness of
the ministry
shown in the
Parliament.
Feb. 4, 1834.

definite promise of a single Government Bill, that the foreign policy of the Cabinet had not produced European peace, that in spite of its majorities the Church policy of the Government had failed, and that it had carefully avoided, even while vaunting the success which had attended it, to state whether it intended the Coercion Bill to be renewed in Ireland or not. Nor was it doubted that he was uttering the opinions of some at least of the Cabinet itself when he warned the Lords against the tendency visible in several of the late proceedings of the Government towards tampering with property and the introduction of the beginnings of the policy of confiscation.

In the Lower House both the strength and weakness of the Government were shortly to be displayed. O'Connell, who had talked so long about the repeal of the Union, and had thus kept up the agitation which was so lucrative to himself, was compelled at length to make good his promises and to introduce a substantive motion for repeal. A lengthened debate followed, but terminated in a most complete victory for the Government; the division showing a majority of 485 in favour of an amendment exactly contradicting O'Connell's motion. The central position occupied by the Government enabled it, when it occasionally joined heartily with one side or the other, still to command the House of Commons, but when questions arose of a more doubtful sort its weakness became visible. Measures for the relief of Ireland had been promised, and Mr. Ward, a private member, determined to bring these promises to a test, by introducing a motion (May 27) with regard to the difficult question of the Irish Church, which the ministers would gladly have left quiet. Mr. Ward's resolution stated that the Protestant Episcopal Establishment of Ireland

Ministerial
difficulty on
Mr. Ward's
motion on the
Irish Church.

much exceeded the spiritual wants of the Protestant population, that it was the right of the State and of Parliament to distribute Church property, and that the temporal possessions of the Irish Church ought to be reduced. This motion put the Government into the greatest perplexity; to uphold the direct negative was to resign its pretensions to be the party of progress; to accept it was to shock some of its most important members. The ministers determined to adopt a middle course, and appoint a commission of inquiry. They hoped thereby to induce Mr. Ward to withdraw his motion, because the question was already in Government hands, but they seemed at the same time to pledge themselves to act in accordance with the recommendations of the commission. Armed with this com-

promise, Lord Althorp went to the House to meet Mr. Ward's motion. But the seconder, Mr. Grote, had advanced but a short way in the speech when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and said, that since the beginning of the debate information had been brought to him which induced him to beg for a postponement. His personal influence was so great that the House at once granted his request. The news he had received was the resignation of Mr. Stanley, the Colonial minister, and of Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, who regarded any interference with Church property with great abhorrence. They were followed by the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General, and by Lord Ripon, Privy Seal. The more conservative members of the Cabinet had thus openly retired from it. It might have been expected that Lord Durham, who had previously left it upon opposite grounds, would have now returned to office, and the Government have assumed a more distinctly radical character. He was, however, personally obnoxious to such members of the party of Canning as still remained in office, and his influence was dreaded by Lord Grey, who, though he continued as yet to hold the Premiership in accordance with the generally expressed desire of the Liberal party, sympathized at heart more with the Tories than with the Radicals. He expressed his feelings in his answer to an address which Lord Ebrington got up intreating him to retain his place. "In pursuing," he said, "a course of salutary improvement I feel it indispensable that we shall be allowed to proceed with deliberation and caution; and, above all, that we should not be urged by a constant and active pressure from without to the adoption of any measures the necessity of which has not been fully proved, and which are not strictly regulated by a careful attention to the settled institutions of the country both in Church and State. On no other principle can this or any other administration be conducted with advantage or safety." No difficulty was found in filling the vacant places; Mr. Spring Rice, who had distinguished himself in the debate on the Union, became Secretary for the Colonies, and Lord Auckland succeeded Sir James Graham.

Under Lord Grey's leadership the Government was enabled to continue its course, because it was recognized at the time as the only possible Government; the Conservative feeling in England was far too strong to allow the success of a Radical Government with Durham at its head. On the other hand, on the great questions of the day it was impossible to go back. Sir Robert Peel clearly understood this position of affairs. He saw that a Tory

Resignation of
the most
conservative
ministers.

Difficulties of
Grey's position.

Government would have no hope of permanence if it rested only on the support of the extreme members of the party. If the party was ever to be reconstituted it must loyally accept the changes which had been made, admit within its limits the more conservative-minded of the reformers, and take its stand on the great Conservative instincts of the nation—the love of the State Church, and the dread of any attack upon property. For the formation of a Liberal Conservative Government the time had not yet arrived, and the present Government of compromise was therefore allowed to continue. But the difficulties of the Premier, from the divergence of his opinions from those of his colleagues, soon became overwhelming. It was necessary to determine whether the Coercion Bill should be renewed or not. But it was possible to renew it in a softened form, and to omit the most objectionable parts—the suppression of the right of petition and the establishment of military courts. Such a course seemed advisable to Mr. Littleton, the Chief Secretary, and recommended itself also to the more liberal members of the Government, Lord Brougham and Lord Althorp. The mischievous activity of Lord Brougham led him to suggest to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Wellesley, who had succeeded Anglesey, the advisability of officially informing the Government that he could do without these stringent clauses. Wellesley had already expressed himself privately to the contrary effect, but was overpersuaded, and followed the advice of Littleton and Brougham in his official despatches. These contradictory opinions from the chief of the Government were naturally very embarrassing to Lord Grey. To make matters worse, Littleton had attempted a personal reconciliation with O'Connell. Lord Althorp had known and approved of this step, but had warned Littleton against making any pledges. The Secretary unluckily allowed himself to be drawn into an admission that neither himself nor the Lord Lieutenant nor Lord Althorp approved of the renewal of the obnoxious clauses. To complete his blunder, he did not inform Lord Althorp what he had done, and trusted to a promise of secrecy on the part of O'Connell, the most untrustworthy of men. So strong was Lord Althorp's opinion on the subject, backed as he believed it to be by that of Wellesley and of Littleton, that after being outvoted in the Cabinet, he in fact tendered his resignation, but was overruled by Lord Grey.

On the 1st of July the Premier introduced the Bill in its full form, asserting, as from Wellesley's private letters to him he had a right to assert, that it was considered necessary by the Irish Govern-

ment. On this, O'Connell, forgetful of his promise, disclosed in the Lower House his conversation with Littleton, which was in fact a direct contradiction of Lord Grey's assertion, at the same time implicating Lord Althorp in the deception played upon him. The Government seemed convicted not only of internal division, but of duplicity. Lord Grey reiterated his assertion in the Upper House with regard to the feelings of the Irish Government as expressed to him, while Lord Althorp admitted that he disliked the clause, and that Mr. Littleton was justified in telling O'Connell that the question was unsettled at the time of their conversation. The divergence of opinion in the Cabinet was thus fully brought out, and Lord Althorp was made to appear as guilty at once of having held out false hopes to O'Connell, and of having waived his own opinions for the sake of retaining office. Nothing could have been more alien to his nature than this charge, especially as, far from having really pledged himself to O'Connell, he had particularly warned Littleton against committing himself. But there seemed no way of escape without rendering still more glaring the weakness of the administration. On this ground, Littleton's offer to resign, which he felt in honour bound to make, was rejected; but, when in their eagerness to embarrass Government the Opposition moved for the production of the private letters of the Cabinet, Lord Althorp, in disgust at his equivocal position and at the attempted introduction into Parliament of matters which he held to be wholly beyond its jurisdiction, determined to resign. Lord Grey, by no means wedded to office, and feeling that Althorp's personal influence was the main security of the Government, at once declared the administration at an end. The King had already shown, when giving an answer to an address from the Bishops, a strong feeling against any attack upon the property of the Church. This known division between the sovereign and his advisers, and the evident weakness of the Cabinet itself, rendered the resignation of the ministry less surprising than it otherwise would have been.

Seeing the impossibility of forming a distinctly Tory ministry, the King was persuaded by Lord Brougham to send for Lord Melbourne, whom he instructed to give effect as far as possible to his previously expressed wishes, and to form a combined ministry, admitting to office some Tories and some of those who had left office on Conservative grounds. The attempt was fruitless. Peel did not yet see his desired opportunity, and foreseeing the gradual reaction which must arise from the unsatisfactory character

Resignation of
Grey's ministry.
July 1834.

Lord
Melbourne's
ministry.
July 16.

of the Whig administration, determined to await his time. The King was therefore compelled to consent to the reconstruction under Melbourne of the old ministry. There was very little change in the construction of the Cabinet. Lord Melbourne's own place in the Home Department was filled by Lord Duncannon (Ponsonby), Sir John Cam Hobhouse obtained a seat in the Cabinet as First Commissioner of the Woods and Forests, and Lord Carlisle surrendered the Privy Seal to Lord Mulgrave.

The change, such as it was, did not add to the strength of the ministry. The introduction of the Coercion Bill on the 18th of July, without the stringent clauses, seemed a confession that some of the ministers at all events were acting contrary to conviction, or that they had weakly yielded to Irish clamour. The Bill was however passed with a strong protest in the Lords. An attempt on the 29th of July again to settle the tithe question displayed still further the inefficiency of the ministry; they allowed themselves to be beaten in the Lower House upon an amendment of O'Connell, who, instead of the proposed land tax, suggested the immediate payment of the tithes, diminished forty per cent., by the landlord. In spite of their defeat, which so completely changed their Bill that out of 172 clauses 111 had to be removed,

Church policy
of Melbourne's
ministry.

they proceeded with it, but suffered a heavy defeat on the second reading in the Lords. Their Church policy was indeed throughout entirely ineffective. The feeling that the Church was in danger had begun to take hold not only of the Lords, who systematically resisted innovation, but of the people in England. The efforts of the Dissenters, excited to demand religious equality by the success of Irish agitation, were fruitless. Their petitions were indeed of a character to cause some fear. They begged for the separation of Church and State, for the exclusion of Bishops from Parliament, for the admission of Dissenters to all the privileges of the universities. On this last point a Bill was introduced. Largely signed petitions were sent in against it by the universities. All the leaders of the Conservative, or partially Conservative party, combined to oppose it, and though it passed the Lower House it was rejected in the Lords (Aug. 1). In the same way the efforts of Government to relieve Dissenters from the Church rates, and from the restrictions laid upon the right of dissenting ministers to celebrate marriage, being all conceived from a Church point of view, and assuming the form of concessions rather than the granting of rights, were distasteful to the Dissenters

themselves, and came to nothing. The plan for the commutation of the English tithes met with the same fate. It was indeed a period of general ecclesiastical excitement; the introduction of the appropriation clause in the Irish Tithe Bill had closely touched the feelings of English Churchmen; the nature of the Church as distinct from an institution founded by and connected with the State began to be examined. A party in Oxford undertook to enlighten the nation upon the character of the Church in a series of tracts, which gained for the authors the title of Tractarians. In these they urged with great force all the tenets of what is now known as the High Church party—the doctrine of apostolic succession, the sole efficiency of the sacraments, the sacred nature of the priesthood, and the insufficiency of the Bible as apart from the explanations of Church tradition. Their principles rapidly spread. At the same time the Evangelical party lost several of its chief leaders and began to decline. And though three parties could still be traced, public opinion began to divide itself chiefly between the two great views of those who regarded the Church as an institution independent in itself, and beyond the reach of secular interference, and those Liberals who, attached as they might be to the Church as a political institution, regarded it as lying within the sphere of politics.

But if their liberal Church policy was doomed to failure, the ministry was able to do one great work by the reform of the Poor Law. The chief effects of the old Poor Law have been already mentioned. Its lax administration, the power of relief in the houses of the paupers, the system of allowances in aid of wages, and the distribution of relief in proportion to the number of children, had pauperized the agricultural poor, had withdrawn the chief restraints on early and imprudent marriages, had fostered immorality, and increased the amount of the poor rate till it seemed as though England would sink beneath the burden. It had become necessary to adopt some sounder principles, even although they had the appearance of harshness. Nor was the Government without experience by which to guide its action. Already in about a hundred parishes an improved administration had been tried, and in every instance it had succeeded; while, on the other hand, in certain parishes where the old system remained in vigour cultivation had been actually abandoned, and the neighbouring parishes having to support their poor, there was every risk of the plague spreading throughout England. The chief error in the old system was the complete confusion which existed between poverty

Reform of the
Poor Law.
Aug. 1834.

and pauperism, between the industrious poor man and the self-pauperized idler. It was this point on which a commission issued in 1832 chiefly insisted. The Bill based on their report was in fact little more than a recurrence to the true principles enunciated in the first general Poor Law of the reign of Elizabeth. To separate these two classes it was necessary that outdoor relief should be discontinued and the allowance system put an end to. Those only who were really in want were to receive relief, but upon conditions which should render it certain that the want was real. In the workhouse every able-bodied man must work; it was not fair that the industrious should be called upon to support an increasing race of paupers raised in the workhouse, husbands and wives must therefore be separated; for the sake of training and education, children must be kept from the possible contamination of the adult paupers; and as the maintenance of industry was one of the chief objects of the reform, free circulation of labour and the removal of most of the restrictions of the old law of settlement were indispensable. The system no doubt had a very harsh appearance, but its principles could scarcely be questioned. But these principles were in fact nothing new; all the evils to be rectified had arisen from the bad way in which such principles had been carried out. The machinery then by which relief was to be administered was of almost more importance than the principles on which it was to be granted. For economy, parishes were formed into unions, with one workhouse instead of several. The method of collecting the rates was left unchanged, the distribution was still left to guardians and select vestries; but this local management was placed under a central board, consisting of three commissioners, with assistants, at first twenty-one, diminished subsequently to nine. There was one other point which bore an appearance of extreme harshness, was much objected to at the time, and was subsequently changed; this was an attempt to check immorality by throwing the charge of the maintenance of illegitimate children upon the mother. This appeared completely to shield the guilty father, and to punish only the weak and misguided mother, but in fact, as many wise people saw at the time, it roused a feeling of self-dependence and respect among women, and produced the very best effects; the decrease of illegitimate births was extraordinary. The decrease in England was nearly 10,000, or thirteen per cent. in two years. In one point only did it appear that party interests could interfere with the passage of the Bill. It almost necessarily implied the subsequent repeal of the

Corn Laws. Freedom of labour, the abolition of the Act of Settlement, rendered such a change indispensable; but this the ministry, very anxious to avoid the appearance of touching laws which were very dear to the hearts of the agricultural interest, still refused to believe, and denied in the most absolute terms. Nevertheless, between the second reading on the 9th of May and the third reading of the Bill on the 1st of July, a very powerful opposition had been aroused. It was spoken of as a Bill cruel against the poor. From a radical point of view the centralization of the system was decried. The commissioners were spoken of as three-tailed Bashaws. It was however carried by 157 to 50 votes. This was on the 2nd of July, when Lord Grey was still in office. Under the new ministry the management of the Bill in the Upper House passed into the hands of Lord Brougham; he supported it in one of his ablest speeches, and it was carried on the second reading by a very considerable majority, and became law on the 14th of August. Although some subsequent amendments were necessary, it has on the whole proved highly successful. The poor rate, which at the end of the American War, when the population of England was about 8,000,000, amounted to £2,132,487, which during the subsequent forty years of mismanagement had risen till in 1833, when the population was 14,000,000, it had reached £8,606,501, was in the course of three years reduced by upwards of £3,000,000.

But though its character was so free from taint of party, though its action was on the whole so beneficial, the new Poor Law was used, and used with effect, to excite the deep-felt discontent which was prevalent in the lower classes, and which continued to increase and to acquire form and organization during the next four years, till it assumed the definite form of Chartism, and produced the very dangerous outbreak in the year 1839. It was scarcely possible but that such discontent should exist; the hopes of the poor man, raised to an exaggerated height by the excitement of the Reform Bill, had been cruelly disappointed. While no doubt some good and useful measures of reform had been carried, it was impossible to deny that the reform ministry had on the whole proved itself unwilling and unable to handle the great social questions of the time, that disputes in Parliament had fallen back into their old grooves, and had assumed the form of party contests rather than of efforts for the improvement of the great mass of the people. Hitherto trade had been fairly prosperous, but in 1835 symptoms were evident that this prosperity was disappearing; and when want

Discontent
and misery
of the poor.

was added to the justly-felt disappointment of the workmen, when agitators were exciting them with dismal stories of the cruelty of the Poor Law, of the tyranny of the manufacturing masters, and when every good and popular measure seemed to be first stripped of half its value by the ministry which introduced it, and then totally rejected by an obstructive House of Lords, it is not to be wondered at that the unrepresented masses believed that they had been used merely as an instrument, and that if increased representation was so good for their betters, it would prove the cure for them also, and began to clamour for a wide extension of the franchise, and more efficient security that the particular wants of their class should receive attention.

Many signs of the growing discontent were visible. The most formidable in the course of the year 1834 was the great extension and changed character of the trades unions. For some time trade societies had existed, and from time to time individual trades had combined to strike for advance of wages or other trade purposes, but in this year a combination of many trades began to make itself seen, which by mutual support should enable those on strike to hold out against their masters, and though the system broke down through the natural inefficiency of an uneducated body for such a combination, the danger became great when it was extended to the agricultural poor. To repress this symptom, so threatening to the landowners and farmers, six labourers were indicted at Dorchester under an obsolete statute against the administering of oaths. Amidst much popular sympathy, they were sentenced to seven years' transportation. The whole body of unionists, in their indignation, summoned a general meeting in Copenhagen Fields on the 21st of April. Besides a general intention to overawe the ministry, there seems to have been among a knot of their leaders a distinct plan of somehow or other securing the Government by violent means. It was intended that the deputation of the trades should lay hands upon Lord Melbourne, who was then minister for home affairs, and proceed to further acts of violence. Warned in time, Melbourne kept himself out of sight, and sent his under secretary to receive the deputation, while silently troops were held in readiness, the public offices defended with artillery, and 5000 householders sworn in as special constables. The under secretary declared that a petition accompanied by 60,000 men could not be received, and seeing the preparations made for their reception, the crowd withdrew in quiet, and the day passed over safely, but the incident shows both the power and temper of the

Increase of
trades unions.

unionists. Even more formidable was the general feeling against the House of Lords which exhibited itself at the close of the next year. By that time the House had shown itself still more obstinate, and facts had been brought to light which rendered it particularly odious to the people.

In the autumn of 1834 the possession of office by the Whigs was regarded as secure, and while O'Connell returned to continue the agitation in Ireland, the ministers withdrew as usual to refresh themselves after the labours of the session. Among others, Lord Brougham travelled in Scotland, everywhere bringing both himself and the ministry into ridicule by his inconsistent and egotistical speeches. On the 15th of September the late Prime Minister attended a banquet held in his honour at Edinburgh, where he met Lord Durham, his son-in-law, Lord Brougham, and several of the other ministers. In returning thanks for the health of the ministry, the Chancellor appeared to rebuke the reformers for their impatience and for endangering all progress by their haste. These words by no means suited the views of Lord Durham, one of the chief authors of the Reform Bill, and a man of very popular tendencies. He replied that he entirely disagreed with his noble and learned friend, and frankly confessed that he was one of those persons who saw with regret every hour that passed over the existence of recognized and unreformed abuses. Brougham took this rebuke in the highest dudgeon, and in a very few days, at Salisbury, he replied severely upon Lord Durham, and uttered a sort of challenge to him to meet him in the House of Lords, and shortly after in the *Edinburgh Review* charged him with revealing the secrets of the Cabinet. Lord Durham's words at Edinburgh were eagerly accepted as proofs of a more frank acceptance of the principles of reform than they had hitherto met with from Government, and all minds were eagerly set upon the approaching duel in the House. But the King, who, as has been already mentioned, much disliked the Church policy of the Whigs, dreaded what must have given rise to a new assertion of the duty of rapid reform. He was eager to prevent the meeting in the House, and circumstances favoured him. Before the session Lord Spencer died, and Lord Althorp, his son, was thus removed to the Upper House. There was no reason why this should have broken up the ministry, but the King seized his opportunity, sent for Lord Melbourne, asserted that the ministry rested chiefly on the personal influence of Lord Althorp in the Commons, declared that, deprived

Dispute between
Durham and
Brougham.

Dismissal of
the Melbourne
ministry.
Nov. 1834.

of it as it now was, the Government could not go on, and dismissed his ministers, instructing Melbourne at once to send for the Duke of Wellington.

Ever since the passing of the Reform Bill the conduct of Sir Robert Peel had been extremely judicious. In his hands the Tory party had been entirely remodelled; there were indeed remnants of it unchanged, especially in the House of Lords, but gradually most of the party had separated themselves from this remnant, and had taken the name of Conservatives, declaring themselves as willing as the Whigs to foster reforms, although only in a Conservative manner. It was in vain that the old Tories had sought to keep the Duke of Wellington with them; he had wisdom enough to see that the hope of the party lay with Peel, and to keep up the closest connection with him. His first step therefore, when summoned by the King, was to send to Peel, who, believing that the time for a Conservative ministry had not yet arrived, had gone abroad, and was now in Rome. While waiting for his arrival, the Duke took upon himself the discharge of no less than five offices, conduct which, though in fact perfectly wise and reasonable, was foolishly complained of at the time as unconstitutional. Peel, although he was as yet by no means anxious for office, could not but obey the summons, and hurried home with extreme rapidity. He had hoped to obtain the support of Sir James Graham and Mr. Stanley, the late deserters from the Whig ministry, and it was a grave disappointment when they refused to act with him. Thus prevented from forming the moderate Conservative ministry he intended, Peel was reduced to fill his places with men of more pronounced opinions, which promised ill for any advance in reform. He himself became Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. The Foreign, Home, War, and Colonial Offices were filled respectively by Wellington, Goulburn, Herries, and Aberdeen. Lord Lyndhurst became Lord Chancellor, Hardinge Irish Secretary, and Lord Wharcliffe Privy Seal.

With this ministry Peel had to meet a hostile House of Commons, for the approach of the Conservatives to power had combined Whigs and Radicals in opposition. The Prime Minister therefore thought it necessary to dissolve Parliament, and took the opportunity of declaring his policy in what is known as the Tamworth Manifesto. He declared his acceptance of the Reform Bill as a final settlement of the question, and promised to carry out its intentions as far as they consisted in a wise and care-

The Peel-
Wellington
ministry.

The Tamworth
Manifesto.
Jan. 1835.

ful improvement of old institutions. As to the other questions then at issue he would support the inquiry into the state of corporations which the late ministry had set on foot, and wished, as his predecessors had done, to relieve Dissenters from the Church rates and from all restrictions on their marriages; but upon the Irish Church, and upon admission of Dissenters to the universities, his mind was unchanged. He continued to object to the appropriation of Church revenues to secular purposes and to granting degrees to Dissenters. As to whether any reform was required in the organization of the English Church, his mind, he said, was not yet made up. The tone of this Manifesto was very different from that of the old Tory party, and shows that the Reform Bill had really done its work, that the country had entered upon a new era, when the lines between parties would be less coarsely drawn, when obstinate obstruction to all reform would be impossible, and the points at issue confined chiefly to the time, manner, and degree, in which reforms should be carried out. But it is impossible in a country where party government has once taken root that unprejudiced discussion of measures should become prevalent. The general principles of the men by whom the measures are suggested are, and must be, invariably taken into consideration, and the one party will not fail to feel mistrust of the other even though the plans suggested are as good, or better, than their own, and the contest between the rival parties for the Government of the country will not cease. Thus, in spite of Peel's moderation, the whole body of the Liberals were determined to oppose the new Government to the utmost, and not to trust the administration in the hands of one who had always represented the Tories, and who still received the support even of the extreme members of that party. The elections, though they returned a House, as is generally the case, more favourable to the existing Government than that which had been dissolved, still gave a considerable majority to the Liberals.

From the very first Peel held office upon suffrance; the only question was how to bring matters to a point, as the minister refused to accept as his dismissal anything but a direct vote of want of confidence. Meanwhile his temper and judgment daily increased the admiration which the public began to feel for him. He took up several of the late ministers' measures, and carried them through where they themselves had failed. A more complete liberty granted to the Dissenters with regard to their marriages won their approbation; and though he

New Parliament.
Feb. 19, 1835.

Overthrow of
Peel's ministry.
April 8, 1835.

could not complete this measure, he was able on going out of office to leave it in the hands of Lord John Russell, by whom it was settled upon the principle that the State was only interested in the civil contract, while churches and sects were at liberty to add what religious ceremonies they liked. He introduced a measure for the voluntary commutation of tithes, which seemed to be successful, re-appointed all the committees of the preceding session for examining abuses, and continued with good effect the ecclesiastical commission for the organization of the arrangements of the Church. The common charge against him was that he was purloining the measures of his adversaries. However, although he had to stand constantly on the defensive, there appeared no sufficient grounds for a vote of want of confidence. At last, on the 30th of March, Lord John Russell brought the matter to a crisis by proposing as a sort of test question that the House should resolve itself into committee to consider the state of the Irish Church, with the intention of applying any surplus revenues which might be found to general education, without distinction of religion. In other words, he reintroduced the old appropriation clause. It is to be borne in mind that the Whigs themselves had abandoned that clause, that they had voted against it in the case of Mr. Ward's measure, and that they afterwards entirely rejected it. But for the time it served the party purpose. Although Peel declared, and declared rightly, that the feeling of England was against it, the votes of the Scotch and Irish members carried the day, and the ministry was beaten on the 3rd of April by a majority of thirty-three. On the 8th Sir Robert Peel announced his resignation.

The Whigs were thus again triumphant. The history of their weakness and their difficulties belong to a period of history which lies beyond the limits of this work. But one measure which they brought to a satisfactory conclusion requires mention as completing in one very important point the work of the Reform Bill. This was the reform of corporations. With this exception it would be impossible to describe the course of their measures without following them so far that they become a part rather of present politics than of past history. But this reform to which they at once pledged themselves was scarcely less important for the purification of local government than the Reform Bill itself had been with regard to the central Legislature.

On the extension of the franchise on the passing of the Reform Bill, attention had been drawn to the fact that in a great number of

corporate towns many of the electors who had the right to join in choosing members for Parliament had no voice at all in the management of their own local affairs. It was clearly for the interest of the reform party to remove this abuse, and to secure still stronger support from the middle class of citizens among whom their strength already lay. In 1833 a commission of ten members had been issued to inquire into the condition of the corporations of England and Wales. Nominated during the first days of the popular triumph, and with a party object, it was natural that the commissioners should be drawn entirely from the ranks of the reformers. Their report was therefore open to the charge of onesidedness, but it brought a state of things to light which thoroughly justified the Government in introducing a great measure of reform. The constitution, originally popular, of the English boroughs had in lapse of time been completely altered. The rights of citizenship, originally belonging to all fully qualified freemen residing within the borough, had been gradually confined to a small class technically spoken of as the Freemen, many of whom were so decayed as not only to pay no rates, but in some cases to be themselves dependent on the poor rates. The government of the town and administration of the corporate property, and, before the Reform Bill, the election of parliamentary representatives, had in some instances fallen into the hands of an exclusive council, who had the right of filling up the vacancies in its own numbers. A variety of circumstances had contributed to these changes. Birth, marriage, apprenticeship, or membership of some guild, originally tests of residence, had after a time acted so as to exclude large numbers of residents from the ranks of the freemen. Wealth introduced a division of classes, and unchecked encroachment on the part of the wealthy had gone still further to exclude many from their rights. Political reasons had induced the Crown to seek the support of the boroughs in Parliament, and, especially in the time of the Tudors, new charters had been granted which placed the local government entirely in the hands of self-elected councils, much more easily handled for political purposes than widespread constituencies. The same process had been continued by the Stuarts. James II. even went further, and his attempt to nominate corporations of boroughs was not the least of the causes of the Revolution. Though the project failed, the close corporation system was continued both by Whigs and Tories, who found their political advantage in it. This perversion of municipal arrangements for political purposes had

Condition of
municipal
corporations.

been attended with many practical abuses. In the first place, the corporations, which had in their hands the government of large and important towns, by no means represented the property, intelligence, or population of those towns. Thus in Ipswich, of 2000 ratepayers only 287 belonged to the corporation. At Cambridge, out of 20,000 inhabitants, only 118 were freemen, while of the property, which was valued at £25,000, only £2100 was the property of freemen. In Norwich, £25,500 was the value of the rated property, £18,200 of this belonged to those who were not freemen. Again, these self-elected governors constantly misappropriated the corporate funds, which, as the gross income of the corporations was £366,000, was a matter of considerable importance; the corporate offices were filled by favour, the charities employed for the purchase of votes, and large sums spent upon feasting and other useless shows, while the townsmen at large were rated for all local purposes. The distribution of these rates again was in the hands of the same people who exacted them, and no account of how they were employed could be obtained. To cure this general state of corruption was the intention of the new measure.

The measure included 178 boroughs. It began by marking out their boundaries, where possible in accordance with the boundaries of the electoral borough. The object of the Bill was not to centralize, but on the contrary to improve local administration; it was not therefore proposed to withdraw business from the hands of the corporation, with the exception of the administration of charities and church funds, which were respectively placed in the hands of trustees named by the Lord Chancellor and of the ecclesiastical commissioners. It was the nature of the corporation itself which was to be improved. In accordance with the principle of the Whig party, the new governing bodies were to be elected by constituencies of considerable breadth, but confined to the middle classes. A three years' residence and payment of the poor and borough rates was to be the qualification of an elector. By them the new governing body, called the town council, was chosen, which together with the constituency formed the corporation. To committees of the town council were intrusted the administration of the various branches of local government. To the whole body collectively was given the management of the borough funds, the proper expenditure of which was to be guaranteed by a publication of the accounts, properly audited by auditors not themselves town councillors. The Government reserved in its own hand the right of appointing justices of the peace and paid magistrates when required.

The Municipal
Reform Bill.
Sept. 7, 1835.

Though the change was sweeping, and seemed somewhat to affect the rights of property, the abuses were so glaring that the Bill easily passed the Lower House. In the Lords several amendments were passed against the Government, especially one retaining their old privilege to existing freemen, but somewhat to the disappointment of the Tories, the Commons accepted the amendment, and the Bill was passed on the 7th of September.

So absorbing had been the interest of domestic questions that foreign affairs had been somewhat disregarded. Yet from time to time they had come before the public attention, and were in themselves of considerable importance. They had fallen chiefly into the hands of Lord Palmerston, a disciple of Canning's, and therefore by principle an upholder of peace and of the doctrine of non-intervention, but inspired also as his master had been with an admiration and love for the institutions of constitutional monarchy, which led him into a line of conduct which it is difficult to harmonize with his professed principles. The most striking characteristic of our foreign policy in his hands was the close apparent union with France in opposition to the three Eastern powers, which Palmerston still regarded as tainted with the old principle of the Holy Alliance, and of one of which, namely Russia, he was sensitively mistrustful on all points connected with the policy of the East of Europe. The sympathy between England and France was inevitable. In some sense the kings of the two countries were both citizen kings, the great change which had taken place in England was the counterpart of the Revolution of July. In both countries it was the middle class which had just obtained the predominance. In both countries there was the same character of government, and both expressed the same desire for peace. At the same time the questions which agitated Western Europe were all more or less connected with the establishment of that form of government which both countries admired.

The influence of the Revolution of July had, as has been mentioned, spread far and wide over Europe, but had made itself most prominently felt in Belgium, which had broken loose from its enforced connection with Holland, and in Poland, which rose in insurrection to free itself from the rule of Russia. With Poland England had little to do. In the existing state of circumstances, though the sympathy of all classes was strongly with the Poles, armed interference was not to be thought of, and it was impossible to prevent the total subjugation of that gallant

Foreign
diplomacy of
Palmerston.

Absorption
of Poland.
1831.

CON. MON.

nation, after a very brave but ineffectual attempt to withstand the might of Russia. The fall of Warsaw sealed its fate; it was incorporated, contrary to all the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna, with the Russian empire.

But Belgium was nearer home. Its creation into a strong kingdom had been the pet scheme of English diplomatists; it was impossible to leave it to be overwhelmed by Holland, in conjunction with the Eastern powers, or to be absorbed by France. The difficult duty of the English minister was so to undo the work of his predecessors as if possible to prevent a war which would inevitably have arisen in either of the above cases, and so to preserve the independence of the Belgians that they might yet serve in some degree to fulfil the object of the negotiators of Vienna, as a check upon the power of France. To gain these ends he induced the five great powers to send representatives to a Congress in London. The first difficulty was to restrain the ambitious desires of France, where the propagandist and conquering spirit seemed for the moment to have been reawakened by the late revolution. The original plan of mediation was rejected by the King of the Netherlands, who, trusting to the assistance of Russia, invaded Belgium, and was only dislodged by the appearance of a French army. After a period of some anxiety, the firmness of Palmerston was successful in causing the withdrawal of the French troops, and the rejection of the crown by the King's son the Duc de Nemours. The immediate danger of war being thus averted, the London Conference drew up twenty-four articles (Nov. 15, 1831), on which, though they were not thoroughly acceptable to either party, it was determined to insist. They specified the limits of the new kingdom more favourably for Holland than had been the case in the preceding and rejected scheme, and settled the division of the public debt. Upon the understanding that these arrangements were final, Prince Leopold, the husband of the late Princess Charlotte, accepted the throne, not however, as Palmerston was careful to explain, as the English candidate, but as a man generally acceptable to the powers. He shortly rendered his position more secure by marrying a daughter of the French King. But the difficulties did not end with his acceptance of the throne; the King of the Netherlands continued to refuse the proffered terms, till at length the two Western powers lost patience, and unable to procure the assistance of the other members of the Conference, took the matter into their own hands, laid an embargo on the Dutch ships, blockaded the mouth of the Scheldt, and laid

Formation
of Belgium.

siege to Antwerp with a French army. After a very gallant defence, Antwerp yielded, and though the final settlement between the countries was postponed till 1839, a provisional armistice was entered into which practically put an end to the difficulties.

As important as Belgium were the affairs of Portugal and Spain. Don Miguel had pursued his career of cruelty and folly. Affairs of
Portugal. Acts of unjustifiable violence committed on the subjects of France had compelled the French Government, in July 1831, to send a squadron to the Tagus to obtain satisfaction, a measure which threatened for an instant serious consequences, as the English Government still felt itself pledged to uphold Portugal, its old ally. Fortunately Miguel was too foolish to see his opportunity. Still worse behaviour towards some English subjects brought a British fleet to Portugal in the following spring also to demand satisfaction. It became certain that the two Western powers would act in union there as they had already done in Belgium. While continuing nominally a strict neutrality, all sorts of volunteer assistance was allowed to join Don Pedro, when in July 1832 he landed at Oporto, again to assert the claims of his young daughter. An Englishman commanded his fleet, a Frenchman his army, and his troops were largely composed of volunteers from both nations. On the other hand, the French Legitimists, with Marshal Bourmont at their head, crowded to assist Don Miguel. For a while Don Pedro's expedition met with poor success; he could barely make good his position in Oporto, but in the middle of the next year, Admiral Sartorius having given place to Napier, the tide of victory changed, Miguel's fleet was destroyed off St. Vincent, and before the end of June Lisbon was in the hands of the Queen's adherents. For some while longer the strife was continued; but the Whigs could boast that the question was practically settled, and constitutional government established, although the assertion they made that they had held a strict neutrality, and without helping either side had allowed them to fight the matter out, was scarcely consistent with truth.

The success of constitutional principles in Portugal was speedily followed by events which produced the same results in Spain. Affairs of
Spain. The law of succession in that country had been again and again changed; the liberal constitution of 1812 had excluded females; Ferdinand in 1830 had again admitted them to the succession, but, frightened by a dangerous illness, and under pressure from the priests, he subsequently withdrew this decree, thus leaving his brother Don Carlos, an extreme absolutist, heir to the

throne. The return of health brought him under other influences. He had married a young Neapolitan Princess, Christina, by whom he had two daughters, and through her influence he was induced, in 1832, to re-establish the old law, settling the crown on his daughter Isabella. In September 1832 he died, and when Isabella was proclaimed Queen and Christina Regent, Carlos met with considerable sympathy, especially among the clergy, the peasantry and the old nobility, as they considered him tricked out of his inheritance by Christina's influence. But Christina had sense enough to throw herself heartily upon the side of the Liberal government, and rallied round her all the friends of constitutionalism in Spain and elsewhere. Thus there were in each of the neighbouring countries of the Peninsula a young Queen representing constitutional principles, opposed to an uncle with absolutist views claiming the throne. The Queen was successful in Spain; the Cortes was summoned under a Liberal minister, and Don Carlos was driven from the country. The similarity of their positions made the cause of the two Princes one, and Carlos betook himself to Don Miguel, who was still after his expulsion from Lisbon lying at Santarem. Lord Palmerston saw in this position of affairs an opportunity for carrying out his great object, of supporting constitutionalism and aiming a blow against the absolute powers of the East. He arranged, early in the year 1834, a Quadruple Alliance, primarily between Spain and Portugal, for the purpose of expelling the claimants to both countries from the Peninsula, a movement which was to be supported in case of necessity by a French army and an English fleet.

Thus, as in the affairs of Belgium, France and England had been successful in thwarting the Eastern powers and establishing a constitutional power, so now again they had induced Spain and Portugal to add their weight to the constitutional cause. "I reckon this to be a great stroke," said Palmerston; "in the first place it will settle Portugal, and go some way to settle Spain also, but what is of more permanent and essential importance, it establishes a quadruple alliance between the States of the West, which will serve as a powerful counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the East." The treaty did in fact at once put an end to the opposition of Don Miguel. A Spanish army marched to attack him on the rear, and he surrendered, and promised to leave the Peninsula. In the affairs of Spain the treaty was not so effectual. Don Carlos escaped in an English ship, to return subsequently and carry on a civil war, which lasted till 1840. During that period the English,

The Quadruple
Alliance.
1834.

though still preserving external neutrality, allowed an English legion, under the command of Sir De Lacy Evans, to go to the assistance of the Queen, whose final triumph he materially assisted in gaining. The whole fruit of the Whig foreign policy, and of the friendship with France, which the similarity of feeling in the two countries had engendered, was to consolidate for the time the West of Europe upon constitutional principles, in well-defined opposition to the East. But this had not been done without the exertion of an amount of influence, and an indirect employment of physical force, which could scarcely be honestly veiled under the name of neutrality; nor had the joint influence of the two countries been sufficient to check the growth of Russia in the East. Mahomet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, had formed the idea of creating an Arabian monarchy from portions of the Turkish Empire. His adopted son and heir, Ibrahim Pasha, overran the whole of Syria, and, in 1832, seemed on the highroad to Constantinople. In its extremity the Porte applied to Russia for assistance, and although the French ambassador contrived a temporary arrangement with the Pasha which postponed for a time the interference of the Russians, the further advance of Ibrahim compelled a renewed demand for help, and finally, on July 8, 1833, most of the demands of Mahomet Ali were granted, and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelesi was signed with Russia, which opened the Bosphorus to the Russians, and closed the Dardanelles to the ships of war of other nations; the protests of England and France remained entirely unheeded.

Unavailing
against Russian
advance.

Treaty of
Unkiar Skelesi.

Palmerston's dislike to the advance of Russia in the East rested not only on his general antipathy to the prince, whom he regarded as the head of the absolutist party, but arose from the feeling that it was necessary to secure our road to India, which has been the chief spring of the policy of England in the Mediterranean, and indeed, that nothing should interfere with our Indian possessions, became yearly more important. Uninfluenced in its general course by the changes of parties, the Indian Empire had been steadily increasing for the last thirty years. Though Wellesley's view stated broadly, that England must be the one great power of India, was not accepted by several of his successors, without wish of their own they had been compelled to act much as he would have acted, constantly to increase the English dominions, and to complete the system of

Retrospect
of affairs
in India.

subsidiary treaties with those powers which were still allowed a separate existence.

Lord Cornwallis' second tenure of office, interrupted by his speedy death, was too brief to allow him to reverse his predecessor's policy, as seems to have been his intention. Nor was the government of Sir George Barlow, one of the civil servants of the Company, who devoted himself chiefly to the financial business of his office, of sufficient length to produce much effect. But during the rule of Lord Minto, sent out to replace him by the Grenville administration in 1807, some events of importance took place. Of these the most important were the capture of the Dutch and French possessions in the East, the check which was given to the rising kingdom of the Sikhs in the Punjaub, and the strange incident of a mutiny of the English officers in Madras. In July 1810 the Island of Bourbon was taken with little loss, and in the following November, General Abercrombie, with an expedition consisting of troops from Bengal and Madras, attacked the Isle of France; within three days of his reaching the island he succeeded in overcoming all opposition, the island was surrendered, and the last remnant of French power in the East disappeared. In February of the same year the possessions of Holland, then forming a part of the French Empire, were also attacked, and in 1811 a considerable army was landed in Java. Batavia at once surrendered, but it was not till after a severe battle with the Dutch General Jansens, and the loss of about a thousand men, that the island was subdued; it was intrusted to the government of Mr. Raffles, afterwards Sir Stamford, and was much improved under his hands, but at the Peace of Vienna it was restored with most other colonial conquests. It has been believed that its value and wealth were not thoroughly known or appreciated by the ministry at the time. It was the interest of the European war also which brought Lord Minto's government into contact with powers on the north-east of India. A French embassy to Persia, really directed against the Russians, was thought to have reference to an intended attack upon India, which was known to have been at an earlier time a favourite project of Napoleon's. It became therefore necessary for the English Government to attempt to secure the friendship of the Affghans and the Sikhs. This latter race, originally organized in a sort of confederacy, had been gradually brought under the subjection of one

Cornwallis.
July—Oct.
1805.
Sir G. Barlow.
1805—1807.

Lord Minto.
1807—1813.

Capture of
Batavia and
Mauritius.

Check of
the Sikhs.

family, the representative of which was now Runjeet Singh. In their dread of the French, the English were for a while blind to his encroachments even on the east of the Sutlej, but as events in Europe showed that Napoleon's Eastern dreams were for the present over, a firmer tone was adopted, and in 1809 the appearance of English troops proved to Runjeet that his hopes of further conquest were futile, and he consented to enter into a treaty of perpetual friendship. The mutiny at Madras was somewhat similar to that which Clive had suppressed in the Bengal army. The withdrawal of an allowance known as the tent contract was the immediate cause of the disaffection, but there had been for

Mutiny at
Madras.

some time discontent among the officers, unfortunately supported by some whose age and position gave them influence over their juniors. General Macdowell, having been refused a seat in the Council, had thrown up his command, and was returning to England in disgust. He entered into an unseemly quarrel with the Quartermaster-General, Colonel Munro, and published a general order declaring that had he remained in India he would have brought him to a court-martial. The Government, in great anger, suspended those officers who had assisted in publishing the general order, and finding them largely supported by their fellow-officers, proceeded to remove a considerable number from their command. This was followed by an open mutiny which broke out in Hyderabad, Seringapatam, and elsewhere. At Seringapatam the mutineers were suppressed by force of arms, elsewhere they came to their senses, and accepted the conditions imposed on them by Lord Minto, who had come to Madras to attempt to meet the difficulty. Lord Minto returned to England in 1813, after an honourable discharge of his duties, and was succeeded by the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings.

It was during Lord Moira's administration that the work of Wellesley was completed and the position of England rendered absolutely paramount in India. His first difficulties were with Nepaul, where the Goorkhas had succeeded in establishing a power of some importance, and had not refrained from attacking English territory. The war was a severe one; on more than one occasion the English troops were defeated or foiled by the strong fortifications of their opponents. But after two campaigns, in 1815, Sir David Ochterlony succeeded in securing the hill-fortresses and compelling the Goorkha chief to come to terms. The Nepaulese surrendered to the English a portion of the Terrai, a territory lying to the south of their country,

Marquis
of Hastings.
1813—1823.

War with
Nepaul.

reinstated a considerable number of the small princes they had lately dispossessed, and received an English resident at Catmandoo, their capital. It was at the close of this war that Lord Moira received his marquissate. But events, to which Lord Hastings owes his chief celebrity, arose in a more important quarter. The centre of India was occupied by the great princes of the Mahratta nation, who, though subdued by Lord Wellesley, were uneasy under their altered circumstances, and were dreaming of the restoration of their national greatness. Their nominal head was the Peishwa resident at Poonah, and now placed under a subsidiary treaty with the English. These princes kept up communications among themselves. Agents from Poonah were at all their courts, and some of them certainly engaged

War with
the Pindaries
and Mahrattas.

in intrigues both with the Nepaulese and Runjeet Singh, the late enemies of the English. Besides these covert and dangerous enemies, there existed a body of freebooters called the Pindaries. Recruited from all nations and all religions, their hordes found employment sometimes with the armies of the native princes at war with each other, sometimes in predatory excursions of their own. The reward for which they served was nearly always the right to rob. Their expeditions were of the most destructive character; all mounted and lightly armed, they crossed the country in marches of from forty to fifty miles a day, fell upon the devoted district, and carried off everything moveable in it, frequently burning what they could not carry away, and having recourse to the cruellest tortures to wring from the wretched inhabitants a knowledge of their hidden treasure. They had found their chief support among the Mahrattas, and had established themselves in the country between the Nerbudda and the Vindhya hills. Till 1815 they had refrained from attacking the English, but during the Nepaulese war they had crossed the river into the Deccan, and had ravaged the territory of our ally the Nizam; and the year after they had even passed the British frontiers and plundered more than three hundred villages. Lord Hastings determined to put an end to these robbers, supported as he believed that they were by the Mahratta confederation, before he dismissed the army collected for the war of Nepal. He applied for leave to act on a great scale, and, having received it, brought into the field large armies from all the Presidencies, and prepared for war on such a scale as rendered it plain that he intended to make a final settlement of Central India. It was the complicity of the Mahrattas with the Pindaries which rendered his work difficult. The Peishwa had already shown his intentions. His favourite,

Trimbucjee, had procured the murder of the agent of the Guicowar, who, in union with the English, was negotiating for a new lease of the Peishwa's property in Gujerat. The murderer was screened, and signs were everywhere visible that the Peishwa was meditating treachery. Yielding to the pressure of the English resident, he surrendered Trimbucjee; but on the escape of his favourite he again gave him refuge, and eluded the English demands. At length, yielding to the strong measures taken by them, he apparently gave up the point, and in June 1817 entered into a new treaty considerably more stringent than the Treaty of Bassein, and designed to destroy the Peishwa's nominal superiority over the Mahratta confederation, which was the source of so much danger. The effect of the treaty was very temporary. The Peishwa continued his measures against the English, attacked and burnt the British residency, was defeated after a severe battle and fled, intending to make common cause with his compatriots. Meanwhile events of a somewhat similar character had been taking place at the courts of the other Mahratta chiefs. It was thought necessary not only to separate them from the Pindaries, but to oblige them to join in the suppression of those freebooters. In November Sindia was compelled to make a treaty to that effect, containing a most important clause, as it allowed the English to make separate treaties, which had hitherto been forbidden, with those chiefs, especially the Rajputs, who were dependent upon Sindia. The unity of his kingdom was thus broken up. A treaty of a similar character was concluded with Ameer Khan, the head of a large body of freebooters in close connection with Holkar, though at the time resident at Jeypoor. With the other two great chiefs, the Rajah of Nagpoor and Holkar, more violent measures were found necessary. Appa Sahib, the uncle of the late prince, had obtained the government of Nagpoor, and had pretended a close friendship with England. But the same national aspirations as had moved the Peishwa acted upon him too. As the Peishwa was the nominal viceroy of the Mahrattas, so was he their nominal commander-in-chief. He repeated the treachery at Poonah, and attacked the British residency; and as his army was strong, and consisted largely of Arabs, he was only defeated after a battle of eighteen hours' duration. By December, however, he was thoroughly conquered, and had given himself up to the English; Nagpoor had been evacuated, and the Arabs dismissed. Just about the same time the forces of Holkar had been also defeated at Mahidpoor, in the neighbourhood of Oojein. On the insanity of Holkar himself, his power had passed into the hands of his young

wife, Toolsee-Bhye, as regent for the young prince; but she was mistrusted by the war party, seized, and put to death. The chiefs then plunged into war, but were thoroughly defeated by Hislop's forces, and the young Holkar was compelled to enter into a treaty, which, among other things, bound him to perpetual peace, and established the Company as the arbitrator in all his quarrels. As in the case of Sindia, the Rajput princes subject to his dominion were allowed to contract separate treaties with the English, and gladly seized the opportunity. Thus the great confederation was defeated in detail, and the Peishwa alone, a fugitive from his capital, was capable of making resistance. It was found nearly impossible to come up with him; though combats were occasionally fought, no general battle resulted. But a new plan was devised which before long completed his destruction. The strongholds of his country were one by one reduced; and among others, in February, Satara, the residence of the descendants of Sevaji, whose nominal minister the Peishwa was. The authority of this prince was re-established, and the Peishwa was deposed, and thus the national character of his resistance destroyed. Soon after, also (Feb. 19, 1818), he was forced to battle at Ashtee, near Bunderpoor, and there thoroughly beaten. His power of resistance was now at an end, his fortresses had fallen one by one; his motley army, consisting largely of Pindaries, was broken up, and in June, finding himself surrounded, he surrendered to Sir John Malcolm. He accepted an allowance of £80,000 a year, with leave to withdraw and reside at Benares, where he remained quietly during the rest of his life. He had refused even to the last to surrender Trimbucjee, who was, however, shortly afterwards captured, and kept a prisoner till his death. The destruction of the Mahratta power had gone hand in hand with that of the Pindaries. Wherever they had been met with they had been beaten. By the end of February all their leaders had surrendered, and such remnants of them as were left had been removed to Goruckpoor, where they settled quietly down. There was one exception; their great chief, Chetoo, was still at large, and when Appa Sahib of Nagpoor, continuing his treachery after the treaty, and still holding communication with the Peishwa, was dethroned, the two chiefs took refuge in the Mahadeo hills on the south of the Nerbudda, and there assembled a mixed army of Mahrattas, Arabs, and Pindaries, to the number of about 20,000. The destruction of these troops closed the war. The English forces were concentrated for a great attack; seeing the hopelessness of resistance, the leaders fled, and took refuge in the fort of Aseerghur,

which belonged to Sindia, with whom no doubt Appa had still relations. The fortress could not long shelter him. Sindia, in fear, refused to receive him; he fled to Runjeet Singh, and was finally allowed to return and live peaceably in Judpore. Chetoo, deprived of most of his followers, also took flight; he attempted to retire into the Malwa, but during his retreat sought refuge in a thicket, and was there devoured by a tiger. As a punishment for having received the fugitives, Aseerghur was besieged and taken, and as clear proofs were found in it of Sindia's treachery, it was retained. This was the last act of the war. At its conclusion the whole dominions of the Peishwa, with the exception of a district given to the Rajah of Satara, and all Appa Sahib's dominions in Berar, passed directly into the hands of the English. All the Rajput rajahs had placed themselves under British protection, and Sindia was the only prince with whom there had not been concluded a satisfactory subsidiary treaty. Lord Hastings had thus the merit of thoroughly completing the great plans of the Marquis of Wellesley.

When Hastings left his office, which he had held for nine years, he was succeeded by Lord Amherst, who reached Calcutta Lord Amherst.
1823—1828. in August 1823, and held the Governor-generalship till 1828. During that period the dominions of England received a still further accession, and the difficulty of putting a stop to a course of conquest once begun was shown. At the same time that Clive had laid the foundation of the English Empire, a man of the name of Alompra had established a great empire on the other side of the Ganges. He had succeeded in bringing into one the kingdoms of Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Aracan. By degrees the two empires of Burmah and of India had become conterminous. The Burmese had been rendered so confident by their successes that they had demanded of Lord Hastings the surrender of Chittagong, Dacca, and other places, as having been originally dependencies of Aracan; their demand had of course been absolutely disregarded, but they were now proceeding to conquer Cashar, a district in North-Eastern Bengal, the rajah of which applied for help to the English. A further act of encroachment on their part brought on a war; they seized, on the coast of Chittagong, a little island in the possession of a small British outpost. No satisfaction could be obtained, and in March 1824 war became inevitable, much against the will, and somewhat to the surprise, of Lord Amherst, who had intended to be peaceful. The The Burmese
War. attack of the English was made upon Rangoon at the mouth of the Irawaddi. It was easily occupied, but the Burmese

were a warlike race, and being strengthened in their wish for resistance by successes on the Bengal frontier refused to come to terms. Again and again the great pagoda of Rangoon, which had become the English citadel, was assaulted. In December a final unsuccessful attack was made under the command of Maha Bundoola, who had distinguished himself in the north. From May to February the fighting about Rangoon had continued, the chief difficulty met with being the skill of the enemy in the defence of stockades. Then, at last, Sir Archibald Campbell found it possible to advance up the Irawaddi towards Prome. In April he reached that place and found it deserted. There the English remained during the rainy season. In November hostilities were renewed, and the English gradually forced their way up to within forty-five miles of Ava, the capital. There at length, in February 1826, a treaty was concluded by which the Burmese ceded Assam, Aracan, and the country south of Martiban along the coast. They also gave up their claims upon the English provinces, paid a large sum of money, and established friendly relations between the courts, to be kept up by an interchange of ambassadors.

The occupation of England in a foreign war had given rise to hopes among the princes of India that an opportunity had come for reasserting their freedom. But all such thoughts were dashed to the ground by the capture and destruction of the fortress of Bhurtore, hitherto considered impregnable. At the beginning of 1825 a disputed succession had occurred. The expelled Prince was under British protection; it remained to be seen how far it now availed him. Lord Amherst was at first inclined to non-intervention, but the army was in the hands of Lord Combermere, an old Peninsula officer, not likely to shrink before difficulties. He at once undertook to reduce the stronghold. Having demanded the dismissal of women and children, which was refused, he proceeded to bombard the town. After two months of siege, the assault was given, and in two hours the town was secured; the fortress was then razed to the ground, and the rightful prince reinstated, and the great movement against the English which had been dreaded by many thinking men in India thus at once checked. The Indian Empire had now reached the limits which were not increased for many years. The subsequent conquests of the Punjab and Sind have set a natural and geographical boundary to it, which, it may be hoped, will prevent the necessity of those wars of conquest, which were really wars of defence, to which it owes its present gigantic dimensions.

Capture of
Bhurtore.

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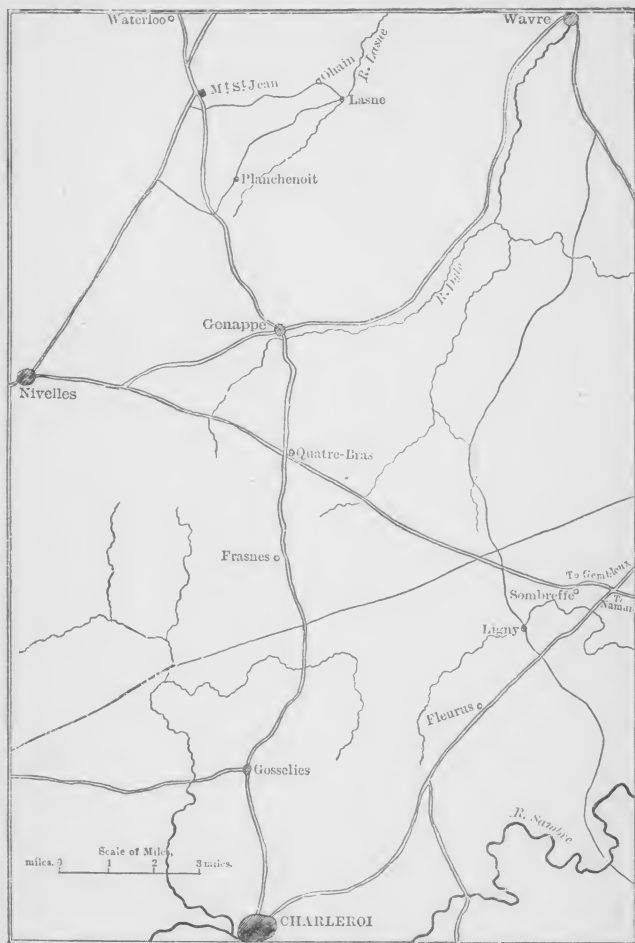
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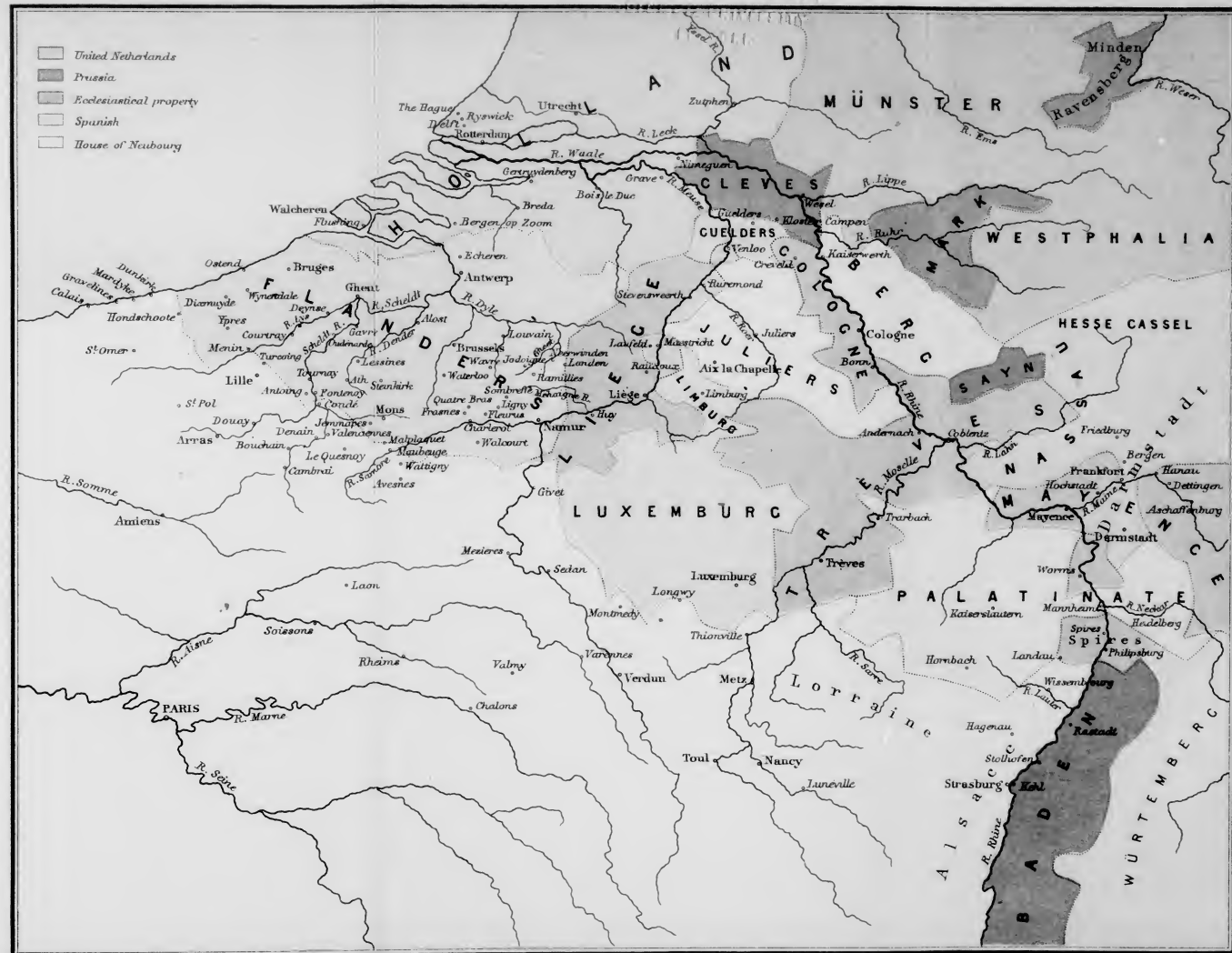
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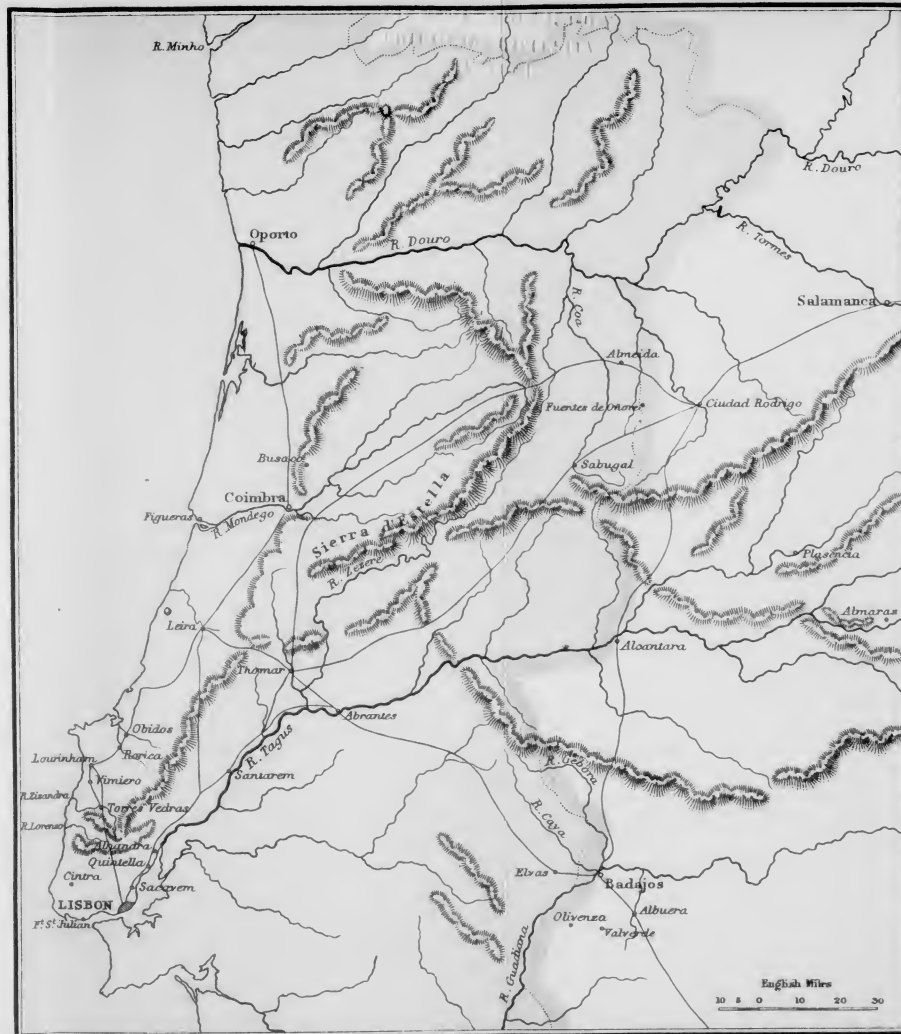




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English Miles
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English Miles

The boundary of the German Empire	in 1714	shown thus
" " French	1810	"
Countries dependent on France	in 1810	"
(Confederation of the Rhine, Kingdom of Italy & Spain)	"	"
Prussia	in 1773	"
Austria	1773	"



INDIA, SHOWING ROUGHLY THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH POWER.

